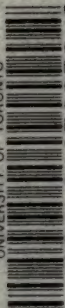


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EMBRACING A COMPLETE
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WITH
Biographical Sketches
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COMPRISING, ALSO, IN ITS PROPER ORDER, THE
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By **C. H. GIFFORD, Esq.**

IN TWO VOLUMES, WITH NUMEROUS EMBELLISHMENTS.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS

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French Revolution.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Events which led to the Overthrow of Monarchy in France.

BEFORE we treat of the memorable French Revolution, which was the cause of such long and sanguinary wars between Europe and France, we shall briefly enumerate those events which rendered monarchy disgusting to the French nation. That despotism, by which the Gallic race had been for ages oppressed, and for which the unfortunate Louis XVI. suffered, may be justly said to originate with the reign of Charles VII. The victories of this monarch rendered him acceptable to the people; but, availing himself of that popularity, he became absolute, and was the first king of France who, by his own royal edicts, and without the concurrence of the States-general of the kingdom, levied subsidies whenever he thought proper. Then "the will of the king is the will of the law," was the doctrine held out by the French lawyers, and by the corrupt sentiments of a sycophantic tribe, this maxim was established. During the reign of his successor, Louis XI. these innovations were reduced to a regular system, and tyranny became formidable. The ministry of Richelieu considered the crown of France independent both of the nobles and the people, and a series of enormous taxes were imposed by his successor, Mazarine. The reign of Louis XIV. though remarkable for grandeur, was equally so for oppression: the revenue was expended for useless pageantry, while the happiness of the people was totally neglected. During the minority of Louis XV. the government devolved upon ignorant agents, who adopted temporary expedients for the removal of present embarrassments, without making any provision for future exigencies. The monarch, after he had attained manhood, assisted in corrupting the

manners of the court by his degenerate example. The wars and dissipation of this reign contributed to harass the nation, particularly as they led to arbitrary measures. Personal liberty became insecure by means of sudden arrests, under the authority of *lettres de cachet*; religious opinions were subject to grievous persecutions; and the people were irritated by an odious tax, called in that country *Gabelle*. The spirit of resistance was occasionally displayed, but immediately subdued, not having sufficient strength at that time to render it efficacious. The parliament opposed the king's proceedings, for which the members were, at length, severally arrested, and a new tribunal was created in the room of the exiled parliament, composed of men entirely devoted to the court. Not the monarch only became the object of reproach and execration at the time, but even the monarchy itself, though the French nation had been for ages attached to this form of government. The king, at length, fell a martyr to his debaucheries, and he was interred without pomp or ceremony. Under these unpleasant circumstances Louis XVI. succeeded his grandfather, when only twenty years of age. While dauphin, he had conducted himself with such propriety, that the French fondly expected their new sovereign would terminate all their grievances. The young monarch, immediately on his accession, selected for his prime minister and adviser the Count de Maurepas, who had been thirty years in exile. Desirous of recommending himself to the favor of his subjects, he dismissed those who were obnoxious to the people, and restored their ancient parliaments. The first meeting of this assembly took place amid unbounded

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acclamations. As the new monarch was of a disposition pacific and unambitious, his speech, and the recal of parliament, must, from its imperious style, be considered not his own, but that of advisers, who, probably, found that condescension would be attended with danger. In this speech he told the parliament "that he was determined to preserve his authority in all its plenitude; that the king, his grandfather, was compelled, by their resistance to his repeated commands, to adopt such measures as his wisdom suggested; and that, as he had thought proper to recal them to the exercise of those functions which they ought never to have quitted, he desired them to learn to prize his favors, and never to lose the remembrance of their extent." A royal ordinance was then read, containing the various limitations by which the monarch thought proper to restrain the authority of that assembly; and he concluded with a promise of his royal protection and countenance, as long as they conformed to what he had prescribed.

In the year 1770 (four years before he came to the throne), Louis XVI. had married Maria Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa, and sister to Joseph II. emperor of Germany. While some describe her as a woman of high spirit, busy, bold, and blind to consequence, others paint her as a princess of great dignity of mind, and of an excellent capacity. The views of the minister, M. de Maurepas, who wished to preserve his own, and the public repose, were assiduously directed to the extension of commerce, and the re-establishment of the French marine. Turgot was soon after placed at the head of the finances, and exhibited so much probity, and strict economy, as rendered his administration truly laudable. The king expressed the highest approbation of his conduct, in a letter, dated April 15, 1776, which rendered the dismissal of this able minister the more remarkable; but it was solicited, and obtained by the queen, to whose entreaties not only in this, but in other instances, the king too readily acceded. Others ascribe his dismissal to the bigotry and selfishness of the clergy and nobles, who oppressed the people by severe exactions of tithes and services, whilst they themselves refused to contribute towards the burdens of the state. The abolition of these immunities, and a general toleration, had been recommended to the king by M. Turgot, a measure which was even countenanced by his brother-in-law, Joseph II.; but he was deterred from following this salutary counsel.

The administration of finances was next confided to M. Clugny, who, during the short space of six months, in which he remained in office, exhibited proofs of the most flagrant corruption and profusion. On his death M. Taboureaux succeeded; but he was quickly superseded by M. Necker, a

Genevan protestant, who undoubtedly possessed, in many respects, great merit, though far inferior to his illustrious predecessor, M. Turgot.

When the unhappy contest took place between Great Britain and her colonies, France, though already involved in debts and difficulties, gave her assistance to America, and the French and American forces acted in conjunction for nearly six years. The expences of the civil, military, and naval establishments, and the extravagance which had so long pervaded all the departments of the French government, exceeded the ability of M. Necker to counteract. He had entertained the romantic, but benevolent idea, of defraying the expences of war without imposing on the people new taxes. He had raised loans on the annual savings obtained by a reduction of the public expenditure; but that reduction not being real, the revenue continued to be forestalled from year to year, and the ruin of the *Caisse d'Escompte* was the consequence of its reliance on paper transactions with the government. The plan of this celebrated financier being impracticable, the addition of debt contracted during the war was of serious magnitude; and, at the era of the peace, M. Necker was removed from his office (May, 1781) through the machinations of M. Maurepas, a few months previous to the decease of that minister.

After a short interval, in which M. Pleury and M. d'Ormesson filled, in succession, that difficult station, M. Calonne was appointed, November, 1783. This man, notwithstanding his great talents, was so immersed in dissipation and intrigue that he was neither capable nor desirous of reforming the abuses of government. His projects proved unsuccessful and abortive. In the latter end of the year 1785, a loan of 3,330,000*l.* being the acknowledged deficit of the current year, was negociated, which the parliament of Paris, after repeated remonstrances, at last registered, in obedience to the king's positive commands; at the same time accompanying it with a resolution, importing "that public economy was the only genuine source of revenue; and the means of providing for the necessities of the state, and of restoring that credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin." The minister, perceiving the impossibility of obtaining the concurrence of parliament to the measures he had in contemplation, had recourse to the practice of former reigns, and solicited the monarch to convene an assembly of the most considerable and enlightened persons in the kingdom, under the denomination of *Notables*, by whose influence he might be able to effect a reformation. The king readily acceded, and summonses were issued for the meeting at Versailles. This convention, consisting of 144 persons, among whom were seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field-mareschals, eight counsellors

of state, and eleven bishops and archbishops, accordingly took place February 22, 1787, and was opened in great state by the king in person. The royal speech was followed by a long and elaborate harangue from M. de Calonne, who ascribed the pecuniary embarrassments of the state to the administration of M. Necker. There is no doubt but the patriotic professions of the king and his minister were, at this time, sincere; but notwithstanding the admirable adroitness of the latter, the notables displayed a refractory disposition, and contributed in no degree towards removing the national difficulties. The public clamor rising high against M. de Calonne, whom it was now the fashion to style a profligate and extravagant minister, he was exiled by the king to his estate at Lorraine; and so great was the inveterate rage and odium of his enemies, that he soon after found it expedient to take refuge in foreign parts. He was succeeded, after a short interval, by M. Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, a leading member of the assembly of notables, and of great popularity for his patriotism. On the 25th of May, 1787, the assembly of notables was dissolved.

Unfortunately, the patriotism of the Archbishop of Toulouse, on his elevation to the post of minister, seemed to vanish; and consequently, losing the confidence of the people, he deprived himself of the power of being serviceable to the king. Recourse was again had to the parliaments of Paris; and, on the 12th of June, an edict was sent to the body for enregistry, imposing a heavy duty on stamps. The parliament demanded the communication of such documents as should enable them to judge of the necessity of introducing new taxes. The refusal of this demand produced a refusal on their parts to enregister the edict. The stamp-act was pronounced more dangerous than even the exploded *Gabelle*. The king, reserving to a future day the declaration of his intentions respecting the stamp-tax, transmitted to them a new edict of far greater importance, for commuting the existing *vingtièmes* into a regular and equal land-tax; but, as the danger became more imminent, the parliament became more intrepid, and the States-general were loudly called for.

A royal message was suddenly delivered, announcing the intention of the king to hold a bed of justice. The parliament immediately re-assembled, and several resolutions passed, expressive of their determined resistance. The bed of justice, a very unpopular measure, and seldom resorted to in the most despotic times, was however held, August 6, 1787; and, in spite of the resolutions, which were read by the president, the edicts were forcibly enregistered. The parliament, though defeated, was not subdued; for, on the following day, the members entered a formal protest against the proceedings, declaring the edicts null and void; and

that he who should presume to carry them into execution, should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys.

So great were the apprehensions of government at this time, that great numbers of the military were assembled at Paris, and the members of the courts of justice were obliged to pass to their sittings through armed ranks of soldiers with bayonets fixed. August 13, 1787, *lettres de cachet* were issued against the parliament of Paris, transferring their sittings to Troyes, in Champagne, 100 miles from the capital. Previous to their exile they drew up an animated remonstrance, and almost all the public bodies in the kingdom joined in boldly petitioning the throne for the recall of that assembly and the convocation of the States-general. The parliament of Grenoble declared "the rights of property to be equally sacred and secured by the same laws as the right of the king to the throne;" and the parliament of Besançon, in reprobating the emission of the *lettres de cachet*, scrupled not to say, "that the Parisian magistrates should not have obeyed them."

The minister, alarmed at his critical situation, advised the king to recall the parliament and suspend the execution of the obnoxious edicts. On the 19th of September, letters of revocation were accordingly issued, and the parliament was permitted to resume its functions. Discontents however prevailed; the treasury was exhausted; and though several economical regulations had taken place in the royal household, still the public expenditure required an extraordinary supply. The plan proposed by the minister was that of a series of loans, amounting in the aggregate to about eighteen millions sterling, for five successive years, at the end of which time he engaged the honor of the sovereign that the States-general should be convoked. This proposal was treated with scorn, as the promised convocation could at that time be of no utility. It was therefore resolved to hold a *séance royale*, that the matter should be debated in the presence of the king previous to the enregistry. Notwithstanding the presence of the sovereign, the debates were, on the 14th of November, conducted not only with freedom but with violence. The discussion continued for nine hours, when his majesty suddenly arose and commanded the edicts to be immediately registered. This was unexpectedly opposed by the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood; who, conceiving the royal mandate an infringement of the rights of parliament, protested against the whole proceedings of the day as being thereby null and void. The king repeated his orders, and, quitting the assembly in anger, departed for Versailles. The duke, on the king's departure, formally recorded his dis-

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sent, and the parliament passed a resolution abjuring every sort of concern in the enregistry that had then taken place. On the following day the Duke of Orleans received a letter, commanding him to retire to his chateau in the country, accompanied only by his family. The members, Sahatiere and M. Futeau, who had distinguished themselves in the debate, were, under the authority of *lettres de cachet*, sent to different prisons; and, by express command of the king, the resolution of parliament was erased from their records.

A remonstrance against these violent proceedings was presented to the king from the parliament, who expressed their astonishment and concern that a prince of the blood was exiled, and two of their members imprisoned for having, at a time when his majesty said he came to take the sense of the assembly, declared what their duty and consciences dictated. The king, in his answer to this remonstrance, forbade them to publish any further deliberations on the subject.

In order to supersede the existing parliaments, the minister had recourse to another wild project. A supreme court, by the name of *Cour Pleniére*, was to be established, consisting of members to be nominated by the king, and to be vested with the power of enregistering the royal edicts. The *dernier resort* excited the indignation of the public. The parliament called loudly for the States-general to be assembled; and this appeal to the paramount authority rendered the parliament the idol of the people. The court still prosecuted its nefarious designs, and orders were issued for arresting Messrs. D'Espremenil and Monsambert, two celebrated counsellors and patriotic members of the parliament. A party of the military, surrounding the seat of justice at midnight, demanded the immediate surrender of the two magistrates. This act of despotism occasioned the following animated address from the parliament to the king, delivered May 7, 1788.

"Sire,

"Your Parliament is confirmed, by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which is aimed at in the system of monarchy. At the moment even when your Parliament were offering their suspicions and remonstrances at the foot of the throne, an act of absolute authority is exercised in your name against two magistrates, whose conduct is irreproachable, and who should rather deserve your Majesty's protection for their support of the rights of monarchy. At the time, that the deputies of Parliament were soliciting an audience at the foot of the throne, which public circumstances seemed to require, the seat of sovereign justice was invested by a body of armed people, who committed acts of violence in the middle of the night, and at the time your Parliament were sitting.

"Your Majesty has been advised not to receive the deputation of your Parliament, because you had

not been made acquainted with their coming by a special message. The efforts that have been made to conceal truth from your knowledge, but too plainly indicate the changes in the constitution which the enemies of magistracy have endeavoured to effect since 1771, and which they flatter themselves to attain by a specious plausibility. Your Majesty, in summoning your Parliament to the throne, was about to conciliate the love of your people by a measure so conformable to ancient practice. But, Sire, the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures to which you are advised, and whose effects alarm the most faithful of your magistrates. We shall not repeat all the unfortunate circumstances which afflict us; we shall only represent to you, with respectful firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom must not be trampled on, and that your authority can only be esteemed so long as it is tempered with justice. It is the interest of the nation which has determined each and every member not to take any part, either as a body or as individuals, in any functions which may be the consequences of new regulations; nor will they assist in any measures which are not the unanimous resolutions of Parliament, endowed with all its privileges. Such is the nature of the French monarchy; and we beseech your Majesty not to suffer apparent or momentary advantages to divert your attention, as they only produce unhappy consequences. This objection is of such importance to the public tranquillity, that the consideration of it absorbs every other sentiment, and scarcely leaves us power to beseech your justice in favor of the two magistrates who have been recently torn from us, attended by circumstances which we dare not describe. Your Majesty will sooner or later discover the justice of our representations; and, in whatever situation your parliament may find itself, it will feel the pleasing and conscious satisfaction of having used its best endeavours for the service of the King and the nation."

On the same day the king had addressed the assembly of notables in these words:

"It is now twelve months past, that my Parliament of Paris has continued to commit the greatest excesses. Its members have not only endeavoured to place themselves on a level with my authority, but they have even dared to assert, that no act had force if not enregistered. They have declared that they were not obliged to do it, although the nation suffered by their refusal. The provincial parliaments have followed their example in their pretensions and undertakings. The consequences have been, that the most necessary laws have not been executed,—that all the most useful operations of government have been stopped, and that public credit is diminished, justice has been suspended, and in short, that the national tranquillity is overthrown. The suppression of those excesses is what I owe to my subjects, to myself, and to my successors. I might have punished them, but I rather choose to prevent their effects. I have been obliged to punish a few of the magistrates; but, though it was indispensable, I have done it with reluctance. I will not then annihilate my parliament; but I will bring them back to their duty, and the limits of their institution. I mean to avail myself of converting this momentary tempest to a salutary

epocha for my people, to begin the reformation of judicial proceedings by the tribunals on which they are to be founded; to procure justice to be rendered in a more expeditious and less expensive manner; to entrust the nation with the exercise of its lawful rights, which ought always to be conciliated to mine. I will moreover establish, in every part of my kingdom, that unity of system, without which a great state is always weakened by the number and extent of its territories. The order I mean to maintain is not new—there was but one parliament when Philip the Fair fixed it at Paris. A large state should have but one king, one law, and one power, to enregister acts. Tribunals, with a limited power, shall superintend the majority of law-suits; the parliament, those of more important consequences; a single court of judicature, for the deposit of all the common law of the kingdom, and which shall be charged with its enregistrement. In short, a general assembly of the states to assemble not only once, but every time that the state of affairs shall require it. Such is the restoration which my love for my people has prepared, and consecrated this day for their happiness, which is my only desire. My keeper of the seals will deliver you my intention more at length."

To the remonstrance which the parliament of Paris had delivered, the king thus replied on the 9th of May:—

"Gentlemen, I made you yesterday acquainted with my will, and now I call you together again to confirm it. I shall continue to persist in the execution of a plan which has for its object the general tranquillity of the kingdom, and the welfare of my people. I rely on your zeal and fidelity for the good of my service, when I shall have fixed on proper persons to compose my supreme assembly. I shall call you together before the ordinary time of your sitting, if the good of the service and the necessity of the state require it."

His majesty had, on the preceding day, presented a number of edicts to be registered: among these was one for the establishment of the *cour plénière*, and another for the diminution of the members of the parliament of Paris from 120 to 67, as had been done by Louis XI. The parliament of Paris protested against these measures, declaring their determination not to assist in any supreme court about to be instituted. In defiance of this declaration a bed of justice was held, and the edict for the establishment of the *cour plénière* forcibly enregistered. Violent commotions now ensued. The first president of the parliament, in the name of that assembly, informed the king, that the parliament would acknowledge no authority which infringed on the complete exercise of their prerogatives. The parliament of Rouen announced the edicts in question to be null and void, and all persons assisting in the execution of them to be traitors to the nation. *Lettres de cachet* were immediately executed against them. The parliaments of Rheims, Grenoble, and Metz, were, for their patriotic endeavours, ordered into banishment. National deliberations were thus suspended by

an armed force; but this violence was opposed by the parliament of Paris, who thus addressed the throne on the 16th of May:—

"May it therefore please your majesty to consider, it is the duty of your parliament to watch over the people's wants, and the rights of the sovereign; the people may be misled by factious men, and kings are too much exposed to dangerous surprises. Parliament, Sire, will speak of liberty to monarchs, and recommend submission to subjects. They render that submission honorable by their example, and that authority solid by their principles. In short, the most essential function of your majesty's parliament is, to summon the royal power to the standard of justice, and public liberty to the oath of allegiance. Such, Sire, have been their patriot views, and the object of their unremitted zeal, in the most severe and turbulent times.

"Still animated by the same sentiments, and ever jealous to deserve the good-will of our gracious monarch, and insure the liberty of our fellow-citizens; we come to point out, at the foot of the throne, the fatal error that would seduce the heart of a sovereign; we come to invoke your majesty's justice, wisdom, and humanity, against the pernicious employing of *lettres de cachet*. At this terrible word all hearts shudder, all ideas are clouded with horror. The individuals seized with these dreadful symptoms, look with amazement at one another, and, afraid of explaining themselves, remain in a state of inaction. The people in silence scarce dare to lift their thoughts to that inconceivable power, which disposes of men without hearing or judging them; that plunges and keeps them at pleasure in total darkness, whither the cheerful light of day never enters no more than the reviving aspect of the law, the cry of nature, or the voice of friendship; to that power that for existence depends on mystery, and derives its title from force alone; to a power exercised with impunity by the ministers of state, their deputies, and the agents of the police; to a power, in short, which from the prime minister to the very inferior officers of the police, lays over our heads an endless chain of formidable oppressors, before whom remain silent and inactive the sacred laws of nature, and those of the constitution. No, Sire, the laws of nature, and the laws of the constitution, shall never reproach your parliament (the living law at the foot of the throne) with having stood shamefully inactive, and with having preserved a guilty silence.

"Man was born free, and his happiness depends on justice. Liberty is an inproscriptible right. It consists in the power of living suitably to the tenor of the laws; justice is an universal duty, and this duty is anterior to the laws themselves that acknowledge it, and ought to guide it, but never to dispense with it in the monarch or the subject. *Justice and liberty!* This, Sire, is the principle and end of all society, the stable and immovable foundation of all power; and such is, for the happiness of mankind, the wonderful connection of these two inestimable blessings, that no reasonable authority, no solid obedience, can ever subsist without them. The practice of *lettres de cachet* overturns all this system. Justice thereby becomes mere illusion, and liberty retains but the name. Such a practice is repugnant to reason, and contrary to the orders of the state; the motives alleged in order to authorise

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it, are but pretences, clearly refuted by examples. It must certainly be repugnant to reason, since it evidently is to the nature of man, to that of royalty, and to the primitive notions of morality. Such are the essential characters of *lettres de cachet*.

"The nature of man is not that of being independent. Independence to him is a state of war; force and cunning are by turns his predominant passions; and justice divested of sanction is divested of power. The nature of man is, therefore, a propensity to join his fellow-creatures, and to live in society, under the restriction of certain general rules, named the laws. But all rules, conventions, or agreements, that constrain, without protecting him, could no longer be termed laws, but fetters. Force may prepare them, it is true, and weakness or folly may wear them; but force does not oblige, and weakness and folly cannot engage themselves. All lawful submission is voluntary in its principle; a guilty citizen has consented beforehand to the sentence that condemns him. Were some men to say to others, 'Exercise an arbitrary power over us; we give our consent, that the tribunals be without power, and the laws of no use; a word from your mouth, a signature from your hand, shall deprive us of our liberty, of our goods, of our wives, of our children, of the very right of defending ourselves;' were some men to hold such language, they would certainly pass for madmen. The people's consent, therefore, to the power of using *lettres de cachet*, is incompatible with the use of reason; reason is the natural state of man, as well as of society; the practice, therefore, of such *lettres*, is repugnant to the nature of man, both as a rational and a social being. Will they say that this practice is founded on the nature of monarchical power?

"The answer could easily be found. Kings reign either in virtue of conquest, or by law: if the conqueror abuses his conquest; if he strikes at the rights of man; if the conquest is not changed into capitulation, force, that disposes of the fruits of victory, does not retain subjects at the conqueror's feet, but slaves. Whatever reason forbids the people to consent to, kings have it not in their power to ordain. Besides, how could reason bear to see the whole system of morality overturned? The tutelary maxims of mankind happily want no proofs. They support themselves by their own evidence. It is evident that justice must equally hold the scales between the poor and the rich; and it is evident that shame and punishment are due to the guilty, and to them alone. If there existed a power that could interrupt the course of laws, and partially defend the guilty, by preserving the one and abandoning the others, it is evident that this power, in compromising justice in the punishments she has already pronounced, would add to the idea of a precedent, that likewise of preference: and if the preference granted by this power were to be constantly reserved for a particular class of citizens, and refused to all others, it is evident that the law not allowed to punish such and such a crime, but such and such a class of society, would invariably keep in a state of terror and disgrace all those classes that are proscribed, without any regard for innocence or justice. The application of these incontestable marks is very opposite to the practice of *lettres de cachet*. Two men, for instance, meet; one is weak, the other strong; one poor, the other rich; the poor may say to himself,—"If this man offends me,

if he attacks my honour, my liberty, my life, the laws assure me that they will grant me their support—the laws deceive me—authority may dispose of it otherwise—authority will prevail—but, should I offend him, I shall be pursued, imprisoned, abandoned, dishonored, punished;—this very authority will be silent for me; these very laws inexorable. Where then is justice? Is misery a crime? Is humanity alone no longer a title? A poor man friendless, without any credit, is he no longer a citizen?

"The orders of the state are no less contrary to the practice of *lettres de cachet*, than the principles themselves. Ambition, revenge, flattery, and avidity, in a word, the most violent and the most abject passions, have besieged at all times the monarch's throne; but at all times, too, the laws have forewarned the sovereign, and protected the subjects, and if not with equal success, at least with equal energy; and this continual struggle of arbitrary power against liberty, has not prevented liberty from triumphing in the people's and the monarch's minds. The last states of Blois have intreated his majesty to confine the use of *lettres de cachet* to those who had the honor to dine at his royal mansion, not to seclude them from their occupations, or deprive them of their household goods, and of their families, but to prevent their being admitted into the palace of his royal presence, without depriving them, however, of his justice. It is a maxim in our monarchy, that no citizen can become a prisoner without an order from the judge. All the kings of the two first races have acknowledged it. Hugues Capet found it at his accession to the throne. All orders and decrees issued under the third race have confirmed it. It is this maxim that became the foundation of the only distinction we find in our laws between the prisoners for crimes and those for debts; and the clause in the edict of 1670, agreeable in this point to all the preceding ones, has stamped it with the seal of validity, by requiring that prisoners for crimes should be examined within twenty-four-hours after imprisonment; but how ineffectual such a wise disposition, how ridiculous such a precaution, as long as the practice of *lettres de cachet* shall subsist!

"Thus the rights of mankind, the fundamental principles of society, the most brilliant lights of reason, the dearest interests of the lawful power, the elementary maxims of morality, the laws of the constitution; all, in short, unanimously rise against the practice of *lettres de cachet*. By what fatality, Sire, has it been introduced and continued in your dominions? We are not astonished to see that men, jealous of a transitory, but personal power, and greedy, ambitious courtiers, regardless of time to come, should color this practice with the specious motives of public safety, or of the tranquillity and honor of many families; the servile mind follows the train of ambition with avidity; but that there should be citizens blind enough not to see, in every letter they solicit or acquiesce in, the dreadful danger that awaits them, fills us really with the greatest astonishment, and causes in our breast the deepest affliction. It is time to combat an error set off with the appearance of disinterestedness; it might make an impression on the mind and heart of your majesty.

"Evidence wants but few words. The interest of those who choose to be inactive, out of temper, or re-

sentful in the place they enjoy, does not by any means contribute to the public safety. Public safety has two certain bases; the terror of wickedness, and the shelter of innocence. The terror of wickedness, the more exalted it is; and the shelter of innocence, in proportion to its weakness.

"We have had the honor to prove to your majesty, that the use of the *lettres de cachet* is positively contrived for abetting the powerful criminal, and intimidating the feeble innocent.

"Where no personal security exists, public safety is but an imaginary bliss; and where the practice of *lettres de cachet* subsists, personal security cannot exist; public safety is then but an imaginary bliss, when the practice of *lettres de cachet* subsists. If there are circumstances, Sire, that require the sudden exercise of your authority, there are none that can authorise the secret detention of a prisoner who solicits his trial; there are none that can prevent his claim to justice; not his silence itself, nor even his formal consent to the loss of his liberty, could be sufficient to do it.

"Your majesty's answer, in 1777, has given an indelible sanction to these national maxims. You declare, Sire, that you will never suffer any attacks on the liberty of your subjects; but there are circumstances in which public safety requires that your authority should appear in support of justice, to prevent a culprit's evasion. How remarkable and how comforting were these words for the cause of justice: they conciliated liberty with power; and it is thus that your majesty has fixed upon this point, and, with your own words, the principle, the object, and the limits of your power.

"The honor and tranquillity of a family is the last objection to the abolition of the practice of *lettres de cachet*; but they do not reflect that this objection, the grand battery of the partisans for arbitrary power, owes all its pretended consequence to the *lettres* themselves, the practice of which, once admitted, destroys honor itself, and arms it against liberty.

"Your parliament, Sire, will agree, that the prejudice may exist; but they will never agree that a false prejudice of honor should, for the sake of a few individuals, be contrary to reason, and affect the public interest, our morals, and our laws. And, if it should please your majesty, after having permitted the law to act indiscriminately on the guilty, without any distinction of rank or birth, to send for their relations at your court, to employ them in your tribunals, in your councils, and in your armies, would any person dare to say that a prejudice, that is subsisted and nourished only by success, would resist so noble and so august an example?

"Many facts, pretty well known, can prove to your majesty that the nation, more sensible of their true interest, even in the most elevated spheres, are disposed to receive from you hands the greatest blessing a monarch can bestow on his subjects, the gift of liberty: it is a blessing that renders authority more firm, and the laws more endearing. It is this blessing which nobly rewards virtue, encourages the aspiring genius, and puts a bridle on turbulent licentiousness: this your parliament come to reclaim, Sire, in the name of a generous and faithful nation. They most respectfully entreat you to abolish, for ever, the use of *lettres de cachet*. They conjure you effectually to reject all ambitious counsels, and frivolous motives; and that per-

fidious intelligence, which is as much disowned by reason, as it is refuted by facts. How cruel! that your majesty cannot enter into the minute details of such intelligence, generally made up by subaltern officers, on some pretence always kept secret, or on informations always clandestine. Oh! Sire, could you but interrogate those victims of arbitrary power, confined, abandoned, and forgotten, in those impenetrable dungeons, where silence and injustice ever dwell, how many of them would you find who never threatened to disturb the tranquillity of the state, nor ever meant to dishonor the respectable name of their family? Unhappy victims! soon would your majesty be convinced that intrigue, avidity, lust of power, thirst of revenge, the dread or hate of justice, humour, caprice, and the mere whim of a man of credit, preside by turns at the distribution of *lettres de cachet*. You would then know to what torments is condemned the wretch for whom the sun rises without any hopes, and the night returns without any repose. Terrible uncertainty! despondency worse than death! and all these horrors in the name of majesty! Yes, Sire, were you but to behold the dreadful mansions of sorrow, you would stand aghast at the cruel fate of your subjects; you would shudder at the condition of princes themselves; and you would hasten to destroy those invisible arrows that strike at justice, both when aiming at the innocent and guilty.

"Animated by this hope, and founded on these principles, your parliament, Sire, after having sued for the liberty of the nation, cannot help soliciting, once more, for that of the three citizens. We have authority to believe, that the Duke of Orleans and Messrs. Freteau and Sabatier are not guilty. Were they so, the right of judging them is reserved to your parliament, and the charming prerogative of pardoning, to your majesty.

"Liberty is by no means a privilege, but a right. It is the duty of all governments to respect that right. The same force that deprives a deliberating assembly of their members, affects the whole body. Some are arrested, others are threatened, none are free. A deliberating assembly, deprived of their freedom, threatened by force if they still continue to deliberate, and rising above fear, can be supported only by their fidelity.

"This virtue, Sire, has not forsaken your parliament. They will not cease to solicit, in a very respectful manner, the blessing of public liberty, by the abolition of *lettres de cachet*, and the personal liberty of that august prince, the first of the blood royal, and of the two exiled magistrates. But it is no longer a prince of your blood, nor two magistrates, that your parliament claims now in the name of the laws, and of reason: it is three French individuals—three men."

Monarchs, who implicitly confide in ministers, frequently become the dupes of their advisers, who seldom feel an interest in their happiness, or in the prosperity of the nation. The plan of coercion, which was so shamefully adopted on this occasion, must be ascribed to M. de Brienne; for, when the king was left to pursue his own inclinations, he never hesitated to adopt conciliatory measures. The courage of the prime minister totally failed him, and he now left the

king to act as he pleased. Suddenly an order of council was published, August 8, fixing the convocation of the states to the 1st of May, 1789, and suspending, during the interval, the institution of the *cour plénière*. The Duke of Orleans was recalled, and the exiled members permitted to return to the capital. A second *arrêt* of council was promulgated, August 16, avowing the inability of the court to answer the ordinary demands upon the treasury, and directing the payments to be made in the proportion of three-fifths in money, and two-fifths in notes, due at the end of the year, and bearing an interest of 5 per cent. This apparent bankruptcy occasioned much consternation; and M. de Brienne, after an administration of little more than a year, was obliged to resign his office. M. Necker, the favorite of the people, was, for the second time, placed at the head of the finances, and the immediate embarrassments of government were removed by the adoption of wise measures. At the earnest entreaty of the minister, the king consented to the convocation of the states-general; and, on the 5th of October, a second convention of the notables was held, when a debate took place, relative to the mode of forming that assembly. It was the general wish that it should be constructed on the model of the last assembly, in 1614. The notables were dissolved December 12; and, by a decree of council, dated December 27, the final decision of the court was made known. It was determined, that the number of deputies to the ensuing states-general should not be under 1000; that it should be apportioned, with all possible accuracy, to the population and financial contributions of the different buildings; and that the representation of the *tiers état*, or commons, should be equal to the sum of the representations of the other two orders, the nobles and clergy. This arrangement was highly satisfactory to the people, but by no means agreeable to the nobles and clergy, who were extremely mortified at being rendered only equal to the *tiers état*. During the time of the elections, the spirit of discontent and tumult, which prevailed in France, was considerably augmented by a scarcity of provisions. To alleviate this public distress, the king ordered the profits of a lottery (amounting to twelve hundred thousand livres) to be distributed among the unhappy sufferers; and the benevolence of the Duke of Orleans was also extensive on the occasion.

The period at length arrived which the people fondly hoped would terminate all their disorders. The assembly of the states-general met at Versailles on the 5th of May, 1789, a day ever memorable in the annals of France and of the world. The ceremony commenced with an act of devotion; the representatives of the nation, preceded by the ministers of the altar, and fol-

lowed by the king, repaired to the temple of the Deity, amidst an immense crowd, who were sincerely praying that their honest endeavours might reform and regenerate the state. The splendor and variety of the robes of two of the orders rendered the spectacle extremely brilliant: for the dignified clergy were adorned with scarfa, crosses, and crosiers; while the nobles were decorated, as in the days of chivalry, with flowing mantles, covered with lace: plumes of feathers waving in the air, stars and ribbons, added to the grandeur of the scene. The commons, on whom the people chiefly relied, seemed to affect simplicity, the members appearing in plain clothes, surmounted by short woollen cloaks. After a long and tedious ceremonial, the king, who was seated in a magnificent alcove, with the queen on his left hand, and the princes and princesses of the blood around him, opened the session with a speech, in which he remarked, "the public spirit is in a ferment, but an assembly of the representatives of the nation will certainly hearken to no other counsels than those founded on justice and wisdom. Whatever may be expected from the most tender solicitude for the public good, whatever can be asked from a sovereign, the sincerest friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me." How different in style is this speech from those which the king had lately delivered by the advice of his other minister! It was listened to with profound attention, and hailed with repeated bursts of applause. The keeper of the seals followed, and enlarged on the advantages of a limited government, equally remote from absolute monarchy on the one hand, and anarchy and republicanism on the other. M. Necker succeeded the keeper of the seals, in a speech of great length, in which he wished to direct the attention of the Assembly principally to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged, but stated the actual deficit not to exceed fifty-six millions of French livres. Some disputes arose between the respective orders respecting the verification of their powers. The *tiers état* insisted, to the astonishment of the clergy and nobles, that this ceremony could only take place in a common assembly, voting not by orders but by poll. This was resisted in the strongest manner by the superior orders, as a flagrant usurpation. The Commons plainly perceived that the ancient mode of voting by orders would reduce them—the real representatives of the people—to mere cyphers. After six weeks' inaction, the Abbé Sieyès prevailed upon the Commons to put an end to the dispute by altering their style; and for this purpose he moved, "That they should declare themselves the representatives of the nation, and that the other two orders should be considered in no other light

than as deputies of corporations, who could only have a deliberate voice when they assembled in a national character with the national representatives." This measure was adopted unanimously on the 17th of June, and the *tiers état* took the daring and decisive step of declaring itself the legislative body by the appellation of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. This was the dawn of the forthcoming revolution. All opposition to the decree of June 17 was looked upon as a sort of rebellion, and on the 19th, the Chamber of the Clergy passed a resolution imparting their acquiescence in the decision.

The king, persuaded by the nobles and part of the clergy, held a royal session on the 23d of June, and the three orders were summoned to attend as if no dispute had happened. They all met in the great hall as on the first day of the convention; the nobles and some of the clergy entered at the great gate, the same as his majesty, and were seated at their ease in the chief places assigned to them; while the representatives of the people were obliged to squeeze in at a back door, and were detained many hours in the rain till their superiors were seated! The speech which the king was advised to deliver on this occasion was not in the least calculated to give satisfaction to the nation. After lamenting the disputes that had taken place, his majesty insisted on maintaining the distinction of orders, and annulled the celebrated decree by which the commons had declared themselves the national assembly. He at the same time alluded to the benefits which he was preparing to confer on his people; but nothing positive was said relative to the liberty of the press, or the participation of the States-general in the enactment of laws; on the other hand, he hinted at the retention of the most unpopular of all the prerogatives claimed by the crown, that of *lettres de cachet*—subject however to certain restrictions; and the continuance of the tyrannical privileges arising out of the feudal incidents, the most cruel of all the restraints to which any nation can be subjected. When the king retired, he was followed by the superior orders, while the commons, who had, with silent indignation, listened to the royal command, that they should immediately break up and repair to their respective chambers, remained motionless on the benches. An awful silence ensued. The Marquis de Brezé, grand master of the ceremonies, then approached, and addressing the president, M. Bailly, said, "Sir, you know the orders of the king." M. Mirabeau, a member who had greatly distinguished himself by his talents and eloquence, started up and replied, "We know, for we have heard what they have suggested to the king; but how dare you, who have neither seat nor voice here, bring his discourse to our recollection? Go, tell your

master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing shall expel us but the bayonet." Hereupon the hall resounded with acclamations, "Nothing but force shall drive us hence!" A resolution then passed, declaring the person of each deputy inviolable.

The king's conduct on this occasion may be ascribed to the Duke of Luxembourg, who alarmed his majesty by predicting, "that from the day the states should vote by numbers only, from that moment he was at their mercy." The national assembly still resumed their sittings, and were joined by a majority of the clergy and forty-nine members of the nobility, with the Duke of Orleans at their head. M. Necker still advising his majesty to adopt conciliatory measures, at length prevailed upon him to countenance a union; and, at the express instance of the king, all the remaining members of the superior orders joined the assembly on the 27th of June. The royal family were now hailed with acclamations of gratitude, and a general illumination terminated this happy day.

Louis was evidently bewildered by the different sentiments of his advisers, which rendered his decrees contradictory and inconsistent. Notwithstanding these appearances of cordiality, orders had been for some time issued by the court to collect a large body of troops. An army of 35,000 men were stationed, under the command of Marshal Broglie, in the vicinity of Versailles and Paris. Camps were marked out for a still greater force, and lines of fortification drawn. Neither party dealt with sincerity: some of the assembly intended to convert the monarchy into a republic; while the court was resolved never to grant all that liberty which had been promised. The capital, ever jealous of the latter, began to be alarmed at the formidable preparations which were made. A spirited remonstrance was presented to the king by the assembly, requesting, or rather insisting upon the removal of the troops. This his majesty peremptorily refused, but declared his willingness to indulge the assembly by a removal of their sittings to Noyon or Soissons. When this answer was reported, M. Mirabeau observed, "Certainly there is no need to deliberate on the removal proposed. We will go neither to Noyon nor to Soissons. We have not demanded this permission; nor will we, because we do not desire to place ourselves between the troops which invest Paris and those which might fall upon us from Flanders or Alsace. We have demanded the removal of the troops; we have not asked permission to flee before them."

Great numbers of the troops, however, in consequence of their long residence in, and connection with, the capital, became the friends of the people, and were for days and nights enter-

tained in the *Palais Royal*, the residence of the Duke of Orleans, where the people frequently assembled in great multitudes. This prince of the blood and his adherents expended an amazing fortune in acquiring popularity, by the accomplishment of a revolution, which, in the end, proved their destruction. Among this cabal was Marquis de Valadi, an officer who had served in the French guards, and had imbibed in America the principles of republicanism. This gentleman was a warm admirer of the new cause of liberty, and never failed by his orations to spread the seeds of disaffection.

Necker, the only minister on whom either the nation or its representatives had any reliance, was suddenly dismissed on the 11th of July, and ordered to depart the kingdom in twenty-four hours, and with him his friend M. Montmorin, minister for foreign affairs. In the disgrace of M. Necker the assembly saw their own ruin determined; and they passed a resolution, that the late ministers carried with them the confidence and regret of the people. The new administra-

tion consisted of De Bretenil, Foulon, La Galesière, La Porte, and the Marshal de Broglio, all of whom were considered as the decided advocates of the ancient despotism, and who were no doubt the advisers of this unpopular change.

Such were the events which rendered monarchy disgusting to the French nation; yet it must be confessed, that Louis XVI. was not more arbitrary than many of his predecessors. In those reigns, however, the parliaments of France were submissive, and the ready tools of government; but in this reign they had imbibed a spirit of freedom, and were resolute; while the king, tenacious of his authoritative sway, was doomed to encounter their resentment. A revolution was advancing with rapid strides, chiefly promoted by the extreme embarrassments of the national finances, and the publications of the rival ministers, Necker and Calonne, which disclosed secrets that proved ruinous to monarchy, though it had been upheld for fourteen centuries, and brought at last the successor of sixty-eight kings to an untimely end.

CHAPTER II.

The Revolution of France and Downfall of Monarchy.

A most astonishing insurrection paved the way for the revolution of France. The Bastile and several subordinate prisons had always opened their massy gates in obedience to the commands of an absolute monarch. A circumstance at length occurred which occasioned the demolition of them. The national assembly in vain endeavored to set aside the *lettres de cachet*; but the citizens of Paris effected this purpose by the destruction of the Bastile. This castle was carried by storm on the 14th of July, the soldiery refusing to obey the orders of their officers, and many joining the assailants; the unhappy prisoners were released in triumph; instruments of torture were dragged from the dungeons, and publicly exposed; and the air resounded with acclamations of vengeance. Various reports were spread respecting the manner in which this fortress was destroyed; and, in order to justify this act of violence, alarming, but unfounded, rumours were circulated, of the intentions of the court.

Although these events occurred at seven in the afternoon, they were industriously concealed from the king, till the Duke de Liancourt repaired to his chamber at midnight, and made him acquainted with the dangerous state of the capital.

It is said, Marshal Broglio, immediately after the storming of the Bastile, proposed to escort the king to Metz, with the royal family. The Archbishop of Aix, at the same time, advised that military force should be employed against the insurgents; after which, the States-general might be dissolved: and the petitions and denunciation, which this sapient prelate supposed would be sent from every quarter against them, would render it unnecessary to assemble them again. The astonished and intimidated monarch, however, resolved to throw himself upon the national assembly for protection. The next day he accordingly appeared before them, and declared that he had issued orders for the immediate removal of the troops. This declaration occasioned universal joy, and it was now hoped that Louis, sensible of the evil counsels by which he had been deceived or misled, would be more circumspect for the future, and never again deviate from political rectitude.

The king was now hailed as the deliverer of his people. His whole manner, indeed, seemed to be changed. M. Necker and Count Montmorin were immediately reinstated in their offices. Marshal Broglio, the Prince of Condé, and other leaders of the court faction, were compelled to

seek for safety in flight. Count d'Artois, one of the king's brothers, having been informed that a price was set upon his head, made his escape during the night, with his two sons. The same prudence that induced the king to visit the national assembly, prompted him to visit the capital, and he made his triumphal entry into Paris on the 17th of July. The conduct of Louis, on this occasion, displayed considerable prudence and benevolence; he seemed to indulge all the wishes of the people; and his conciliatory manners produced such an effect upon the multitude, that, when he appeared at one of the windows, a general acclamation of "*Vive le Roi*" resounded from all quarters, notwithstanding the petty efforts of some malignant beings, who mixed with the crowd for the purpose of exciting hatred against him.

The national assembly now pursued their labors without interruption, and in a short time several very important decrees, containing the first principles of the new constitution, importing the subordination of the executive, the supremacy of the legislative, and the independency of the judicial powers, were presented for the royal acceptance. The general principles on which the government of the kingdom was modelled, were comprehended in the following declaration of rights:—

"The representatives of the French people, formed into a national assembly, considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the *rights of men*, are the sole causes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government; have resolved to exhibit in a solemn declaration, the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, ever present to all the members of the SOCIAL BODY, may incessantly remind them of their rights and of their duties; to the end, that the acts of the legislative power and those of the executive power, being able to be every moment compared with the end of all political institutions, may acquire the more respect; in order also, that the remonstrances of the citizens, founded henceforward on simple and incontestible principles, may ever tend to maintain the constitution, and to promote the general good.

"For this reason, the national assembly recognizes, and declares, in the presence, and under the auspices of, the Supreme Being, the following rights of men and of citizens:

1. Men were born, and always continue, free, and equal in respect to their rights; civil distinctions, therefore, can be only founded on public utility.

2. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man: and these rights are liberty,

property, security, and the resistance of oppression.

3. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

4. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever doth not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable alone by the law.

5. The law ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

6. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to honors, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

7. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and he renders himself culpable by resistance.

8. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary: and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

9. Every man being presumed innocent until he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigor to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

10. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

11. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of his liberty, in cases determined by the law.

12. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and

BOOK I. not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is intrusted.

CHAP. II.
1790. 13. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

14. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

15. Every community has a right to command of all its agents an account of their conduct.

16. Every community, in which a separation of powers, and a security of rights is not provided for, lacks a constitution.

17. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

"The national assembly, desirous of establishing the French constitution on the principles which it has just now recognised and declared, abolishes irrevocably those institutions which are injurious to liberty, and equality of rights.

"There is no longer any *nobility*, nor *peerage*, nor *hereditary distinctions*, nor *difference of orders*, nor *feudal governments*, nor *patrimonial jurisdiction*, nor any of the *titles*, *denominations*, and *prerogatives*, which are derived from them; nor any of the orders of *chivalry*, *corporations*, or *decorations*, for which proofs of nobility were required: nor any kind of superiority but that of *public functionaries*, in the exercise of their functions.

"No public office is henceforth *hereditary* or *purchaseable*.

"No part of the nation, nor any individual, can henceforth possess any *privilege* or *exception* from the common rights of all Frenchmen.

"There are no more *wardenships* or *corporations* in professions, arts, or trades.

"The law recognizes no longer any *religious vows*, nor any other engagement which would be contrary to natural rights, or to the constitution."

After a delay of some weeks, the royal assent was given to the new constitution, with an express salvo for the ancient, essential, and constitutional prerogatives of the crown.

Another popular insurrection took place, no less extraordinary than the former. The friends of the court had been unfortunate enough to afford the factious leaders an opportunity of exciting a great degree of agitation amongst their followers, by a feast that was given at Versailles to the officers of a regiment lately arrived, at which, in the hours of merriment, they expressed a strong aversion to the conduct of the revolu-

tion. The king and queen were prevailed upon to present the dauphin to this party, and the visit was received with such raptures of enthusiastic loyalty, that some improper words and actions took place, which, no doubt, in the hours of sobriety, they would themselves have condemned. The members of the assembly reprobated these proceedings; they declared the national cockade had been trampled on; and Mirabeau accused the queen of encouraging these outrages. A sudden nocturnal attack was, on the 6th of October, made on the palace of Versailles, by a furious mob. The queen was attacked in her bed-chamber, which was only defended by a single centinel, who had scarcely time to call out "Save the queen!" before he was trampled under foot. The streaming heads of two of the life-guards were carried on pikes before the royal coach; and, with wanton cries of "Give us bread!" they assailed their majesties' ears. The king and queen, thus made captives, were conducted to Paris, where the palace of the Thuilleries, secured by a strong military guard, was assigned them for their future residence. The royal family looked upon themselves as splendid prisoners, and it was owing to this violence that the articles of the constitution were immediately and unconditionally accepted. The national assembly removed their sittings to Paris, and prosecuted their labors with unwearied diligence.

The first step ministers took was the abolition of a duty of nearly sixpence on a single pound of salt, a tax which was abhorred by the people, and which the king had been anxious to repeal.

A decree had passed the assembly, imposing an oath upon the whole body of the clergy "to maintain, to the utmost of their power, the new constitution of France, and particularly the decrees relative to the civic constitution of the clergy." The pope, by a bull, denounced the sentence of excommunication against those of the clergy who took the civic oath, which was not only obnoxious, but productive of the most pernicious consequences. The decree itself had been opposed in the assembly by the principal speakers of the *côté droit* with considerable ability and eloquence. The nonjuring clergy were not only deprived of their benefices, but subjected to heavy penalties for non-compliance, and numerous emigrations of this unfortunate class of men consequently took place.

M. Necker having applied in vain for the loan of thirty millions of livres, finding his measures thwarted and opposed by the more popular leaders of the assembly, and equally destitute of the confidence of the court, sent in his resignation, September, 1790, and, such was the inconstancy of popular regard, that he was suffered to depart without a single expression of regret.

On the 22d of Jan. 1791, the king commu-

icated to the assembly a letter from Leopold, King of Hungary, now advanced to the dignity of emperor, containing strong protestations of amity towards France; but intimating, that to consolidate that friendship, the revocation of the decree of August, 1790, which annihilated all feudal and seignorial rights, would be necessary. The assembly, on this occasion, voted a large augmentation of military force, regardless of the king's declaration, that the emperor had, in this instance, merely acted officially. At the latter end of this month the king notified to M. Boullé, that he hoped to accomplish his departure from Paris in the course of two or three months.

On the 18th of April, 1791, the king undertook to reside with his family at St. Cloud, a palace at a short distance, to spend the Easter holidays. The monarch was, perhaps, desirous of ascertaining whether he was a prisoner or not; and, if a prisoner, of seeing the length of his chain.—Scarcely was the journey begun, when the royal travellers were stopped by the mob, and forced to return. The king repaired to the assembly on the following day, to complain of this outrage. They heard him with apparent respect, and tacitly censured the proceeding, by passing a decree to authorize the prosecution of his journey.

On the night of June 20, the king, queen, dauphin, and Princess Elizabeth, sister to the king, also the Count and Countess de Provence, suddenly disappeared. Monsieur and madame took the road to Mons; the rest of the royal family that of Montmedî. Louis left behind him a paper, in which he revoked all his past oaths and declarations, as the effect of compulsion. This paper also prohibited the ministers from signing any order; and enjoined the keeper of the seals to send them to him, when required in his behalf. About nine o'clock in the morning of the next day the news was publicly known, and all Paris was in the greatest confusion. The national assembly met early, and the president delivered the intelligence; upon which M. Montmorin, the minister for foreign affairs, was ordered under arrest, upon suspicion of having assisted the escape of the family. Couriers were dispatched to all the departments, with orders to arrest every one who should attempt to quit the kingdom, and to seize property of every kind that might be found crossing the frontiers. Very severe decrees were passed against those who had assisted in rescuing the king; and an address was got ready, to assure the country at large that the assembly would maintain their posts with firmness and energy.

Two days having been spent in fruitless conjecture, a messenger arrived at the bar of the assembly, with news that the royal family had been arrested at Varennes, and were detained in custody there, till the orders of the representatives of the people should be known.

The assembly thought it necessary to have the chief instrument of the detention of the royal fugitives brought before them, by a deputation of the municipality of Paris. He began his recital by stating that his name was Drouet, that he was formerly a dragoon in the regiment of Condé, but was actually post-master of St. Menesbould. On the 21st of June, at half-past seven in the evening, two carriages and eleven horses stopped to bait at his house. He thought he recognized the queen; and, seeing a man at the back part of the carriage, his curiosity led him to examine him closely, when the resemblance of the countenance, with the effigy of the king on an assignat of fifty livres, was so apparent, that he no longer doubted. These carriages were escorted by a detachment of dragoons, which succeeded a detachment of hussars, under the idea of protecting treasure. The escort excited his suspicion; but, being alone, and fearful of causing a premature alarm, he suffered the carriages to depart; and then, by a cross road, arrived at the next stage before them, and had the national guard called out, to stop the carriages.

Three commissioners were appointed to escort the prisoners to Paris; and they took every proper means, upon this occasion, to prevent their majesties being exposed to the brutal attacks of the multitude.

When measures were taken for guarding the palace with greater strictness, a commission was appointed to examine the royal fugitives as to the motives of their flight; upon which Louis declared that he did not desire to conceal them. The king stated, that his reasons for undertaking the journey arose from the insults to which he and his family had been constantly exposed, not only on the 18th of April, but since that period, which led him to judge that he could not safely continue in Paris, where every branch of his house, and particularly the queen, was daily insulted. He chose to leave it at midnight, to avoid interruption, but he had no intention of passing the frontiers. He meant to reside for a short time at Montmedî; because, being a fortified place, he could have been visited by his family without molestation.

The queen's vindication was simple and natural; she declared, that as her husband had resolved to remove himself and family, she could not possibly admit the thought of separating from him and her children; and both added, that their attendants knew not of their intention till they had got their orders to depart.

When the constitution was completed, it was given to the king for his acceptance; and he not only accepted it as it stood, but entered into its merits, and pointed out deficiencies, anxious to see those parts which he approved accompanied by others that should be worthy of them. He stated a variety of reasons that had induced him

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to desire a reform of abuses, which he had discovered soon after the commencement of his reign; and concluded his address with the following manly and paternal observation, for the consideration of the assembly:—

“I accept then the constitution: I engage to maintain it at home, to defend it against attacks from abroad, and to cause it to be executed by all the means which it puts into my power.

“While I shall faithfully employ all the means that are entrusted to me, no reproach can be laid on me; and the nation, whose interest alone ought to be the supreme rule, will explain itself by those means which the constitution has reserved to it.

“But, gentlemen, for the security of liberty, for the individual happiness of all Frenchmen, there are interests in which an imperious duty prescribes to us to combine all our efforts; these interests are—respect for the laws, the re-establishment of order, and the re-union of all the citizens. Now that the constitution is definitively settled, Frenchmen living under the same laws ought to know no enemies but those who infringe them. Discord and anarchy are our common enemies: I will oppose them with all my power. It is necessary that you and your successors second me with energy, that the law may equally protect all those who submit their conduct to it; that all those, whom the fears of persecution and trouble have driven from their country, may be assured of finding, at their return, safety and tranquillity. I speak not of those who have been solely influenced by their attachment to me. Can you regard them as criminals? As to those who, by personal injuries, have brought upon themselves the prosecution of the laws, I shall prove, in my conduct to them, that I am the king of *all* the French. (Signed). “Louis.”

“P. S. I was of opinion, gentlemen, that I ought to pronounce my solemn acceptance of the constitution in the very place in which it was formed; in consequence I shall come in person to-morrow, at noon, to the national assembly.”

This address was received by the assembly with great satisfaction. The reading was followed by the most lively and enthusiastic plaudits, and the shouts of “*Vive le roi!*” were as general and as loud as in the most splendid times of the monarchy. The intoxication had hardly ceased, when the assembly decreed that all persons under arrest should be immediately released; that all prosecutions carried on against persons for acts committed in consequence of the revolution, should be immediately superseded; that passports should be no longer necessary to enable French citizens to enter or go out of the kingdom; and that a deputation of sixty members should wait upon the king with the decree, and express the satisfaction which his acceptance of the constitution had diffused.

An act had been passed by the first national assembly (no doubt with patriotic views, but which was certainly of a pernicious tendency, on account of its infancy), that no person should be eligible to two successive legislatures. Accordingly, the second national assembly, which met October 1, 1791, did not boast of the talents and experience which had been displayed in the first; the members being also chosen at a time when the national resentment was at the highest pitch, were, consequently, of a more anti-monarchical disposition. The opening speech of the king was received with great approbation; and the president, in his reply, most respectfully expressed the united wish of the assembly to comply with all the patriotic and benevolent views of his majesty; adding, “Such, sire, is our duty, such are our hopes, and the gratitude and blessings of the people will be our reward.”

Circumstances however occurred, which prevented the monarch from continuing in amity with the assembly. When the constitutional act had received the royal acceptance, a decree had passed, agreeable to the king's desire, respecting the emigrants, without any exception whatever, on condition of their returning within a limited time to their country. The agent, who had been deputed on this commission to the refugee princes at Coblenz, in the electorate of Treves, was not only contemptuously and insolently treated, but absolutely imprisoned on pretence of his want of a passport. This outrage, and the hostile preparations of the emigrants, occasioned a decree which the assembly passed early in November, declaring Prince Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited his eventual claim to the regency, if not in the kingdom before the expiration of two months. The assembly, by a subsequent decree, pronounced the French hostilely assembled on the frontier, guilty of a conspiracy against their country, in case they did not return before January 1, 1792, incurring thereby the forfeiture of their estates during their lives, but without prejudice to their children. A severe decree also passed the assembly, November 18, against the non-juring clergy, who were accused of seditious and *inevitable* practices. To these decrees the monarch opposed his royal veto, and this resistance was the occasion of much disorder and discontent. The assembly addressed the king, conjuring him to take effectual measures to prevent the dangers with which the country was menaced. Louis, in his reply, assured the assembly that the emperor had done all that could be expected, by dispersing the emigrants within his states, and refusing them an asylum. Moreover, that he had acquainted the Elector of Treves, that if he did not, before January 15, put an end to all hostile dispositions, he should be considered as the enemy of France.

Such was the situation of the King of France, that the emperor Leopold, the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Saxony, had entered into an agreement to employ the most efficacious means for his restoration to perfect liberty: The project of Leopold, as supposed, was to form a league between all the powers of Europe, to surround France on every side with their armies, and then to publish a manifesto, requiring the French government to restore the king and royal family to their liberty, to reinstate his majesty in his dignity, and to re-establish the monarchy on a solid basis, and upon reasonable principles. In case of a refusal, threats of an invasion; and an attack upon all points, were to be held out, and to be executed.

These powers, it is said, had been convoked to confederate by Louis; if so, the situation of the French monarch was a sufficient plea for the invitation. In consequence, however, of his acceptance of the constitutional act, he sent them a circular letter, requesting them to suspend the effects of the league. The people now became jealous of the monarch. Addresses were presented to the assembly, declaring a perfect confidence in their firmness and patriotism, and indicating their dissatisfaction with the court. M. de Montmorin, unable to withstand the torrent of national odium, resigned his office, and was succeeded by M. de Lessart.

On the 21st of December, official notice was given to the French ambassador at the court of Vienna, that the emperor Leopold, understanding the Elector of Treves to be under apprehensions from France, had been constrained to order Mareschal Bender to march to his relief and protection. The king, in communicating this intelligence to the assembly, expressed his surprise, and imagined his imperial majesty had been deceived as to the state of facts. M. Louvet, an impassioned republican, then exclaimed:

"Men, who assume the name of Frenchmen, are meditating the ruin of France. They harass us from within, they harass us from without; but soon, we trust, will the national vengeance, under your direction, display the banners of our armies on the banks of the Rhine. The constitution is guaranteed by the oaths of the nation, which can exist only in France. Deign, gentlemen, to announce this truth to the crusaders of Treves. Tell them that France will never regard, as an independent power, or as constituting any part of the French nation, the assemblage of rebels and vagabonds who have armed themselves against their country. Is it not known to the whole world, that, aided by a foreign force, they have attempted sacrilegiously to destroy the infant liberties of France! In return, we issue declarations of pardon—we invite them back to the bosom of their country. They have exerted

every effort to reduce us to the condition of slaves; we decree to them the reverence and rank of princes. In fine, after insulting, in every possible mode, the majesty of the people, they are, this moment, bidding defiance to their power! We demand then the denunciation of war! Let France rise in arms. Let the myriads of our citizen-soldiers precipitate themselves upon the demesnes of feudality. Let them encircle palaces with their bayonets, and deposit in cottages the declaration of the rights of man; that, in every clime, man, instructed and delivered, may resume the sentiment of his original dignity. Then shall nations be blended into one, and the grand fraternity of mankind shall, upon the altar of equality, liberty, and philosophy, swear UNIVERSAL PEACE."

The effects of this bombastic speech were immediate preparations for war; but, suddenly, the Elector of Treves engaged, that within eight days the hostile assemblages within his dominions should be entirely dispersed.

The public discontents daily increased, while the republican party, forming themselves into a club, or society, and assembling at a convent of jacobine friars, recently dissolved, they acquired the appellation of *Jacobins*; whilst the friends of the king, who had likewise their meetings, obtained the name of *Feuillants*. In consequence of the violent clamors against the king, who was charged, almost openly, with treachery to the nation, Louis wrote a letter to the assembly, February 17, 1792, contradicting "these injurious reports, propagated by evil-minded people, to alarm the public, and calumniate his intentions." The signal for plunging France into a series of troubles, was a decree of outlawry against the king's brothers and the emigrants. His majesty had not given up the hope of inducing the princes to listen to reason, and refused to sanction the decree, in order to issue a proclamation, which he hoped would answer the purpose in a less offensive manner.

The correspondence between the courts of Paris and Vienna being laid before the assembly on the 2d of March, it appeared that the imperial troops in the Netherlands would shortly amount to 90,000 men. Moreover, the dispatch of Prince Kaunitz (February 17) avowed the concert formed with other powers for preserving unimpaired the monarchy of France. The assembly, influenced with this intelligence, impeached M. de Lessart of criminal concealment, and unconstitutional practices. He was, of course, succeeded by M. Dumouriez.

The emperor Leopold died suddenly, March 1, and his son, Francis II. under the title of King of Hungary, but afterwards elected Emperor of the Romans, became his successor. The new monarch immediately communicated to the court of

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Berlin his determination to adhere to the treaty of Pilnitz. M. Dumouriez endeavoured to reconcile the parties; but the negociation between the powers of France and Austria proceeded slowly and unfavourably. On the commencement of hostilities, M. Rochambeau was constituted commander-in-chief of the French armies, a separate command being conferred on M. de la Fayette. The war began with an unsuccessful attack upon the city of Tournay, and M. Rochambeau resigned his command to M. Luckner. On June 6, a decree passed the assembly, on the suggestion of the military committee, for forming a camp of 20,000 men in the vicinity of Paris, which the king refused to sanction. The decree against the refractory clergy had a second time passed the assembly with some variations, but this was also rendered ineffectual by the king's veto. On June 12, Louis announced in person to the assembly the dismissal of Roland, Servan, and Clavière, and M. Dumouriez soon after resigned his office. This dismissal of the republic ministry made room for the friends of limited monarchy, headed by La Fayette.

Some of the municipality informed the assembly, June 20, that the populace were assembling with the idea of proceeding to some violent breach of the public peace, and that nothing but the strong interference of the legislature could avert the danger. The friends of moderation moved for a decree to prevent the assembling of armed bodies of people, and to deter them from surrounding either the palace or the assembly; but this was scouted, as trenching upon the majesty of the people; and Santerré, who called himself commander of the citizens of St. Antoine, a suburb of France, then chiefly inhabited by vagrants, accompanied by Legendre, a butcher, led their gangs through the city, and, under pretence of going to petition the king, collected all the friends of crime and confusion in one mass, with an intention to bury the unfortunate monarch and his family in irrevocable ruin.

When the mob commenced the attack, it was long before they gained admittance; but they had four pieces of cannon, and as the soldiers were strictly commanded not to fire upon the people, resistance became as fatal as in every case in which the ill-fated Louis had been advised to attempt it. The assailants were furnished with hatchets, crows, &c. and they broke down the gates and doors of the Thuilleries, and pointed their artillery against the hall of the guards, when the king presented himself, attended by the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, who would not quit him. A few of the national guards surrounded his majesty, and resolved to defend him, or perish in the attempt. The room was crowded with a multitude of men, women, and children, uttering the usual cries of sedition.

They insisted that he should withdraw his veto from the decrees against his brothers and the clergy, and Legendre, in an insolent and brutal address, demanded the king's attention: "Hear us, sir," said he, "for it is your duty so to do,—you are perfidious.—You have always deceived us; you deceive us still; but, beware, for the people are tired of seeing themselves made your laughing-stock!" To which his majesty calmly replied, that he regulated his conduct by the constitution. The resolution of the king, and his few faithful guards, disarmed the multitude of their ferocity, and the greater part were satisfied with pouring out execrations and abuse upon the Princess Elizabeth, whom they took for the queen. Others insisted upon the king putting on a red cap, which was one of the emblems of liberty assumed by these madmen. The king not only put it on with much apparent good-humour, but the queen having since joined him with a resolution to die by his side, he put one also on the dauphin, whom her majesty presented to the rabble. The effect was what might have been expected from such an assemblage. The king and queen shewed no signs of tyranny, and as the leaders could not misconstrue what the people could judge of by the evidence of their senses, the volatile crew were ready to admit that the monarch and his family were very civil people: "*C'est bien honnête*," was echoed by the crowd, and, after ranging through the apartments, the curiosity of most was satisfied. A few strove to push through the guards, but did not succeed; and it ought not to be forgotten, that though this multitude was perhaps forty thousand, no instance of robbery occurred; and, except breaking a few mirrors and glasses, very little damage.

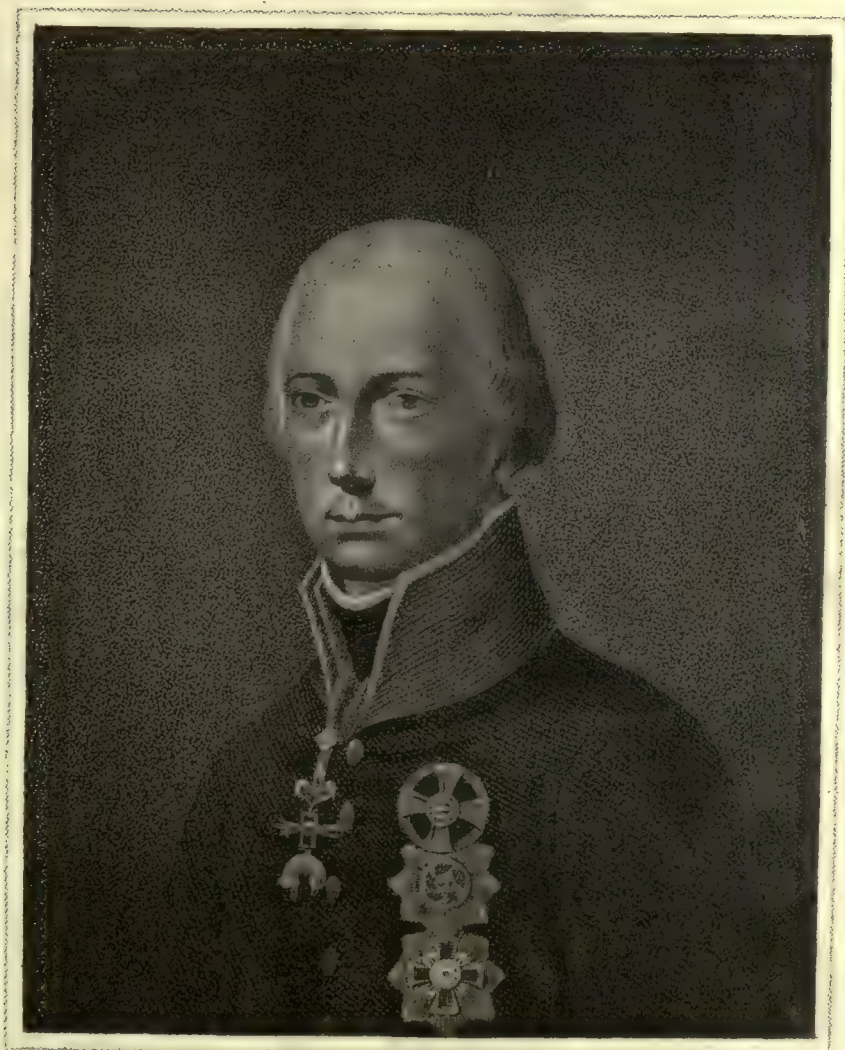
When the riot was almost over, Petion, and a deputation from the legislative body, arrived at the palace, just to save appearances; but the king was under no obligation to them, for the mayor had been twice sent for, before he thought it necessary to take the trouble of attending.

The king being advised to the adoption of more rigorous measures, replied as follows:—"Oh! if my wife and children were not with me, it would soon appear that I am not so weak as is imagined, but what would become of them, if the measures to which you allude should fail?" His chief comfort, under his sorrows, was, that if his blood were shed, it might probably appease the rebels, and redeem his family from destruction.

General La Fayette, who had sent a letter to his majesty, in which he pledged himself to defend him against the violence of the factions; upon learning the insults offered to the sovereign on the 20th, displayed the high honor of a free-man and a soldier, and flew to support, in person,



The Duke of Angoulême
1814
General of the Army of the North
Paris



Francis 2nd
Major General in the Army.
Author of a History of the War
between the British and the
French in 1756.
LONDON, C. ADDEY 1774



the justice which he had asserted. He was received by the king with open arms, and the national guards conducted him in triumph to and from the assembly; but it was evident that the citizens of Paris were not willing to second his spirited endeavours. In the assembly he was listened to with cold respect, while he declared that he had settled such measures with Marshal Luckner, that his absence from the army could not be of any injury, and he presented himself before them in his own name, and that of his indignant troops, to demand justice against the guilty authors of the disgraceful scenes at the palace on the 20th. Resolution appeared in every word he spoke, and the jacobins knew they could not yet provoke him openly; they suffered him to withdraw, drily replying, by their president, that they had "sworn to maintain the laws, and knew how to defend them." Some very severe remarks were made on his conduct, and a republican member (Gaudet) moved that inquiry should be made of the minister of war, whether he had allowed M. La Fayette to quit the army. This was rejected, and the general's address was referred to a committee, and many persons were desirous of marking it with their decided approbation; addresses to that effect were received from different parts of the country, and one of them had even twenty thousand signatures.

At this trying period the friends of the king and the constitution appear to have acted with as little firmness as before, yet they were not inactive. A superior council was formed for some time in Paris, styled the directory of the police; the majority were moderate men, and had called upon the mayor, as well as upon the assembly, to prevent the disorders of the 20th, without effect; they therefore exerted their own authority, and suspended him as soon as order was in some measure restored. The king confirmed this dismissal, and the assembly immediately restored the mayor.

When General La Fayette arrived on the frontiers, he found the measures of the enemy in great forwardness, and a sense of the danger which threatened the country afflicted all its friends. Under this idea, a member arose in the assembly, on the 7th of July, and conjured them to sacrifice their private views, and to become friends for the sake of their country. "Let all," said he, "who discover faults in the constitution, display a spirit of accommodation to each other, and let us swear that we will unite to maintain it as it is." Scarcely were the last words uttered, when the two sides (republicans and constitutionalists) arose, threw up their hats, shouted applauses from every side, the two parties embraced, and swore immortal union, taking their seats indifferently, as a sign of endless harmony! The minutes of this event were ordered to be

immediately sent to the king, and directions were given to communicate this glorious issue to all the citizens. Such, indeed, was the combination of events at this period, that M. Carnot, who has since been looked on as a complete republican, stood up in defence of the king's authority, and moved that the judicial power should be especially charged to redouble their vigilance and authority.

When the deputation returned, who had waited on the king, the Bishop of Lyons reported, that his majesty, after hearing the extracts of the minutes read, answered, "That it was impossible for him to hear news so dear to his heart without rapture, and that he yielded to his strong desire of coming to the assembly, to testify all the joy with which this had inspired him." Louis soon after entered the hall, amidst continued shouts of "Long live the king!—Long live liberty!"—and in the fulness of his heart, declared his anxious hope, that the end of this union would make France survive the dangers which threatened her. The assembly replied by an address, in which it said, that it "already saw, in the candor of his proceedings, the omens of success." The plaudits of the galleries were as loud as those of the members; and yet it would hardly be credited that only one sabbath had passed, when these very people assailed this very king with the heaviest accusations that violence and bitterness could invent. A new scene of riot was at hand, under the mask of a national fête, or grand confederation, to celebrate the 14th of July. Deputies from the departments were to give their assistance; care was to be taken that such of the visitors, as might not be sufficiently corrupted, should not return home without being in possession of all the fire-brands of strife that might yet be wanting to inflame the sober hamlets of the country, and make them as licentious as the metropolis. Brissot and his party threw off the mask which they had assumed for a few days, and after a torrent of declamation, in which he declared "that the danger lay in the palace," the assembly decreed concisely, "THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER," and two addresses, filled with alarm, were drawn up, and sent to the armies and the departments. Dissipation and idleness were so long habitual, that the number of debtors and poor was greatly increased, and many thousands, not originally corrupt, became so, in the cruel hope of being able to ruin their landlords and creditors, by overthrowing royalty. The king's feelings were injured in every shape, and as the late triumph of the mayor gave a great opportunity, the mob used every means to insult the king and his friends with shouts of "Long live Petion!—Down with royalty," &c. Whilst the last remains of royalty were brought into contempt, they also succeeded in assuring the people

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that the court prevented the success of the French arms, by its intrigues with those united against France. In this they were, in some measure, sanctioned by the combined powers themselves, who, instead of marching, as they should have done, with a strong column into the heart of the country, while it was yet undefended, continued issuing their feeble threats upon the frontiers. "It is not in their arms," said the jacobins, "that the enemy places his hopes: it is in the intrigues of the *Thuilleries*. It is the army of couriers that pass between *Coblentz* (the head-quarters of the emigrant princes) and the court, whom alone we have to fear, and not the soldiers of *Brunswick*."

A manifesto was circulated through France, signed by the Duke of Brunswick, as generalissimo. This manifesto declared the intention of the emperor and King of Prussia to restore order to France; to restore the king to his power, and release the royal family; to protect all persons who submitted to the king; that all persons found in arms should be punished severely; all the members of the assembly, and others, responsible with their lives; it threatened the most exemplary punishment on every one who controlled the king, or, as it is said, held him in subjection; it promised, that the troops of the Duke of Brunswick should observe the strictest discipline, and treat all well-disposed subjects with mildness; and called on the people to suffer them to enter the kingdom, and give them every assistance. In an additional declaration, he resolved to punish the people of Paris if the king should be insulted; and stated, in case of the royal family being carried off, all places which did not oppose their passage should be subject to the severest penalties; and that no place of retreat was to be the choice of his most christian majesty, unless it was effected under the offered escort.

Nothing, during the whole course of the revolution, did so much mischief as publishing this wretched manifesto: for it made no difference whatever between the sober well-meaning friends of limited monarchy, and the jacobins, who threatened even life itself with unlimited destruction.

On the 3d of August, two days after this manifesto was read in the assembly, the king wrote to that body, and, rather injudiciously, mentioned the possibility of its not being genuine, disavowing all its sentiments, and promising every thing that they could expect of him. His declarations were now at an end, his promises useless. A motion was made to print his letter, and send it to the eighty-three departments; but the previous question was instantly passed, amidst the shouts of the galleries.

Thuriot said, that the king had written this letter because he knew that the municipality of

Paris were going to demand his deposition. Petion appeared at the head of a gang, and pretended he came from the forty-eight sections of Paris, to demand the king's exclusion from the throne, and that responsible ministers should be appointed, until the election of a new king in a national convention. He supported this petition by a sketch of what he called the "King's conduct since the Revolution," which, he said, proved him to be an enemy to the people, to the laws, and to France. The petition created a most violent agitation in the assembly, so that the president was obliged to adjourn the sitting; and, in the evening, the assembly resolved to determine the question on that day se'nnight.

All business ceased in Paris from the 3d of August, and the leaders of the national assembly were busy in passing decrees that should favor the insurgents; patrols of the rabble were also placed, by Petion and Santerre, so as to prevent the possibility of the king's escape. Matters being arranged for carrying the decree into execution, on the day before the assembly had resolved to pass it, the palace was attacked on the 10th of August. As many of the leading members of the assembly were desirous of aiding in the assault, who, at the same time, wished to be concealed, it was resolved that the riot should not commence till after dark. It was not till eleven o'clock that Danton called "To arms! to arms!" and all the bells were rung, to proclaim the city in a state of insurrection.

The conquest of the palace was not effected so easily as it had been on the 20th of June; for, though the attack commenced at one in the morning, it was nine before the outer gates were forced. Some preparations had been made for resistance; but, like every effort of the unfortunate Louis, it was more an attempt at resolution than resolution itself. Beside a part of the Swiss guard, and a few of the national grenadiers, who were resolved to defend the constitution, there was a considerable body of royalists, who had determined to subdue the traitors, or perish in the attempt, the whole amounting to near 3000 armed men. A body of this kind, headed by a bold and intrepid chief, would have amply secured a victory, if they had attacked the insurgents, instead of remaining cooped up in the palace. When the outer gates were forced, the assailants were met by the king's guards, who, by a close fire, drove them back, and obliged them to leave four pieces of cannon behind them. The Swiss guarded the great court, whilst the cannon played upon the palace, and had already pierced the roof; the bodies of the slain were strewed on every side, and the folly of resistance became evident every moment, for, in the multitude of advisers, no one had the command. The defenders of the palace soon became a tumultuous crowd, with no advantage

over their adversaries, and much inferior to them in number. They failed, and they fell, for want of a commander; they were overpowered by numbers; and the triumphant barbarians enjoyed the sport of cutting them to pieces, and dragging their mangled carcases in their horrible processions. All the Swiss found, were inhumanly put to death in cold blood, and their remains exhibited fixed at the end of pikes! About 3000 persons, on both sides, lost their lives in this attack; and more would have suffered, but that a part of the guards had escorted the royal family to the assembly.

Louis seems to have had such an aversion to the shedding of blood, that he exposed himself to the most unwarrantable treatment, simply because the offenders calculated upon his forbearance. The danger was greater and more pressing than ever: this every one of his friends and family knew; and it is surprising that, after the length the assembly had gone, he did not clearly see that he must either be driven from his throne, or fight in defence of it. Yet he does not appear to have had such a view of the subject; for, when he was followed by the queen, and the princess his sister, in the midst of their brave defenders—after he had heard the dreadful howlings of a thousand tongues bellow out the cries of “deposition!” and “death!”—after the nobles and guards had satisfied him of victory, and the queen had resolved to die by his side—he took the unaccountable resolution of throwing himself and family into the arms of the national assembly, lest he should be supposed to violate the constitution; and, previous to his leaving the palace, gave positive orders not to fire upon the people!

A series of singular events had placed him now in a most distressing situation. The members of the assembly, to which he had retreated, thought no business of so much consequence as passing the decree of deposition; but they could not proceed to business in the king's presence, because it was contrary to the constitution. This gave a pretence for forcing the royal family into a corner, where the secretaries kept their books, which deprived them even of the poor consolation of exchanging thoughts, and subjected them to the cruel state of a prison, while it was alleged that their persons were sacred. Fourteen hours of mortification being thus inflicted upon their helpless captives, they decreed that the executive power should be taken from the king, and that he and his family should be confined in the Temple. To increase the pain of the royal sufferers, orders were issued that Pétion should go in the same carriage, to take them to prison. This traitor not only insulted them by his advice on their journey, but occasionally stopped the carriage, that they might hear the speeches of the infamous orators

who irritated the people against them by their foul calumnies. BOOK I.

The revolution took a turn which seemed to dispel the hopes of all good men. The assembly was about to dissolve, for a national convention was appointed to assemble on the 20th of September, to constitute a republic; and little hope remained that this assembly would not long have the power of doing mischief.

On the 21st of September, a new provisional executive council was appointed, consisting of Roland, Servan, and Clavière, the ministers lately dismissed by the king; to whom was added, M. le Brun, as minister of foreign affairs. M. Luckner, M. Dumouriez, now acting in the capacity of general in the army, and the other commanders, readily submitted to the authority of the assembly. M. Fayette, finding himself wholly unsupported in his loyal endeavours, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, with seventeen companions. They were arrested by an Austrian patrol, and conducted to Luxemburg. He and his companions were afterwards committed close prisoners to the fortress of Magdeburg, where they remained during a whole year in a miserable dungeon, treated with uncommon severity. The great talents of M. Fayette had checked the whole Austrian and Prussian armies, although he had not more than 20,000 men under his command. He being no longer opposed to the enemy, the combined armies resolved to advance as far as possible into France. They bombarded Longwy with such violence, for fifteen hours, as threatened to bury it in ruins, and the town capitulated. The assembly ordered a court-martial to sit on the magistrates who surrendered it, and they were executed.

Verdun was next invested; it was in want of every thing; the enemy had a secret correspondence with the inhabitants; the town was considered untenable, and the municipal officers advised its surrender. Although the garrison had only two battalions, Beaurepaire, the commander, determined to hold out as long as possible; but finding all his efforts useless, and his colleagues wanting to capitulate, he drew a pistol from his belt, in the midst of a council of war, and discharged it against his temple.

Great was the consternation at Paris when it was known that Longwy and Verdun had surrendered. All were alarmed, lest the report should be true, that the Duke of Brunswick would be in the neighbourhood of Paris. Danton, however, the minister of justice, whilst despair was seated on every countenance, declared there were at least 80,000 stand of arms in Paris. He proposed that they should be delivered up, and a body of volunteers raised and equipped with them. This was decreed; and all who were capable were ordered to be ready to march.

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Alarm guns were fired at two o'clock in the morning of the 2d of September, the tocsin was sounded, the country declared to be in danger, and the people invited to meet in the Champ de Mars, from whence, as was said, they were instantly to march against the common enemy. Myriads were collected; and, when the resolutions of the assembly, moved by Danton, came to be understood, the universal cry was, "To arms, citizens! to arms! the enemy is at hand." During this sort of frenzy, news was spread that 4000 French troops, sent to reinforce Verdun, had been treacherously led into ambuscade, and cruelly cut to pieces. The fury of the populace was raised to its utmost height, the prisons were forced open, and a most inhuman massacre took place. The Cardinal de Rochefoucault, and about 200 priests, were handed out of the prison, two by two, into the street Vaugerard, and there put to death in cold blood. They wreaked their vengeance on the unfortunate Swiss officers who were confined in the Abbey prison. Their commander-in-chief alone, M. d'Affry, had the good fortune to escape, owing to a mistake of the mob.

The force of the French commander-in-chief at this period, it is said, did not equal that under the authority of General Clairfait; but, in this moment of suspense, the military genius of Dumouriez burst forth with great splendor: his inventive mind immediately resolved to divide his strength. To Galbaud, who was stationed at a pass in the forest of Argonne, which Dumouriez looked on as of the first importance to the issue of the campaign, he sent Dillon (4th of September) with considerable reinforcements. Just at this time it was abandoned by Galbaud, as impossible to be retained; but when he saw the supplies which had been sent him, he returned to its defence with renewed vigor: and it proved, in a manner, to France, what Thermopylæ had been to Greece. Dumouriez, in the mean time, took the post at Grand Pré under his own protection. It was soon contested for by the enemy; and, as he could not retain it against the furious attack of such a force as he had to contend with, he retreated, without loss, to the strong camp of St. Menchould, a strong town, situated about twenty-six miles W. S. W. of Verdun. The Austrians lost a great number of men, together with Prince Charles de Ligne.

Bournonville joined Dumouriez, with 15,000 men, as well as Kellerman, with the army under his command. On the 20th of September Dumouriez found himself in a condition to put an end to the incursions of the enemy. Kellerman, at the head of 16,000 men, repulsed a greatly superior division of the enemy, and rendered all their stratagems abortive.

The Prussian army immediately after evacuated France, and their example was followed

by the troops of Austria and Hesse Cassel. Soon after the French retook Verdun, and they followed up their conquest by the recapture of Longwy.

On the 21st of September, the national assembly resigned its functions, and gave up its power to the convention, by an address of renunciation, and an assurance that they would serve as an advanced guard of the new legislature. The convention chose Petion their president; and, having decreed that the laws should be continued in force, and the usual taxes demanded, Collet d'Herbois rose, and said, that the convention ought not to adjourn, till it had decreed the total abolition of royalty in France. Deputies rose to demand that the question might be instantly put. M. Bazire exclaimed against the ardor which seemed to have taken possession of their minds, and besought them to argue a question of so much magnitude with the dignity that became them. His advice was looked on as the dull prudence of a vulgar mind, unworthy the practice of philosophers of superior light, and the national convention briefly decreed, that "Royalty is abolished in France." Loud applauses, and exclamations of "*Vive la nation!*" following the decree, minutes of the sitting were ordered to be sent to the departments, and to the armies, as well as to be proclaimed throughout Paris.

At the next sitting M. Condorcet was elected vice-president, and the convention decreed:—

1. That all public acts should be dated the first year of the French republic.
2. That the seal of the country shall be changed, and have, for a legend, "French Republic."
3. That the national seal shall represent a woman, sitting on a bundle of arms, and holding a pike in her hand, with a cap of liberty upon it; and, upon the exergue, the words, "Archives of the French Republic."
4. That no petitioners shall be admitted to the bar till the evening sitting.

The French arms were triumphant in every quarter; and, on the 20th of October, a decree passed the national assembly, declaring the republic was saved, and the country no longer in danger. Before the end of the year they were masters of the whole of the Austrian Low Countries, Luxemburg only excepted, together with the city and territory of Liege.

Amidst this unexampled series of triumph, the following decree was passed, November 19:—

"The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty; and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend citizens who have suffered, and are now suffering in the cause of liberty." This magnificent and empty vaunt was

productive of very strange and serious consequences. Another decree, passed November 27, created the duchy of Savoy into an 84th department of the French republic, contrary to a fundamental article of the constitution, by which she renounced all foreign conquests; and another decree passed on the capture of Antwerp, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the river Scheldt.

As the king was no longer in the way, the parties began to display themselves in their violence and abuse. The Brisotines had the government; the Jacobins the passions of the mob; and the Orleanites the way of corrupting the partizans of both by money. Their power was so equal, that, in spite of their hatred of each other, their rancour boiled in their bosoms, and exerted its efforts to vent itself, until its vehemence became too strong for restraint; and then it effected an unworthy union betwixt them all to renew their projects against their feeble king, who was defenceless, and within their power. The cowards began their attack by judging him on the very ground on which they agreed to the motion for bringing him to trial, namely, that "a decree of accusation should pass against the principal traitor, Louis XVI." In fact, he was usually spoken of, in all debates, as Louis the traitor; and, in this spirit, they began a process of assassination, which they sought to evade, concealing it under the mock forms of a trial. The appearance of rectitude was endeavoured to be preserved by the speeches made about justice; yet, when Mannel moved, that whoever undertook the defence of Louis should be put under the protection of the law, they answered him by murmurs and hootings: and those who did defend him were sent to the scaffold. Mannel himself, and Kersaint, who looked on the proceeding as a conspiracy to commit murder, they guillotined also.

On the 11th of December, the king was brought to the bar, and was permitted to choose M. M. Deseze, Tronchet, and Malesherbes, his defenders. The trial lasted thirty-four days, and the convention pronounced him guilty.

The same cordiality did not prevail as to the sentence as with regard to the verdict. The Brisotines, less sanguinary than their antagonists, were so well satisfied with having obtained his power, that they did not wish to take his life; whilst Orleans and Robespierre were bent on being satisfied with nothing short of his blood. When the *proces verbal* was read, which had the answers of all the members to the question, "What punishment shall he suffer?" even the bloodhounds of the convention were struck with horror when they heard that Philip Egalité, Duke of Orleans, the king's own relation, and the only one whose word had the slightest influence with the

people, had voted for death! On the roll there was a majority of five for death.

When the fatal decision was properly ascertained, the president, with a solemn tone of voice, and with his head uncovered, said,

"In consequence of this, I declare that the punishment decreed by the national convention against Louis Capet is DEATH."

The king's council were again admitted to the bar, and M. Deseze read the copy of a letter to the convention in the king's hand-writing:—

"I owe it to my honour, I owe it to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime of which I cannot accuse myself. *In consequence, I appeal to the nation from the sentence of its representatives; and I commit, by these presents, to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the national convention this appeal, by all the means in their power: and to demand that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sittings.* (Signed) "LOUIS."

When he presented this letter, M. Deseze exclaimed, with his usual flow of eloquence, "Do not afflict France by a judgment that will appear dreadful, when five voices only were thought enough to carry it." He then besought the convention to refer their judgment to the tribunal of the people. "You have either forgotten or destroyed," said the fascinating M. Tronchet, "the lenity which the law allows to criminals, of requiring, at least, two-thirds of the voices to constitute a definitive judgment." The last effort that they could make in favor of the fallen monarch was, to ask a respite, and delay the execution of the sentence, but this was likewise refused. The members were merely to give a simple *yes*, or *no*; and, at midnight, the 19th of January, 1793, there appeared, for the respite 310, and against 380; majority 70, for immediate execution.

Louis entreated a respite for only three days, that he should not be hurried away without a proper preparation for this awful change; but, with a degree of savage barbarity, the convention refused his request. The sentence was not finally determined before two o'clock, and the decree was ordered to the executive council, who were directed to notify it to Louis, and to have it executed within twenty-four hours afterwards, and to take all means of safety and police that might appear to them requisite during the execution.

Roland, Claviere, Monge, Le Brun, Pache, and Garet, were the council who ordered the execrable Santerre to procure 1200 of the greatest ruffians of Paris, armed with sixteen rounds each, to form round the carriage of the helpless monarch, and by noon, on the 21st, to drag him to the scaffold.

Paris was illuminated on the 20th, and no person permitted to go at large in the streets.

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Bodies of armed men patrolled in every district of that immense metropolis; the sound of coaches ceased, the streets were deserted, and the city buried in an awful silence. About two o'clock in the morning of the fatal 21st, voices were heard through the gloom of lamentation and distress; but whence they came, or what they were, no one has ever discovered.

The unhappy monarch passed all Sunday in preparing for his change. His coolness and patience evinced great eminence of soul; but the parting of his family was too painful to the feelings of humanity! The queen hung round his neck in delirious anguish; the princess royal grasped his hand; the dauphin caught his knees; and Madame Elizabeth bathed his feet with her tears. The queen was at last taken from him in a state of insensibility, which she did not recover from before two o'clock on Monday afternoon. The king, on this sad spectacle, shewed all the affection of a husband, a father, a brother; and, seeming to be more affected by the affliction of those so dear and so beloved than by his own misfortunes, consoled them in the most soothing manner. Having gone through this trying scene, he now prepared to meet his God. The conversation which he was allowed to hold with his confessor, it is said, was pious, sensible, and animated; and his hope was full of immortality. He protested his innocence, and forgave his enemies from his heart. On Monday morning, as the clock struck eight, he was summoned to his fate. He was conducted to a coach belonging to the mayor of Paris, in which were two soldiers of the *gend'armerie*. He was attended by his confessor, and aided to step into the carriage by one or two of the sentinels, who were at the gate of the temple.

The place of execution was filled with an immense crowd of people, and large bodies of horse and foot were there to awe the multitude. The most deadly silence prevailed, while the coach advanced slowly towards the scaffold. Louis mounted it with fortitude, a firm step, and unaltered countenance. He was attended on the scaffold by his confessor and two or three municipal officers. He looked around upon the people with a complacent countenance, and was preparing to address them, when the ruffian Santerre cried out, "No speeches! come, no speeches!" and suddenly the drums beat and trumpets sounded. He spoke, but the only expressions that could be distinctly heard, were these:

"I forgive my enemies: may God forgive them, and not lay my innocent blood to the charge of the nation! God bless my people."

The confessor went on his knees, and implored

the king's blessing, who gave it with an affectionate embrace. The unfortunate monarch then placed his head upon the block with wonderful serenity, and ceased to live in this world! Before his execution, he wrote to the national convention, entreating to be buried near his father, in the cathedral of Sens, in the department of Yonne, 82 miles south-east of Paris, and 35 west-south-west of Troyes, capital of the department of Auby. They passed to the order of the day. He was buried in the cemetery ground of the new Magdelain, about 800 feet north of the place of execution, and his grave filled with quick-lime.

This unfortunate monarch had certainly many amiable, though not shining qualities. He was a good husband, a good father, and a lover of his people. He was wont to compare himself with Charles I. of England, but the similitude is by no means striking. They certainly shared a similar fate, although the death of Louis has been denominated an execution, and that of Charles a martyrdom. It is worthy of remark, that the latter was never religiously observed in London till the death of Louis; for before 1793 the theatres used to be open on the 31st of January. Louis had acquired a great fund of knowledge by reading, and he was possessed of a tenacious memory. He frequently displayed judgment, but was guided by that of others.

His queen, Marie Antoinette, was removed from the temple to the common prison of the *Conciergerie*, where she remained till she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, October 15, 1793. After an hour's consultation, the jury pronounced her guilty of all the charges laid against her. The queen, on hearing the verdict returned, fixed her eyes stedfastly on the ground, from which she was never observed to raise them more. The fortitude and dignity with which she conducted herself on her trial, did not forsake her to the last. On the day following, she submitted to her fate with calm resignation on the public scaffold, and upon the same spot where her husband had previously suffered.

Such were the savage proceedings of the revolutionary tribunal, that shocking executions daily took place under the fatal axe of the guillotine. In the direful catalogue were found the names of Mannel, president of the commune of Paris; the brave and veteran General Luckner; the learned and philosophic Bailly; the excellent Malesherbes; the gallant Kersaint; the young and amiable Barnave; the virtuous Rabaut de St. Etienne; and the celebrated and accomplished Madame Roland, wife of the minister of that name.

CHAPTER III.

Conduct of the English Government in consequence of the Revolutionary Proceedings of France.

On the dawn of the French revolution, many became its advocates in England, who expressed great exultation at the event. The first public demonstration of this appeared on the occasion of an anniversary meeting of a Whig association in the metropolis, known by the name of the Revolution Society. On its progressive stages, party-spirit raged throughout England, in a more violent degree. The chief advocates for the revolution were Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan: Mr. Burke, however, in a work which will be handed down to the latest posterity, for its enlightened wisdom and political discernment, not only informed the French nation of the tremendous precipice on which that country stood, but minutely predicted the horrors which afterwards took place. He exhibited to the view of all Europe the intentions of a faction which directly designed the entire subversion of every established government, both from policy and principle.

Such was the general state of affairs, when the parliament of Great Britain met, January 21, 1790. His majesty's speech mentioned the internal situation of the different parts of Europe to have been productive of events which had engaged his majesty's most serious consideration. Lord Valletort, in moving the address, took occasion to contrast the tranquil and prosperous situation of England with the anarchy and licentiousness of France, and to stigmatise the revolution of that kingdom, as an event the most disastrous, and productive of consequences the most fatal that had ever taken place since the foundation of the monarchy. On the debate which afterwards took place, relative to the army estimate, Mr. Fox deprecated the measure as unnecessary, there being nothing in the situation of affairs which required an extraordinary force; and, having uttered some expressions in praise of the French revolution, Mr. Burke rose and took a brief survey of the recent transactions. "That nation," he said, "had gloried (and some in Britain had thought proper to share in the glory) in bringing about a revolution, as if revolutions were good in themselves. All the crimes and horrors which led to their revolution, which marked its progress, and might virtually attend its establishment, were nothing thought of by the lovers of revolutions. The French had made their way to a bad constitution through the destruction of their country, when they were in possession of a good one. Of this they were in possession on that very day when the States-general met in separate orders. Their business, had they possessed either virtue or wis-

dom, or been left to their own judgment, was to secure the independence of the states, according to those orders, under the monarch on the throne. Then was it their duty to redress grievances. Instead, however, of acting in this laudable manner, and improving the fabric of their state, to which the sovereign had called them, and to which they were sent by their country, they were made to take a course entirely different. They first destroyed all the balances that tended to fix the state, and give it a steady direction, and which furnished correctives to any spirit of violence which might prevail in any of the orders. In their oldest constitution, as well as in the constitution of this country, and perhaps in the constitution of every country in Europe, these balances or counterpoises existed. These they precipitately destroyed, and then melted down the whole into one incongruous mass. Having accomplished this, they next laid the axe to the root of all property, in a most atrocious and perfidious manner, and therefore, of all national prosperity, by the principles which they established, and the example set by them, in confiscating all the possessions belonging to the church. They framed and recorded a kind of digest of anarchy, denominated the rights of man, in such a pedantic prostitution of elementary principles, as would have brought disgrace on a school-boy. It was, however, much worse than trifling and pedantry in them; for they systematically destroyed every hold of authority by opinion, whether civil or religious, on the public mind. By means of this insane declaration, they subverted the state, and brought on such calamity as no country was ever known to suffer, without a long and desolating war." Mr. Burke asserted, that the most pernicious effect of all their proceedings was on their military. "Were it the question, whether soldiers were to forget that they were citizens, as an abstract proposition, he would not quarrel respecting it: although, when abstract principles are to be applied, much was to be considered respecting the union of citizen and soldier. But if applied to the events which had taken place in France, where the abstract principle was clothed with its circumstances, he hoped his friend Mr. Fox would coincide with him in opinion, that the things done in France were no ground for exultation, whether we considered the act or the example. It was not an army under the respectable patriotic citizens, embodied for the purpose of resisting tyranny, but the case of common soldiers abandoning their officers, in order to unite with a furious and licentious rabble. He

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was deeply concerned, that this strange thing denominated the French revolution, should be put in the balance with that glorious event, usually called the revolution in England, and the behaviour of the soldiery on that occasion compared with the conduct of some of the French troops in the present instance. At that time the Prince of Orange, one of the blood-royal in England, was called in by the flower of the aristocratical party, to defend the ancient constitution, but by no means to level all distinctions. To this prince, so invited, the aristocratic leaders who commanded the troops went over in bodies with their different corps, as the saviour of their country. The object of military obedience was changed; but the principle of military obedience was not interrupted for a single moment. If the conduct of the English armies was different, so also was that of the whole English nation at that memorable period. In fact, the circumstances of our revolution, and that of France, are exactly the reverse of each other, in almost every particular, as well as in the whole spirit of the transaction. What we did was in truth and substance, and in a constitutional point of view, a revolution not made, but prevented. We did not impair, but strengthen the monarchy, and we did not impair the church. We made no change in the fundamental parts of our constitution; and the nation kept the same ranks, privileges, franchises, and rules for property. The church and state were the same after as before the revolution; but we may venture to maintain, that in every part they were much better secured. The result of all this was, that the state flourished. Instead of lying as if dead, in a species of trance, or exposed, like some others, in an epileptic fit, to the pity or scorn of the world, for her wild convulsive movements, unfit for every purpose but that of dashing out her brains, Great Britain rose above the standard even of her former self. A period then commenced of a more improved domestic prosperity, and still continues, not only unimpaired, but even growing under the wasting hand of time."

This speech having been received with great applause, Mr. Fox thought it necessary to declare "his total dissent from opinions so hostile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered—by whose precepts he had been taught—by whose example he had been animated to engage in their defence."

Mr. Sheridan reprobated the political sentiments of Mr. Burke. "The people of France," he said, "have committed acts of barbarity and bloodshed which have justly excited indignation and abhorrence; but that indignation and abhorrence are to be ascribed to the government of France prior to the revolution, the tyranny and

oppression of which had deprived the people of the rights of men and of citizens."

The second celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution in England, was productive of serious riots, particularly in the great and opulent town of Birmingham. The measures of ministers were exceedingly wise and prudent, though severely censured by the pretended friends of liberty. A royal proclamation was issued against the public dispersion of all seditious writings, and against all illegal correspondences—exhorting the magistrates to vigilance, and the people to submission and obedience. When this proclamation was laid before parliament, May 25, 1792, it was opposed by Mr. Grey with much warmth, who intimated his belief, that the real object of the proclamation was to discredit an association which had been just formed under the name of the "Friends of the People," for the purpose of effecting a reform in parliament. This Mr. Pitt disclaimed in very explicit terms, and expressed his high respect for many of the members of the society in question, declaring that he differed from them only in regard to the time and mode which they had adopted for the attainment of their object. The proclamation, he confessed, was levelled against the daring and seditious principles which had been so assiduously propagated amongst the people under the delusive appellation of the rights of man.

The English government commenced prosecutions against a prodigious number of offenders, amongst whom Thomas Paine stood most conspicuous; but anticipating the verdict of the jury, he had, previous to his trial, fled to France. Debating societies, where juvenile orators used to harangue upon subjects they were little acquainted with, were put under proper restrictions. At length French cruelty opened the eyes of the English, and the nation was on a sudden struck with terror at the idea of any kind of a political innovation. An association was formed in the city of London, for the preservation of liberty and property against republicans and levellers, apparently under the sanction of government; and immense multitudes of pamphlets, in the form of dialogues, narratives, and letters, rushed through the country from the press, warmly recommending submission to government on the absolute principle of passive obedience and non-resistance. Resolutions were accordingly subscribed to in every county and town, expressive of the strongest attachment to the king and constitution; of the dread they entertained of innovation; and of their strong aversion to all doctrines properly republican.

Previous to this wonderful display of loyalty, certain inhabitants of Great Britain sent addresses of congratulation to the continent, declaring, in lofty terms, their admiration and ap-



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plause. A memorable one, under the title of "An address from several patriotic societies in England," was presented at the bar of the convention on the 7th of November, containing the most unjustifiable reflections on the constitution and government of their own country. "Whilst foreign plunderers ravage your territories, an oppressed part of mankind, forgetting their own evils, are sensible only of yours, and address their fervent prayers to the God of the universe, that he may be favorable to your cause, with which theirs is so intimately connected. Degraded by an oppressive system of inquisition, the insensible but continual encroachments of which quickly deprived this nation of its boasted liberty, and reduced it almost to that abject state of slavery from which you have so gloriously emancipated yourselves, five thousand English citizens, fired with indignation, have the courage to step forward to rescue their country from that opprobrium which has been thrown on it by the base conduct of those who are invested with power. We see with concern that the Elector of Hanover unites his troops to those of traitors and robbers; but the King of England will do well to remember that England is not Hanover. Should he forget this, we will not forget it." In returning an answer to this insolent address, the president of the convention imprudently made use of expressions which were full of respect. "The sentiments of five thousand Britons devoted openly to the cause of mankind, exist, without doubt, in the hearts of all the free-men in England."

A deputation from the "Society for Constitutional Information," having presented an address at the bar of the convention, congratulated that assembly "on the glorious triumph of liberty on the 10th of August," and observed, "That, notwithstanding the hireling pens which may be employed by the power of government to contradict them, they speak the sentiments of a majority of the English nation." Expressions still more scandalously seditious are to be found in the introductory speech of the deputies, Citizens John Frost and Joel Barlow. They even presumed to predict, "That, after the example given by France, revolutions will become easy. Reason (say these wonderful seers) is about to make a rapid progress; and it would not be extraordinary, if, in a much less space of time than can be imagined, the French should send addresses of congratulation to a national convention of England." M. Gregoire, the president, paid many compliments to the English nation, as a country which has afforded many distinguished and illustrious examples to the whole world. "The shades of Hampden and of Sydney hover over your heads; and the moment, without doubt, approaches, in which the French

will bring congratulations to the national convention of Great Britain. Generous republicans! your appearance among us prepares a subject of history." The speech, the address, and the answer returned by the president, were ordered to be printed, to be sent to the eighty-three departments, and translated into all languages.

On the same day a deputation appeared at the bar from the British and Irish resident at Paris, and declared their persuasion amidst the loudest applause, "That the disgraceful memory of those pretended governments, the offspring of the combined frauds of priests and tyrants, will in a short time alone remain. Our wishes, citizens legislators, render us impatient to behold the happy moment of this grand change, in the hope that, on its arrival, we shall see an intimate union formed between the French republic and the English, Irish, and Scottish nations. Nor are we alone animated by these sentiments;—we doubt not they would be equally conspicuous in the great majority of our fellow-countrymen, if the public opinion were to be consulted there, as it ought, in a national convention." To this the president made answer:—"Principles are waging war against tyranny, which will fall under the blows of philosophy. Royalty in Europe is either destroyed, or on the point of perishing on the ruins of feudality; and the declaration of rights, placed by the side of thrones, is a devouring fire which shall consume them: Worthy republicans! congratulate yourselves on thinking that the festival which you have made in honor of the French revolution is the prelude to the festival of nations."

The rash, impolitic, and insulting conduct of the convention was deemed the *ne plus ultra* of depravity and wickedness by the English government. A royal proclamation was therefore issued, December 1, 1792, purporting, "That notwithstanding the late proclamation of the 21st May, the utmost industry was still employed by evil-disposed persons within the kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and constitution; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder, *thereby excited*, had lately shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection.—And that these causes moving him thereto, his majesty had resolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom."

This proclamation was accompanied by another, for convening parliament on the 13th of December, which stood prorogued to January 3, 1793, the law requiring that if the militia be drawn out during the recess, parliament should be assembled in the course of fourteen days. By desire of the minister, troops were marched to the metropolis, the guard of the Bank was doubled, and the fortifications of the Tower repaired. This procedure rendered the public

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alarm inexpressible. On the meeting of parliament the expressions of the first proclamation were repeated in the speech of his majesty from the throne, at the termination of which the genuine designs of the court were fully developed. "I have," said his majesty, "carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal government of France; but it is impossible for me to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the States-general, measures which were neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under these circumstances, his majesty thought it right to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was intrusted by law, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force."

A debate of considerable length ensued. An address was moved in answer to the speech, when Mr. Fox, after many judicious observations, moved this simple amendment: "That enquiry should be made into parts stated in his majesty's speech;" which was negatived by a majority of 290 to 50.

Though the determination of the English court became abundantly apparent, yet nothing was left unattempted by the French government to maintain a good understanding with Britain. M. Chauvelin presented a memorial to Lord Grenville, on the 27th of December, in which he acquainted his lordship, "that the executive council of the French republic, thinking it a duty which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it in the state of suspense into which it has been thrown by the late measures of the British government, have authorised him to demand with openness, whether France ought to consider England as a neutral or hostile power? at the same time being solicitous that not the smallest doubt should exist respecting the disposition of France towards England, and of its desire to remain in peace." M. Chauvelin said, in alluding to the decree of the 19th of November, "that the French nation absolutely reject the idea of that false interpretation by which it might be supposed that the French republic should favor insurrection, or excite disturbance, in any neutral or friendly country whatever. In particular, they declare in the most solemn manner, that France will not attack Holland, so long as that power adheres to the principles of her neutrality." M. Chauvelin affirmed, respecting the na-

vigation of the Scheldt, that "it is a question of too little importance to be made the sole cause of a war, and that it could only be used as a pretext for a premeditated aggression. On this fatal supposition the French nation will accept war; but such a war would be the war, not of the British nation, but of the British ministry, against the French republic; and of this he conjures them well to consider the *terrible responsibility*."

The answer which Lord Grenville returned to this communication was far from being agreeable. He reminded him that his majesty had suspended all *official* communication with France since the unhappy events which took place on the 10th of August; and acquainted him, that he could not be treated with in the form stated in his note. "If France," said his lordship, "is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to *confine herself within her own territory*, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." France being thus imperiously commanded to relinquish her late conquests as the *sine qua non* of peace, it was natural to conclude that negotiation was at an end. It must be acknowledged, that the French government, in her transactions at this time with Great Britain, endeavoured to appear exceedingly moderate and temperate. The condescending answer of M. le Brun, minister for foreign affairs, to the letter transmitted by Lord Grenville, bearing date the 4th of January, 1793, was directly opposite to the peremptory style exhibited by the communications of the British minister. The executive council "repeat the assurances of their sincere desire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. It is with great reluctance that the republic would see itself forced to a rupture, much more contrary to its inclination than its interest."

In consequence of Lord Grenville's refusal to acknowledge M. Chauvelin in his diplomatic capacity, the executive council remarked, "That in the negotiations now carrying on at Madrid, the principal minister of his catholic majesty did not hesitate to address M. Bourgoign, the ambassador of the republic at that court, by the title of minister plenipotentiary of France. But, that a defect in point of form might not impede a negotiation, on the success of which depended the tranquillity of two great nations, they had sent credential letters to M. Chauvelin, to enable him to treat according to the severity of diplomatic forms." The council again declare, "that the decree of 19th November had been misunderstood; and that it was far from being intended to favor sedition, being merely applicable to the

single case where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can never exist in the expression of the general will. The Dutch were certainly not seditious when they formed the generous resolution of throwing off the Spanish yoke; nor was it accounted as a crime to Henry IV. or to Queen Elizabeth, that they listened to their solicitations of assistance." The council maintain, respecting the right of navigation on the Scheldt, "that it is a question of absolute indifference to England, little interesting even to Holland, but of great importance to the Belgians, who were not parties to the treaty of Westphalia, by which they were divested of that right; but when that nation shall find itself in full possession of its liberty, and, from any motive whatever, shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it. With respect to the charge of aggrandizement, France has renounced, and still renounces, all conquest; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war. If these explanations appear insufficient, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear."

Lord Grenville, in his reply, complained that nothing more was offered than an illusory negotiation; and another letter from his lordship, dated January 24, 1793, terminated the conference, in which his lordship wrote, "I am charged to notify to you, sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his most christian majesty, you have no longer any public character here; and his majesty has thought fit to order that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days."

On the departure of M. Chauvelin, a memorial was presented by Lord Auckland to the States-General, informing their high mightinesses, "That not four years ago some wretches, assuming the title of philosophers, had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it necessary to overthrow and destroy all received notions of subordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto formed all the security, happiness, and consolation of the human race. Their destructive projects have too well succeeded; but the effects of the new system, which they endeavoured to introduce, served only to show the imbecility and villainy of its authors. The events which so rapidly followed each other, since that epoch, surpass in atrocity all that have ever polluted the

pages of history. Property, liberty, security, even life itself, have been deemed playthings in the hands of infamous men, who are slaves to the most licentious passions—of rapine, enmity, and ambition."

Though his lordship's language was deemed indecorous by the enemies of the war, which was now threatened, yet the truth of it was indisputable; while, it is remarkable, that not one of the predictions which came from the lips of those great men, respecting the wars occasioned by the French revolution, was ever verified.

On the 1st of February, 1793, a decree passed the convention unanimously, declaring the republic of France at war with the King of Great Britain, and the Stadtholder of Holland. On this very day it was, that the British parliament was taken up with the consideration of a message from his majesty, in which it was said, "That his majesty had caused to be laid before them copies of several papers which had passed between M. Chauvelin and the minister for foreign affairs, and of the order of departure transmitted to M. Chauvelin." And his majesty moreover declared, that in the present situation of affairs he thought it indispensable to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, for maintaining the rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, at all times dangerous to the interests of Europe, but peculiarly so when connected with the propagation of principles subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

On this occasion the chancellor of the exchequer, in a very animated speech, proved the unavoidable necessity of a war. The death of Louis XVI. was represented by him "as an event so full of grief and horror, that he wished it were possible to tear it from their memories, and expunge it from the page of history; but that event was unfortunately passed, and the present age must be for ever contaminated with the guilt and ignominy of having witnessed it." In this dreadful transaction they saw concentrated the effect of those principles, pushed to their utmost extent, which set out with dissolving all the bonds by which society was held together,—principles established in opposition to every law human and divine, and which, presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of revelation." After indulging himself much in this species of declamation, he added, "During the whole summer, while France had been engaged in the war with Austria and Prussia, his majesty had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe. But what had been the conduct of the French? The

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first instance of their success in Savoy had been sufficient to demonstrate the insincerity of their assurances, and to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately resolved to annex it for ever to their dominions. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal decree they had stated their plan of overturning every government; threatening destruction to all who refused their fraternization, which, by a horrid mockery, they pretended to offer. They had rendered the Netherlands a province, in substance as well as in name, to France; and they had shewn a disposition to add to its territory every country which should be so unfortunate as to experience the force of its arms; for the wild and destructive ambition of the present rulers in France was limited only by their power. Some pretended explanations had indeed been given of the decree of the 19th of November; but, as had been already stated by the noble secretary of state, they contained only an avowal and a repetition of the offence. The whole of their language, institutions, and conduct, had been directed to the subversion of every government. To monarchy particularly they had testified the most violent and decided enmity: the bloody sentence executed by the hand of the assassin against their late monarch, was passed against the sovereigns of all countries. No political association in this kingdom, however contemptible, had sent addresses containing sentiments of sedition and treason to their assembly, which had not been received with even a degree of theatrical extravagance, and cherished with all the enthusiasm of congenial feeling: In relation to the violated rights of his majesty and his allies, involved in the question relative to the Scheldt, he asserted the exclusive claim of the Dutch to the navigation of that river, guaranteed by the most solemn treaties; to which the French, who could have no pretence to interfere in this matter, but in the assumed character of sovereigns of the Low Countries, or arbiters of Europe, opposed certain visionary theoretic principles, such as destroyed the force of all positive obligations, though they had repeatedly pledged themselves to the observance of all the subsisting treaties. He granted that the Dutch had made no formal requisition of support in the actual circumstances, contenting themselves with protesting against the invasion of their rights; but, because they were timid, were we to leave them exposed to the certain ruin that awaited them? The French had stated that they would evacuate the Netherlands at the conclusion of the war. Upon a promise so illusory there could not be placed the smallest dependence; and they had made no apology for the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from this country. These addresses they received as expressive of

the sentiments of the people of Great Britain, the great majority of whom, he was happy to say, detested the principles contained in them. Thus, in all those three assurances which they had given,—1st. Of their intention to resist any system of aggrandizement; 2dly, To abstain from all interference in the government of any neutral country; and, 3dly, To respect the rights of his majesty and his allies; they had entirely failed, and on every point completely reversed that plan of conduct which they had so solemnly pledged themselves to adopt. In the paper transmitted by the executive council, they had given their *ultimatum*; so that we must either accept the satisfaction they offer, or a war must be the consequence. As to the time, the precise moment, he should not pretend to fix it. A satisfactory explanation would not even now be refused; but he should deceive them if he should say that he thought any such explanation would be given, or that a war could be avoided."

The intelligence having arrived of the declaration of war by France against Great Britain and Holland, a royal message was delivered to both houses of parliament, February 11, declaring, "That the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most *groundless pretences*, actually declared war against his majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this *wanton and unprovoked aggression*, his majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain the honor of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people. And his majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the House of Commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a *JUST AND NECESSARY WAR*; and in endeavoring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice. In a cause of such general concern, his majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe."

Mr. Fox did not consider a declaration of war on the part of France unprovoked. The refusal to export corn to France, and the order issued for M. Chauvelin to quit the kingdom, was tantamount to the declaration of hostilities on the part of Britain. Mr. Burke defended the conduct of

ministers. "No man," he declared, "had a more lively sense of the evils of war than himself. A war with France, in present circumstances, must be terrible; but peace much more so. A nation that had abandoned all its valuable distinctions, arts, sciences, religion, law, order—every thing but the sword, was most dreadful to all countries composed of citizens who only used soldiers as a defence. He had no hesitation to pronounce, as in the divine presence, that ministers had not precipitated the nation into a war, but were brought to it by an over-ruling necessity. He had been grieved to the soul, for four years past, that his utmost exertions were unable to produce upon the government of the country, or in the public mind, a sense of the danger that approached them. At length the infatuation was removed,—ministers awoke to the peril that menaced; and he pledged himself, therefore, to give them his clear, steady, uniform, unequivocal support. If any charge was to be laid to the share of ministers, it was that of too long delay; but in his early opposition to the views and proceedings of France, he was convinced that he was not accompanied by the feelings of the nation; nor was it till full-blown mischief had alarmed the people and roused the king, that the government could have had a proper support. From those men who could neither vindicate the principles, nor deny

the power of France, but yet impeded the measures taken to secure us against that power, he differed fundamentally and essentially in every principle of morals, in every principle of manners, sentiment, disposition, and in taste. France, he said, had been for some time in a continual series of hostile acts against this country, both internal and external.—The putting the King of France to death was done, not as an example to France, not to extinguish the race, not to put an end to monarchy, but as a terror to monarchs, and particularly to the monarch of Great Britain. Mr. Fox, he added, had spoken with some asperity of an intention in ministers to restore the ancient government. He would not compare that government with the government of Great Britain; but certain he was, that it would be comfort and felicity compared with the tyranny at present exercised in France. Their enormities have already produced universal misery; their misery will drive them to despair; and out of that despair they will look for a remedy in the destruction of all other countries, and particularly that of Great Britain."

His Britannic majesty was pleased to order that general reprisals be made against the ships, goods, and subjects of France; and it was thought that France, already weakened by the struggle, would be crushed and overwhelmed by the additional weight of England.

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CHAPTER IV.

Commencement of Hostilities.—Siege of Breda, Klundert, Gertruydenberg, and Williamstadt.—Defeat of the French.—Conduct of Dumouriez.—His Successor, General Dampierre, killed.

THE members of the executive council, aware of the strength of England, determined on carrying the French arms into the heart of Holland, for the purpose of expelling the Stadtholder and annihilating the influence of Great Britain. Preparations for this purpose were made by Dumouriez, with uncommon celerity; and, previous to the commencement of hostilities, the French general addressed a declaration to the inhabitants of Holland, with the view of separating the interests of the republic from those of the Stadtholder. In this declaration he said,

"I enter your country surrounded by the generous martyrs of the revolution of 1787; their perseverance and their sacrifices merit both your confidence and union. I enter your country at the head of sixty thousand free and victorious Frenchmen; sixty thousand more are prepared to defend Belgium, and they also will be ready to follow me should I meet with any resistance."

"We are not the aggressors; for a long time past, the Orange faction hath waged a perfidious and underhand war against us. It is in the Hague that those conspiracies in opposition to your liberties originated; and at the Hague will we look for the authors of your evils."

"People of Batavia! place confidence in a man whose name is not unknown to you; who never failed to perform that which he promised, and who leads to combat those very freemen before whom the Prussians, the satellites of your tyrant, have once before fled, and will again flee. The Belgians already consider us as their deliverers, and I hope you will soon call us yours also."

The French general's troops consisted of no more than 21 battalions, two of which were only in the line, and of these one had never been in action. As the regiments were incomplete, the whole amounted to but 13,700; no more than

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eight battalions possessed field-pieces, and several of the soldiers were only boys from thirteen to sixteen years of age. On their entrance into the Dutch territories, there being a party ready to declare in favor of the French, and success chiefly depending on the celerity of their movements, Dumouriez had no time either to discipline or organize his troops; but having candidly unfolded to them all the difficulties they were to encounter, he encouraged them by assurances of victory and glory. General Berneron was ordered to advance with the vanguard, and dispatch Lieutenant-colonel Daendels, a Dutch patriot in the service of France, to Mordyck, on purpose to detain all the boats in the neighbourhood, as well as to throw a bridge over the Merk, in order to keep up the communication. These instructions, however, not being executed in time, the Dutch embraced this opportunity of carrying all the small vessels to the other side, under the protection of three armed shallops stationed near Dort. Hereupon, Berneron and Daendels were ordered to advance, while General d'Arçon with the right formed the blockade of Breda, and Col. Le Clerc, with the left, invested Bergen-op-Zoom and Steenberg. The governors of the two last places immediately abandoned all their out-posts; and the foot of Blaw-Sluis near Steenberg being taken, the garrison of the latter was summoned to surrender, while that of Bergen-op-Zoom hazarded a few sallies, which was only productive of deserters, who immediately joined the enemy. Dumouriez now moved forward between the two wings with the rear division of the army to Sevenbergen, and gave orders to besiege Klundert and Williamstadt immediately; while Daendels, by advancing to Nordschantz, was to cut off all intercourse between them.

The siege of Breda was now determined. This place was always considered very strong; for, besides being provided with 200 pieces of cannon, it possessed an excellent pallisade, and was protected by means of an inundation. The garrison consisted of 2200 infantry, and a regiment of dragoons; but the governor, Count de Ryland, was totally destitute of military skill, and the inhabitants strongly attached to the republican party. While a flotilla was preparing to carry the troops across the Mordyck, d'Arçon received orders to attack Breda; and, as the commander-in-chief had determined not to attempt a regular siege, d'Arçon opened no trenches, as usual, but, after erecting two batteries, of four mortars and four howitzers, he immediately summoned the town to surrender. The bombardment continued three days, during which time the enemy kept up a brisk fire; but sixty bombs only remaining, it was found that the siege must be inevitably raised when these were expended.

In this dilemma, Philip Devaux, one of the aides-de-camp, entered the place with a flag of truce, and declared that General Dumouriez was expected every moment with the whole of his army, and that the garrison then should have no quarter. This menace had the desired effect, the governor was alarmed, and, without consulting his officers, immediately capitulated, and was allowed the honors of war. Thus, on the 2d of March, one of the strongest towns in Holland was taken, in the course of a few days, by a detachment of only 3800 men. Here they found 250 pieces of artillery, 5000 muskets, and five vessels, with the loss of but a few men, which was entirely owing to their own temerity.

Two days afterwards, March 4, Klundert surrendered to Berneron. This little fortress was built after a regular plan, and surrounded by fortifications. The governor, a German lieutenant-colonel, defended the place with great bravery, though he had not more than 150 soldiers. After keeping up a smart fire for several days, and perceiving all resistance fruitless, he determined to nail up his cannon, and retire with his few remaining men to Williamstadt. He was unfortunately intercepted by a detachment of Bavarians, under Lieutenant-colonel Hartmann, whom he killed with his own hand. He soon experienced the same fate; and, on searching his body, the keys of Klundert were found in the pocket of this brave commander. In this place the French found fifty-three pieces of cannon, a few mortars, a large quantity of bombs, bullets, and powder.

Gertruydenberg was immediately attacked by d'Arçon, by means of a few cannon, and some mortars, brought from Breda. After a few shot had been fired, Colonel de Vaux entered with a flag of truce, and the governor, Major-general Bedaux, who was eighty years of age, and greatly alarmed, was prevailed upon to capitulate. Here the French got 150 pieces of cannon, 200,000 pounds of gunpowder, 2500 new muskets; but, what was still a greater acquisition, they obtained a good harbour, and more than thirty vessels of different sizes, for the transport of the troops.

Agreeable to orders, Berneron laid siege to Williamstadt; but, though the French were hitherto victorious, they were not so successful in this siege as they expected. Williamstadt, rendered strong both by nature and art, could only be attacked in one part, exhibiting but a small front to the assailants, while supplies of both men and provisions might be thrown in at any time. The gallant governor, the Baron de Boetzelaer, who was made a lieutenant-general during the siege, and afterwards received a present of a valuable sword for himself, and a portion for each of his daughters, from the States of Holland, resolved upon an obstinate defence. The

garrison had also the assistance of some British gun-boats, and the landing of a body of guards under the command of his royal highness the Duke of York. Dubois de Crancé and Marescot were sent by Dumouriez to trace out a battery within 100 yards of the walls; but the Dutch made a successful sally, and both these engineers were killed on the spot.

The French, notwithstanding, were able to attempt a passage from Mordyck, where Dumouriez had prepared a flotilla, and vigorous preparations were made for the invasion of Holland. This passage was to be attempted during the night, but in the mean time an event occurred which totally defeated the intentions of the French commander.

The army which had so lately chased the Austrians from the Low Countries became not only dispirited by the absence of its leader, but, through the altercations which arose among its generals, was rendered incapable of active operations. Agreeable to orders, Miranda had laid siege to Maestricht, and commenced a furious bombardment, by which various parts of the city were in flames. The defence, however, was far more vigorous than was expected; for a body of French emigrants, conscious that no mercy could be expected from their republican countrymen if victorious, had, under the command of M. d'Autichamp, displayed uncommon skill and bravery during the siege. General Champmorin's attempt to obtain possession of Venloo was also ineffectual; for, although he had taken the forts of Stevenswert and St. Michel, on the Meuse, the Prussians, anticipating his design, immediately occupied the place.

The Prince de Cobourg, an officer who had distinguished himself during the war against the Turks, arrived at Cologne, and assumed the command of the Austrian forces, while the generals Valence, Stengel, and Dampierre, remained in their cantonments, in the neighbourhood of Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle. As soon as the prince had learned that dissention prevailed among the leaders, and discontent among the troops, he immediately collected his army, and was resolved to commence his military career with some bold achievement. Accordingly General Clairfayt, in pursuance of orders, passed the Roer during night, and not only repulsed the French army on the side of Duren and Juliers, but compelled it to retreat beyond Aldenhoven with the loss of 2000 men. In the interim, the Prince de Cobourg entered Aldenhoven without experiencing any obstructions, and five days after (April 26) obtained a decisive victory. The French, who remained in cantonments, immediately fell back on Liege without fighting. General Leveneur, who presided over the attack of Maestricht on the side of Wyck, thought himself very fortunate in

being able to carry away his cannon and cross the Meuse, while General Miranda was under the necessity of entirely relinquishing the siege. Lieutenant-general Lanoue was also obliged to retreat from Aix-la-Chapelle after being defeated at Aldenhoven; and General Valence, with some difficulty saved a column of twenty-seven battalions.

The imperialists crossed the Meuse and entered Liege, where they seized all the magazines belonging to the French; the Prussians, at the same time, obliged General Champmorin to evacuate Stevenswert and Fort St. Michel, and fall back on Diest. In short, the defeat of the republican troops in the Low Countries was so complete, that more than 10,000 men deserted.

Dumouriez, mortified at the ill success of his army, returned to Belgium, and in obedience to the orders of the council, he set out the next morning for Flanders, leaving the troops under the command of General de Flers, with directions to attempt the passage from Gertruydenberg, and in case of success to wait at Dort, in order to receive further instructions. The arrival of the English forces in Holland, the check received by the grand army, and the sudden departure of Dumouriez, discouraged the invaders; and De Flers, instead of effecting a descent, found it necessary, in consequence of the approach of the Prussians, to throw himself into Breda with six battalions of infantry and 200 horse, while Colonel Tilly garrisoned Gertruydenberg with three battalions and 500 cavalry. The rest of the army was conducted to Antwerp, under the command of Colonels de Vaux and Thouvenot, who evacuated the batteries of Mordyck without loss; destroyed the fortifications of Klundert, and prevented the troops from fleeing in disorder.

No brilliancy or prosperity attended the French arms in Germany. Custine had not been able to prevent the Hessians from rendezvousing at Coblenz, whither the King of Prussia also directed his march, and not only occupied the two banks of the Lahn, but seemed inclined to force the general to abandon Frankfort, and shut himself up within the walls of Mentz. Being apprised of their motions, and determined to act as long as possible on the offensive, he immediately marched against the enemy, and though previous information had been obtained of his design, his attack was so bold, that they were obliged to relinquish their positions. In consequence of his temporary success and critical situation, Biron received instructions to send a body of troops to his assistance; and though a senior officer, he determined to put himself and men under his command. Before a junction could be effected, Custine was obliged to withdraw to Mentz in the face of a superior army, collected from all quarters by the King of Prussia. The inhabitants of Frankfort

BOOK I. opened one of their gates to the Prussians the very night preceding the succour, and part of the garrison having been put to the sword, it was retaken.

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The blockade of Mentz employed the Prussians during the winter; and early in spring the French again took the field. Custine made an irruption into the territories of the Duke of Deux Ponts, and suddenly took possession of the residence of Calsberg, their serene highnesses having escaped with great difficulty. Soon, however, Königstein, with its garrison of 440 men, surrendered to the Prussians; Worms was evacuated, and part of the magazines at Bingen, Kreutznach, and Nierstein seized. Moreover, the states of the empire had declared war against France, and in consequence of the menaces of Vienna and Berlin, had ordained "a junction of arms," and voted the necessary supplies.

On the return of Dumouriez to Antwerp, he issued orders to arrest the deserters from his army, and having reproached the fugitives, he made various changes in the organization of his army, which, even at this period, amounted to 40,000 infantry and 4,500 cavalry. General Valence had the command of the right, the Duke of Chartres of the centre, and General Miranda of the left.

Having retaken Tirlemont from the Austrians, General Dumouriez seized on Gotzenhoven, which he maintained during an engagement of eight hours, between the two advanced guards, supported by the main body of each of the hostile armies.

The French commander-in-chief, inflamed with this slight success, now resolved to be the assailant, and having spent the whole day of March 17 in reconnoitering the position of the imperialists, he posted his troops in order of battle, and prepared his plan of operations. The army, divided into eight columns, was put in motion between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, March 18, which crossed the river without any interruption. General Lamarche, with the first column, entered the plain of Landen, and not finding the enemy there, joined the second, which attacked the village of Oberwinden and the town of Middlewinden, about ten o'clock, with such vigor, that they were both carried. The latter was afterwards retaken by the Austrians, but on account of its importance, the possession of it was disputed during the whole of the day. About the same time, the third column, under the command of General Neuhilly, drove the imperialists from a village where they had taken post; but having abandoned it, the Austrians resumed their former position, and were driven from it again by the Duke of Chartres, who commanded the fourth and fifth columns; but General Desforêts having been wounded in the head with a musket-shot, the republican troops were thrown into confusion, and on the approach

of the Austrians, now determined to carry it by assault, it was again relinquished.

The Austrians then descended into the plain between Nerwinden and Middlewinden, and made a furious attack on the French cavalry. General Valence was wounded, and obliged to retire to Tirlemont; the imperialists, notwithstanding, were forced to withdraw. About the same time, another body of the Austrian horse attacked the infantry of the fourth column on the left of Nerwinden with great gallantry; but General Thouvenot, on perceiving their approach, opened his ranks to allow them to pass, and made such a critical discharge of grape and case shot from his artillery, which was assisted by a close fire of musketry from the regiment of Deux Ponts, that nearly the whole of this detachment fell.

As these divisions of the French army met with some success, they passed the night in the field of battle, in order to renew the engagement and complete their victory the next morning. A different fate, however, was reserved for the rest of the republican troops. The sixth and seventh columns, though in possession of Orsmael, were routed with considerable loss, by General Clairfayt; Guiscard, a *maréchal-de-camp*, was killed, and Generals Rualt and Iller, with several aides-de-camp and others persons belonging to the staff, were among the wounded. General Miranda gave orders to retreat, and withdrew to a position behind Tirlemont. General Champmorin also retired from Leaw, crossed the river by the bridge of Bingen, which he cut down after him, and resumed his position at Oplinter. Dumouriez, alarmed at not hearing from his left flank, sought General Miranda at Tirlemont, and gave him orders to assemble his division during the night, on purpose to occupy the heights of Wommersem, as well as the great road, and the bridges of Orsmael and Nerhelpen, with a view of insuring the passage of the Gette, as well as the retreat of the right and centre. The French army was enabled to withdraw to the heights behind Tirlemont in good order.

The dissimulation of Dumouriez became at this time apparent. Under pretence of treating about the wounded and prisoners, he sent Colonel Montjoye, an officer belonging to his staff, to the headquarters of the Prince de Cobourg, where he had a conference with Colonel Mack, with whom a suspension of arms was agreed upon. Colonel Mack, on the evening of the succeeding day, repaired to Louvain. Some articles were verbally agreed to, viz.

1. "That the imperialists should make no more general attacks, and that the French commander-in-chief should not, on his side, endeavour to give battle.

2. "That in conformity to this tacit convention, the French should retire to Brussels by easy marches and in good order, without being harassed

3. "That the same parties should meet again after the evacuation of the said city, on purpose to agree as to future contingencies."

In conformity to this treaty, the scheming Dumouriez gave orders for abandoning the Netherlands; and after his army had marched through Brussels, an interview took place between him and the adjutant-general of the Austrian army, in the course of which, he announced his intentions of marching to Paris and dissolving the convention. Hereupon it was agreed that the imperialists should either remain passive or act the part of auxiliaries, as occasion might require; but it was expressly stipulated on the other hand that Condé should be delivered up to them until the conclusion of peace and the regulation of indemnities. During these deliberations, the Duke de Chartres, General Valence, Thuvénot, and Colonel Montjoye were present.

Some occurrences happened which tended not a little to defeat the new projects of Dumouriez. On his arrival at the camp of Tournay, he learned that the division under General Neuilly, on its reaching Mons, instead of assuming a position on the heights of Nimy, as he had commanded, had fled to Condé, in Valenciennes, and that the cavalry alone remained in its station. On that very day (March 29) he received a visit from Proly, Desjardins, and Pereira, three deputies from the jacobin society at Paris; who, perceiving his intentions, reported him as an enemy to his country. A dispatch immediately arrived from seven commissioners of the convention, who had assembled at Lisle, summoning his attendance at that city, to answer the accusations against him. His reply on this occasion was guarded. His presence being necessary, he said, for the preservation of an army which he was endeavouring to reform, it was impossible for him to leave it; but if the deputies would repair to his camp, all questions should be answered with candor.

Antwerp having surrendered to a body of 2,000 men under Colonel Mylius, Dumouriez not only abandoned his position at Tournay, but conducted the army of the north to the camp of Bruille, which he connected by means of three bridges of communication with that of Maulde. At the same time, he dispatched General Miaczinski with 4,000 men to occupy Orchies, while the artillery removed to St. Amand, where the head-quarters were established. Dumouriez now began to disclose his intentions to the army, and as the violent proceedings of the jacobins and the cruelty and injustice which had been practised by the convention had rendered them odious to the major part of the troops, he found no difficulty in winning their confidence. To increase the number of those devoted to his person, he transmitted orders to General de Flers and Colonel Tilly, by means

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of Colonel Mack, to surrender Breda and Gustruydenberg, and return with the 6,000 men intrusted to their command. Having complied with these injunctions, they were permitted to march to his camp with their arms and baggage. Some of the officers, however, particularly Dampierre, and the national battalions, which formed a majority of the soldiery, were determined to support the republican government in opposition to their leader's designs. Three commissioners from the convention, Lequinio, Cochon, and Bellegarde, stationed at Valenciennes, already treated Dumouriez as a rebel, and prohibited money and supplies being sent to his army. A manifesto was published against him, which was distributed among the troops under his command as well as in the neighbouring fortresses.

Six volunteers having desired their general to repair to the bar of the convention, in obedience to orders, else they and many of their companions had sworn to imitate Brutus, and stab him on the spot; different regiments were immediately assembled by Dumouriez's partisans; and during the same day, the commander-in-chief received various addresses from both officers and soldiers, expressing their abhorrence of assassination, and a desire to change the government; some wishing to re-establish the laws and constitution of 1789. Dumouriez, on receiving these petitions, openly endeavoured to obtain possession of the three neighbouring garrisons. Miaczinski was ordered to repair to Lisle, with a large body of troops, on purpose to seize the deputies from the convention, together with all the principal members of the jacobin club. Miaczinski, however, was taken prisoner in Lisle, and having been sent to Paris, was soon after beheaded. Ferrand, whom Dumouriez had raised to the rank of general, had the care of Valenciennes, but l'Ecuyer, the provost of his army, whom he had dispatched thither, immediately disclosed his projects. Condé now appeared to be his last resource; but the deputies on mission had already dispersed manifestoes and assignats among the garrison, and the governor Neuilly was rendered incapable of fulfilling his engagements with Dumouriez.

The commander-in-chief, notwithstanding the failure of these designs, arrested General Beurnonville and four commissioners from the convention, Camus, la Marque, Bancal, and Quinette; who had repaired to his camp to notify his suspension. These he sent under a guard to General Clairfayt, and immediately composed a manifesto in defence of his conduct. An attempt was made by some of the volunteers to shoot him, but owing to the swiftness of his horse, he escaped and got into the Austrian lines. He now drew up two manifestoes in concert with the Prince de Cobourg, in which the latter disclaimed

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the idea of conquest; and the next morning, at day-break, accompanied by a guard of fifty Austrian dragoons, Dumouriez ventured to his own camp, and endeavoured to regain the confidence of his army. This army he found considerably reduced, for the artillery had retreated to Valenciennes, and several regiments of the infantry were already on their march for the neighbouring fortresses. He attempted in vain to seize the military-chest, and being frustrated in his visionary projects, he escaped, with a few of his friends, to Tournay.

About the beginning of April, a congress had met at Antwerp, composed of the representatives of the combined powers, viz. his serene highness the Prince of Orange and his two sons, his royal highness the Duke of York, their excellencies Lord Auckland, as ambassador from England, Vanderspiegel from Holland, the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys, the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, the Counts Metternich, Starenberg, Mercy d'Argenteau, and the Generals Knobeldorff and Keller. In consequence of the representations of this assembly, the Prince de Cobourg annulled the manifesto issued at the request of Dumouriez: in which he had disavowed the intention of making conquests, and it was resolved to commence active operations against France.

While French Flanders appeared to be an easy conquest on the one side, Alsace presented the most alluring bait on the other; and great hopes were entertained of its speedy annexation to the head of the German empire. Wurmser, (a native of that province, and now a general in the Austrian service,) accordingly endeavoured to obtain possession of Landau. His threats and allurements, however, could not prevail on the governor to surrender that important fortress.

In the mean time, the convention being informed that the camps of Maulde and Bruille still remained faithful to the republic, General Dampierre was elected commander-in-chief in the place of Dumouriez, who was declared a traitor: and two decrees at the same time passed; by one of which, the severest punishment was enacted against those commanders who entered into any secret negotiations with the enemy: and by the other, the obnoxious law of fraternity was rescinded.

The Prince de Cobourg finding his army greatly strengthened by the accession of a body of Prussians and the arrival of a considerable reinforcement of English and Hanoverian troops under his royal highness the Duke of York, declared, that the armistice was at an end, and on the 7th of April advanced against Maulde, now rendered defenceless in consequence of the disorders which had so recently prevailed among the republican troops. Having secured this strong camp, he

prepared to invest Condé, another principal fortress in that neighbourhood.

Dampierre, knowing the dispirited state of his army, remained on the defensive at Famars. The Austrians suddenly attacked his outposts, (April 15,) advancing against ten different points at the same time, but were repulsed by the French commander. Soon after this, Dampierre determined in his turn to attack the allies incamped at Quievrain, in order to prevent the siege of Valenciennes and raise the blockade of Condé. With this view the French, on the 1st of May, marched against the advanced posts of the left wing, as well as those of the centre; but were repulsed in all directions with a prodigious loss of men and cannon.

Considerable bodies of troops from Lisle and the neighbouring garrisons, joined by the main body of the army from the camp of Famars, sallied forth for the purpose of making a more serious assault on the positions assumed by the combined forces. The action, which commenced about seven o'clock in the morning of May 8, was directed chiefly against the posts occupied by General Clairfayt, as well as those in the possession of the Prussians. It continued until 8 o'clock in the evening with unabated vigor, both at the abbey of Vicogne and in the village of Raismes. The French, though baffled and defeated in that quarter, assumed a position in the neighbouring woods, and cannonaded the Prussian camp at St. Amand. The Duke of York, who had arrived early in the morning at the camp of Maulde with the brigade of English guards and a battalion of Hanoverian infantry, marched to their assistance. The Coldstream came up at a critical moment, when the French were advancing towards the great road, and nearly commanded it by the fire of their cannon; but the battalion guns having succeeded in checking the battery opposed to this corps, it moved forward into the wood, and made a charge with fixed bayonets. Another battery, however, opened, which rendered a retreat to the former position necessary; notwithstanding which, the British troops, under the command of Major-general Lake, behaved so gallantly, that they contributed not a little to the success of the day. Dampierre received a mortal wound in the course of this action, his thigh having been carried away by a cannon-shot, and the command of the French troops devolved on Lamarche in right of seniority.

On the morning of May 9, the French began to erect batteries along the front of the Austrian and Prussian lines, commanded by the generals Clairfayt and Knobeldorff. The imperialists were now resolved to carry their works by assault; and, in order to enable as many of the combined forces as possible to take the field, the Duke of York, who was about to return to Tournay with his troops, once more occupied the positions at

Maulde and St. Armand. Early the next morning, the two generals advanced at the head of their respective columns, and carried the batteries. The Prince de Cobourg then made preparations to attack the camp of Famars and the whole of the French line from Archies to Maubeuge. The Count Colloredo was stationed so as to keep Valenciennes in check, while General Otto covered Quesnoy; and the Prince of Wirtemberg, at the head of a body of Austrians, continued the blockade of Condé, and rendered a sally in that quarter ineffectual. Three bodies of troops, destined for the attack, were assembled early in the morning of May 13. The first column, under the command of the Duke of York, consisting of sixteen battalions of English, Hanoverian, and Austrian infantry, with a detachment of cavalry and a train of heavy artillery, was to cross the Ronelle, near Orties, in order to turn the right flank of the enemy; while the second, under the command of General Ferraris, after carrying the works thrown up on the right bank of that river, was to co-operate with the forces under his royal highness. A sanguinary engagement now commenced. After a cannonade on both sides, two divisions of hussars passed the Ronelle, without opposition, at the village of Mershe; and, on a body of infantry being ordered to advance, on purpose to take the batteries in flank, the French retreated to the heights behind the village of Famars. When General Ferraris had taken the intrenchments by assault, the Duke of York surveyed the new position assumed by the enemy; but deeming it imprudent to commence an attack on their front, preparations were made to turn their flanks during night. In the interim, General Clairfayt, at the head of a strong column of imperialists, attacked the heights of Anzain. An obstinate resistance was made by the enemy; but the Austrians proved victorious, and obtained a post, which not only overlooked the citadel of Valenciennes, but enabled the Prince de Cobourg to complete the investment of that fortress, the English and Hanoverians being now in possession of the camp of Famars; for the French had evacuated it at night, and, after throwing a body of troops into Valenciennes, effected their retreat across the Scheldt. The imperialists, Hanoverians, and English, behaved on this occasion with distinguished bravery: the killed and wounded, on the part of the British, did not exceed thirty-two, the loss of the allies altogether being no more than 700 men. They took nine pieces of cannon, eight baggage-waggons, upwards of 300 prisoners, and a great number of horses: the amount of the killed, on the part of the French, (which was carefully concealed,) was considerable.

In consequence of this success, the combined

forces were able to undertake the siege of Valenciennes, and to invest Condé still closer. General Lamarche apprehensive, from his situation, of fresh defeats, made known his intention of resigning; and Custine, who was recalled from the army of the Moselle, was nominated his successor. This general, notwithstanding the military talents which he displayed in Germany, proved incapable of coping with the victorious foe; he therefore abandoned the neighbouring fortresses, which were immediately possessed by the enemy; and, after a blockade of three months by the imperial forces, the Prince of Wirtemberg became master of Condé, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

His royal highness the Duke of York, to whom the conduct of the siege of Valenciennes had been intrusted, on the 10th of July summoned the governor to surrender. Different opinions arose respecting the mode of conducting this siege. Colonel Moncrieff, an English engineer, proposed, it is said, that the body of the place should be attacked all at once. The plan, however, suggested by Feld-Zeugmeister Ferraris was adopted; and the fortifications, erected according to the orders of the celebrated Vauban, were approached, as directed. Forty-one days had elapsed after opening the trenches before the attack proved successful. During the night, the covered way, the horn-work, and the advanced *flèche*, were carried and taken possession of. On this occasion, there were three separate attacks by 900 men each, commanded by Major-general Abercromby, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-general Erbach; and, after a lodgement had been effected, the necessary measures for battering the counter-guard between the horn-work and the body of the place were adopted. His royal highness summoned both the commandant and municipality the next day, declaring that the fate of the city rested entirely upon their answer, this being the last time that any capitulation would be granted. A truce of twenty-four hours was solicited and obtained; a negotiation took place, and the result was, Valenciennes surrendered to the enemy, and the garrison were allowed the honors of war.

Soon after, the French army was obliged to abandon the strong position behind the Scheldt, called Cæsar's camp, on which Cambray was summoned to surrender by the imperial General de Boros. About the same time Mentz was forced to capitulate. The King of Prussia, having possessed himself of Costheim, and frustrated the intentions of an army which had marched under General Houchard to the succour of the garrison, made such effectual sallies, that both this important city and Cassel were delivered up to him. The garrison was not only allowed to march out with all the honors of war, but to

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In consequence of the loss of Mentz, the French commander was disgraced, and a combination of other powers now threatened the destruction of France.

CHAPTER V.

Conduct of Russia, Naples, Spain, Portugal, &c.—A new League formed against France.—Operations of the Channel Fleet.—Success of the English Arms in the East Indies.—Triumph of the Jacobins.—Violent Disputes.—A new Constitution accepted throughout France.—Insurrections.—Measures for the Renewal of Hostilities.

THE Empress Catherine of Russia, disgusted with a nation who had put their monarch to death, recalled her minister, and determined to suspend all correspondence with France, "until his most christian majesty should be re-established in those rights and prerogatives assigned to him by human and divine laws." This empress, having entered into a convention with Great Britain, transmitted a letter to the court of Sweden, expressing her wish that the navigation of France should be checked, and the coasts of the Baltic protected.

The various changes which had taken place in the French government were likewise obnoxious to the court of Naples; and though a neutrality was affected, yet, when an opportunity offered, a convention was entered into between their Britannic and Sicilian majesties; and the former not only consented to protect the dominions of the latter by means of a respectable fleet in the Mediterranean, but also to grant a subsidy, in order to stimulate his new ally to vigorous exertions.

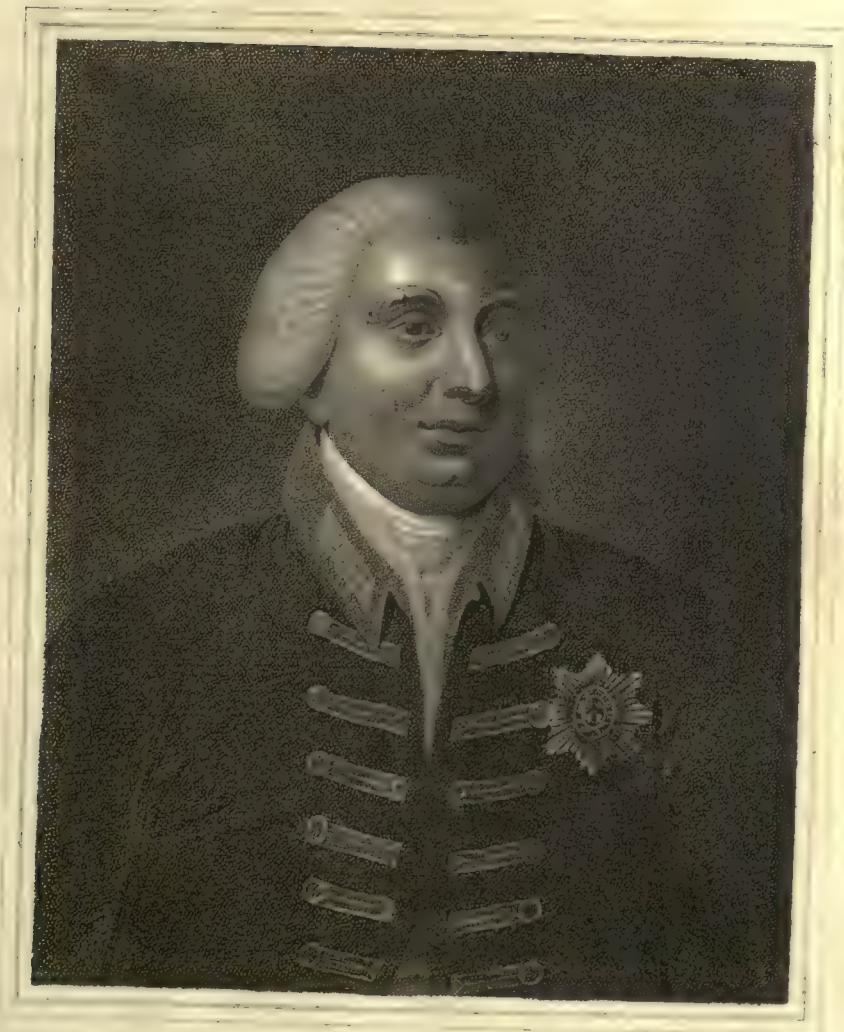
Spain had hitherto adhered to a system of moderation; but when the Duke d'Alcudia, a major in the Walloon guards, became the successor of the President of Castile, the intentions of the court of Madrid produced a declaration of hostilities on the part of France. This contributed to render Portugal a party in the war; and D'Arnault, the minister of France, was informed by the police, that the court of Lisbon had given orders for his departure in the course of three days.

The first treaty which Britain entered into was with Prussia, when it was mutually agreed, that the high contracting powers should assist and succour each other during the war against France. It was also stipulated, that they should shut up their ports against the ships of that nation, and not lay down their arms but by common consent, without a restitution of all conquests made upon either of their said majesties, or such of their

allies to whom it might be deemed proper to extend this guarantee.

The King of England also entered into a stipendiary treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who consequently agreed to keep a body of 8000 infantry and cavalry, which, by an additional article, was afterwards augmented to 12,000, at the disposal of his Britannic majesty, during the space of three successive years. On this occasion his serene highness exacted a subsidy of two hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns a-year; and demanded, with extreme precision, a remuneration for the loss of men, stores, artillery, &c. Similar engagements were afterwards made with the Margrave of Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Elector of Hanover. A subsidiary treaty was also concluded with the court of Turin; by which it was agreed, on the part of his Sardinian majesty, that during the war he was to keep on foot an army of fifty thousand men, to be employed for the defence of his dominions, as well as to act against the common enemy: and, on the other hand, the King of England agreed to furnish, during the same period, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling a-year, (three months to be always paid in advance,) to keep up a formidable force in the Mediterranean; and not to conclude a peace with the enemy without comprehending in it the entire restitution, to his Sardinian majesty, of all the parts of his dominions which belonged to him at the commencement of the war, and of which the enemy had obtained possession, or might, during the course of hostilities.

Spain had also agreed with Great Britain to shut up her ports against France; and, by means of subsidiary treaties and multiplied negotiations, new enemies were daily rising against France. In the course of one summer, three different armaments were fitted out; and the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and the narrow



His most Excellent Majesty
King George the Third
in his military robes
by Sir J. Kneass
1763



seas, witnessed the triumph of the British flag. A squadron, under the command of Admiral Laforey, took possession of the island of Tobago on the 14th of April. Having effected a landing in Great Courland Bay, and having marched against the fort Monteil, the governor was summoned to surrender. This he refused; and, in the course of that very night, the English general carried the place by assault. The troops, who were ordered to trust entirely to the bayonet, accordingly advanced to attack the north-west side, and, notwithstanding one of the guides ran away, and the column was separated in mounting the hill, yet the flank companies entered the works, upon which the troops forming the garrison yielded, and were admitted prisoners of war.

The islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, were surrendered at the first summons to Brigadier-general Ogilvie. An attack made by Major-general Bruce, on the island of Martinico, proved less successful. A detachment of British troops, to the amount of 11,000 men, was landed on the 16th of June; but an alarm having taken place, and their commanding officer being wounded, the expedition was relinquished, and the troops re-embarked.

The governor of Jamaica, having received instructions to attempt an invasion, and the necessary preparations having been made, Commodore Ford sailed from Port Royal, with the 13th regiment, two flank companies of the 49th, and a small detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke. These having landed at Jeremie, the two forts immediately hoisted English colours. After remaining a few hours there, and leaving some troops, the squadron sailed for the Mole. On being summoned to surrender, Major O'Ferral, who commanded the garrison, consisting of 183 men of the regiment of Dillon, and M. Deneux, the governor of the place, immediately agreed to the terms proposed. Thus an important position of the island of St. Domingo was delivered up to 560 British troops.

An early intimation of the war having been transmitted to the East Indies, the British captured the settlements of Pondicherry, Mahé, and other French possessions on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, experiencing little or no resistance. The troops which accomplished these objects properly belonged to the East India company, and were under the command of General Stewart.

An armament, under the command of Lord Hood, had been fitted out for the protection of England's allies in the south of Europe: and the chief arsenal in the Mediterranean having been seized, as hereafter mentioned, the situation of France became exceedingly critical.

The British ambassador at Genoa, Mr. Drake, having demanded an instant declaration of war

against France, observed, "That neutrality among nations cannot take place but with respect to such wars as are carried on between *lawful powers*; that to talk of neutrality in the case of a contest between religion and atheism, laws and anarchy, loyalty and perjury, virtue and vice, humanity and murder, is to vilify its very name; and that of course, in the present war against the usurpers of the supreme power in France, no government can declare itself neuter without becoming their accomplice, and degrading itself in the eyes of all Europe." The government of Genoa having proved averse to hostilities, and arms having been made and distributed among the people, in consequence of an order from the senate, passports were demanded by the British and imperial ministers for their departure, and a British squadron blockaded the port of Genoa. Much about the same time, a memorial was presented by Lord Robert Fitzgerald to the Helvetic confederacy, framed on the model of those which Lord Auckland had addressed to the States-General, wherein it is said, that "the vile and ferocious men assembled at Paris under the name of a convention, had manifested their desire of strengthening their connections with Switzerland.—Objects of universal execration, they have had the audacity, magnificent and mighty lords, to make an injurious exception for you alone in Europe.—A lasting peace cannot exist between the wise council of the Helvetic States, and a banditti associated for the purposes of devastation.—In the present circumstances, even neutrality cannot authorize any correspondence with the factious, or their agents. When two legitimate powers are at war, the relations of any state with one or the other cannot be injurious to their respective rights. But the present war being directed against usurpers, all correspondence which a neutral state should carry on with them, would be an acknowledgment of their authority, and, consequently, an act prejudicial to the allied powers." The reply of the Helvetic government was couched in the following expressions: "That a rigid and exact neutrality was the sacred and invariable maxim of their ancestors, and that they trust his Britannic majesty, following the example of his illustrious predecessors, will respect the independence of the Helvetic confederacy." Lord Hervey, who was then ambassador at Florence, did not hesitate to demand the dismissal of M. de la Fotte, the French envoy, in twenty-four hours; and with this demand the grand duke was obliged to comply, from the connection subsisting between the King of Great Britain and his brother the emperor, as well as from his being threatened by Lord Hood, the British admiral; and of course he declared war against France on the 10th of October.

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The court of London, about the same time, published the following declaration, stating to the world at large, and particularly to the people of France, the views of his Britannic majesty:

"His majesty by no means disputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wish to employ the influence of external force with respect to the particular form of government to be established in an independent country. Neither has he now that wish, except in so far as such interference has become essential to the security and repose of other powers. Under these circumstances he demands from France, and he demands with justice, the termination of a system of anarchy which has no force but for the purposes of mischief. The king demands that some legitimate and stable government should be established, founded on the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining, with other powers, the accustomed relations of union and peace. It is for these objects that he calls upon the people to join the standard of an hereditary monarchy; not for the purpose of deciding, in this moment of disorder, calamity, and public danger, on all the modifications of which this form of government may hereafter be susceptible, but in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and religion."

No sooner had the French armies experienced a series of disasters, than the faction which had overturned the throne of France, and put the unfortunate king to death, began to assume a sanguinary appearance. A terrible contest took place, when Danton, Marat, Collot d'Herbois, and Robespierre, were destined to overcome Roland, Brissot, Vergniaud, and Gensonné. A new revolution was achieved on the 31st of May. At three o'clock in the morning, the alarm-bell was rung, the barriers were shut, and the capital appeared in confusion. Henriot, the commander of the national guard, instead of taking the proper measures for the protection of the convention, was a party in the plot against it, being entirely devoted to Robespierre, a man of infamous character. After the tumult had continued a considerable time, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar of the convention, and demanded the immediate suppression of the commission of twelve, which had been nominated for the purpose of restraining anarchy; a revolutionary army of *sans culottes*; a decree of accusation against twenty-two legislators, and a diminution of the price of bread. They likewise insisted that certain deputies should be dispatched to the south, in order to terminate a counter-revolution that prevailed there: at the same time they suggested the arrest of Claviere, the minister of public contributions, and le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs. Their enmity was particularly

directed against the Girondists, who still endeavored to keep their ground. The convention refused to comply, but finding itself besieged and imprisoned in its own hall, the members were at length intimidated into compliance. They not only decreed the arrest of all the obnoxious deputies, but proscribed those who endeavored to escape by flight.

In order to overthrow the Girondists, these deputies were brought to trial before the revolutionary tribunal, October 24. The persons accused were twenty-two in number; the most distinguished of whom were Brissot, Vergniaud, Valazé, Sillery, Fauchet, Gensonné, Ducos, Lacaze, and fourteen others. The procuring a declaration of war against Austria, Britain, and Holland, was one of the crimes laid to their charge. These deputies were convicted for having conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and for provoking a rebellion in the departments of the south, and in that of Calvados. Valaze stabbed himself the moment the sentence was pronounced, but the remaining twenty-one were conveyed to the *Place de la Revolution*, October 30, and publicly executed. They met their fate with uncommon fortitude, and some exclaimed, "*Vive la République*," under the bloody axe of the guillotine.

At this time the members of the convention displayed the most shocking impiety. The churches were shut by order of the commune of Paris. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, and the months into three decades; a respite from labor was allowed on the tenth day, the observance of a sabbath being entirely demolished. Cruelty was another characteristic; an insurrection having taken place in Lyons, which was consequently besieged, the deputy, Freron, entering this devoted town, ordered a number of guillotines to be erected, and announced, that "Terror was the order of the day." But he was surpassed in ferocity by Collot d'Herbois, whose proconsulship in the south was one continued series of bloodshed. A chosen band of Parisian jacobins and a column of the revolutionary army marched into Lyons, as the precursors of his barbarity. The guillotine was deemed too slow for his insatiable vengeance; therefore the bayonets of the infantry, the sabres of the cavalry, grape-shot and artillery were occasionally resorted to, in order to accelerate his sanguinary deeds.

The situation of France, at this time, was desperate. By a decree of August 8, all Frenchmen were declared to be at the service of their country until her enemies should be driven from the territories of the republic. "The young men shall march to the combat; the married ones shall forge arms and transport the provisions; the women shall fabricate tents and clothes, and attend the military hospitals; the children shall make lint

to serve as dressings for the wounds of the patriots; while the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the public squares to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach the unity of the republic, and inspire hatred against kings." New and extraordinary measures were adopted to supply the wants of the immense armies now about to be collected from all quarters. Assignats were not only circulated in large quantities, but their value maintained for some time, at a rate nearly equivalent to gold; and when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes were imposed. Equality being a doctrine which prevailed, the wealth of the opulent was seized upon in the name of the republic for the support of the poor; great cities were crowded with manufactures of salt-petre; the towns changed into founderies, and the houses into arsenals, in order to supply the troops with arms and gunpowder.

Eleven distinct armies, which seemed to form a chain around the frontiers of France, were provided at a time when all Europe ridiculed the idea of a nation rising *in mass*. Bachelors from eighteen to forty years of age were put in permanent requisition, and a draft of three hundred thousand made at once. By these means they were able to strengthen and new model the army of the north, extending from Dunkirk to Maubeuge; that of the Ardennes reaching from Maubeuge to Longwy; that of the Moselle, from Longwy to Bitche; that of the Rhine, from Bitche to Porentrui; that of the Alps, from the Aisne to the borders of the Var; that of Italy, from the Maritime Alps to

the mouth of the Rhône; that of the Oriental Pyrenées, from the mouth of the Rhone to the Garonne; that of the Western Pyrenées, from the department of the Upper Pyrenées, to the mouth of the Gironde; that of the coast of Rochelle, from the mouth of the Gironde to that of the Loire; that of the coasts of Brest, from the mouth of the Loire to St. Maloes; and that of the coasts of Cherbourg, from St. Maloes to the northern department.

In the mean time, the allied courts agreed to divide their forces, and while the Austrians undertook the siege of Quesnoy, his royal highness the Duke of York, at the head of the English troops, and a body of Dutch and Hanoverians, advanced and occupied a camp in the neighbourhood of Menin. As soon as the French understood that the combined forces intended to separate, they determined once more to resume offensive operations, and overcome those warriors, now divided, whom they were unable to conquer when united. Advantage was taken of the inactivity of the Prussians after the conquest of Mentz, and drafts were immediately made from the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, while the new levies were clothed and disciplined. Houchard, now celebrated by his achievements in Germany, and who had ascended through all the various military gradations, from the station of a trooper to the chief command, after possessing, in succession, the command of the forces stationed on the banks of the Rhine and Moselle, was placed at the head of the army of the north.

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CHAPTER VI.

Renewal of Hostilities.—The French defeated at Lincelles, Oost Capelle, &c.—Siege of Dunkirk.—

Battles of Hondschoote and of Maubeuge.—The combined Fleets enter the Mediterranean.—Siege of Toulon.

THE French, as it had been determined, became the aggressors, and having attacked Lincelles, a post lately taken and occupied by command of the hereditary Prince of Orange, Major-general Lake, with three battalions, consisting of the first, the coldstream, and the third regiment of guards, was sent to the assistance of the Dutch forces, who had unfortunately retreated by a different road. Notwithstanding this discouraging event, and the evident superiority of the enemy, an immediate attack was resolved upon. The English, who were accordingly formed on the 18th of August, advanced under a heavy fire against a redoubt of uncommon size and strength, erected upon a height in front of Lincelles. Having fired three

or four rounds, they charged with bayonets, stormed the works, drove out the enemy, dispersed them after they had rallied, and took about fifty prisoners and eleven pieces of cannon. From the concurring testimony of the prisoners, it appeared that the French had twelve battalions at the post, and must have been upwards of 5000 men. Lieutenant-colonel Boswell of the coldstream, and Lieutenant de Peyster of the royal artillery, were killed.

About the same time the French were defeated at Oost Capelle, Rexpede, and Hondschoote, by Field-marshal Freytag, at the head of the Hanoverians, who took 200 prisoners and 11 pieces of cannon, while the Duke of York advanced with

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the besieging army in three columns from Furnes, in order to attack the camp of Ghivelde. The enemy abandoned this position during the night, and a redoubt in the course of the following day. In the mean time, Field-marshal Freytag seized on the ports of Warmarthe and Eckelsbeck, and the bridge of Lefferink's Hock. The English, also, after repulsing a sally and experiencing some loss in approaching the place, obtained possession of the ground of Dunkirk, which was immediately summoned in the name of the King of Great Britain. The most effectual measures had been taken by the committee of public safety for the defence of that place. General Souham, who had risen from the ranks, was ordered to march, with a chosen body of troops, to the defence of the garrison; these soon after entered the town, under the command of Hoche, an adjutant-general, but formerly a private in the French guards, it being the boast of France, at this time, that merit, and not birth, should be the chief recommendation. O'Moran, a native of Ireland, who commanded at Cassel, being suspected of treachery by Hoche, was seized, conducted to Paris, and, having been brought to trial and condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, was guillotined. Houchard having arrived with a great body of troops on the 6th of September, the French, in order to relieve the place by general and frequent attacks, marched out from the camp of Cassel, as well as from the towns of Bergues and Dunkirk, for the purpose of assaulting the whole of Field-marshal Freytag's posts. The French, though they met with a gallant resistance, not only obtained possession of Bambecke, Rousebrughe, and Poperhinghe, but obliged part of the enemy to retreat to Hondschoote. On the 7th of September, the field-marshal was attacked again; and, on the succeeding morning, the centre of the line was forced, and General Walmoden driven behind a canal, with the loss of about 300 men and three pieces of cannon. In the course of this action, Field-marshal Freytag and Prince Adolphus were both wounded, and for some time prisoners. His royal highness, the commander-in-chief, was obliged to abandon his position, and leave behind him thirty-two heavy cannon, much baggage, and many of the military stores. Thus the siege of Dunkirk was relinquished; but the general, Sir William Erskine, conducted the retreat with equal ability and success.

Notwithstanding this victory, and the subsequent capture of Furnes and Menin, Houchard was immediately arrested. The four following charges, drawn up by Barrere, and preferred against him, afforded no proof of guilt, and were undoubtedly exaggerated accusations.

1. That after defeating the English, he did not drive them into the sea.

2. That when he had surrounded the Dutch, he did not cut them to pieces.

3. That he sent no succour to the troops butchered at Cambray.

4. That he abandoned Menin, and in his retreat exposed his army to considerable danger.

Houchard suffered by the guillotine at Paris, November 15, 1793.

Care was taken to reward such officers as had distinguished themselves. Jourdan, who had attacked the right and centre of the camp at Hondschoote; and Hoche, who had charged the left wing, were both promoted. A decree passed at the same time, declaring, "That the army of the North had deserved well of the country."

The Austrians had been more fortunate than the English: Quesnoy was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. The French were also defeated at Villers en Couchée; and the Prince de Cobourg, having passed the Sambre, drove all the detached bodies of the enemy into the entrenched camp of Maubeuge, and actually invested both it and the fortress; while Field-marshal Clairfayt threatened both Cambray and Bouchain.

A formidable train of heavy artillery having been brought into the field, and numerous bodies of troops assembled, the representatives of the people not only harangued the army, but placed themselves at the head of the columns, while another plebeian leader was found in the person of Jourdan. As soon as this general was invested with the chief command, he resolved to have recourse to the same system which had proved so fortunate at Hondschoote. An attack was immediately made on the troops posted near the village of Wattignes, which having proved ineffectual, was repeated the next morning with success. The communication with the army of observation being now cut off, and the Prince de Cobourg beaten in an action that lasted two successive days, it was deemed prudent to repass the Sambre. Jourdan was the only French general, since the commencement of the campaign, who had defeated Cobourg in a pitched battle.

The French soon afterwards seized on Werwick and Furnes; they also obtained possession of Menin, and were only prevented from occupying Nieuport by the gallant defence of Colonel de Wurmb; in consequence of which, time was given for the arrival of Generals Grey and Dundas, who secured the possession of that place by means of the same troops with which they afterwards achieved so many conquests in the West Indies. Major-general Kray, under the direction of the Duke of York, made a successful attack upon Marchiennes, which cost the enemy about 2000 troops, including killed and wounded, and twelve pieces of cannon.

While terror and insurrection alternately

reigned in the south of France, the fleet of Great Britain, under the orders of Lord Hood, and that of Spain, commanded by Don Juan de Langara, had made their appearance in the Mediterranean. This event inspired the malcontents with new hopes, and confirmed the spirit of revolt which appeared to be every where present. The victories of the combined armies, the recent misfortunes of the republic, the scarcity of corn, the hostile conduct of the Italian States, and above all, the countenance and protection of England, seemed to indicate a successful resistance to the zealots of the revolution.

The English admiral, not failing to take advantage of the commotions which prevailed in the great cities of the southern departments, appeared off the island of Hieres, and received commissioners from Toulon and Marseilles on board the *Victory*, that carried his flag. In this conference it was determined, that the first constitution should be recognized; that the English should take possession of all the towns delivered up in the name of Louis XVII.; and that a supply of corn should be furnished for the use of the inhabitants. A preliminary declaration was issued on the following day by Lord Hood, wherein he stated, "That if a candid and explicit declaration in favor of monarchy was made at Toulon and Marseilles, and the standard of royalty hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the port and forts provisionally placed at his disposal, the people of Provence should have the assistance of his Britannic Majesty's fleet, and not an atom of private property be touched." The British admiral likewise observed, "That having no other view than that of restoring peace to a great nation, upon just, liberal, and honorable terms, whenever this event shall take place, the port, with all the ships in the harbour, shall be restored to France, with all the stores of every kind, agreeable to the schedule that may be delivered."

A proclamation was also issued by Lord Hood, in which, after descanting on the misery and anarchy of France, he observed, "That he had come to offer them the assistance of the force with which he was furnished by his sovereign, in order to spare the further effusion of human blood, to crush with promptitude the factions, to re-establish a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity in Europe."—"Therefore," added his lordship, "decide definitively and with precision; trust your hopes to the generosity of a loyal and free nation, in whose name I have just given a unequivocal testimony to the well-disposed inhabitants of Marseilles, by granting to the commissioners sent on board the fleet under my command a passport for procuring a quantity of grain, of which that city stands so much in need. Be explicit, and I fly to your succour, in order to break the chain

which surrounds you, and to be the instrument of making many years of happiness succeed to four years of misery and anarchy, in which your deluded country has been involved." These declarations had the desired effect for a while, as they were communicated by the general committee, immediately on the receipt of them, to the sections of Toulon; who, in the name of the inhabitants, returned an answer expressive of "their unanimous wish to reject a constitution which does not promote their happiness, to adopt a monarchical government, such as was originally decreed by the constituting assembly of 1789; and that in consequence they have proclaimed Louis XVII. son of Louis XVI. king, sworn to acknowledge him, and no longer to suffer the despotism of the tyrants which at this time rule France. The white flag shall be hoisted the moment the English squadron anchors in the road of Toulon. The ships of war now there shall be disarmed, and the citadel and forts on the coast shall be provisionally at the disposal of the British admiral; to be restored to the French nation, in the same state, on the re-establishment of peace."

Though the chief inhabitants of Toulon had subscribed to the above resolutions, yet some of the people, and even the galley-slaves, were unwilling to surrender the port, arsenal, and forts, in trust to Lord Hood. The chief opposition to these measures originated with the sailors on board the fleet. St. Julien was a powerful adversary to the views of the British commander, though Rear-admiral Trogoff had expressed his consent. The former having been charged by two of the deputies on mission at Marseilles, to adopt proper measures for the safety of the navy, immediately assembled and made known this order to the crew of each man of war, by whom he was instantly elected admiral in chief. Trogoff perceiving this, retired to the city, and took possession of the forts on the left of the harbour. Various measures were now adopted, in order to gain over the captains, but in vain; it having been declared by the council of officers, "that they would rather demolish the city, and perish themselves, than consent to the entrance of the enemy's squadron into the port of Toulon." Some of the townsmen, however, anxious to prevent extremities, entered into a negotiation for the purpose of winning over the respective commanders. Trogoff having hoisted his flag on board a corvette, under protection of the ramparts, immediately sailed for, and anchored in the roads; then having fired a gun, he threw out a signal for the ships to join him. All the vessels, except seven, saluted their former commander, and placed themselves under his care. St. Julien, finding it impossible, with the assistance of the crews of the seven vessels that remained with him, to oppose the entrance of the combined fleets, made his

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Fifteen hundred men having been landed from the English fleet, took, by means of a detachment under Captain Elphinstone, immediate possession of fort Malgue, and of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. On the 28th of August, the French ships were warped into the inner road, according to agreement; and the Spanish admiral having joined on the 29th, the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road, and 1000 Spaniards were sent on shore to augment the English garrison. Rear-admiral Goodall was appointed governor, and Rear-admiral Gravina commander of the troops. Trogoff, who had repaired to the combined fleet, remained on board the Commerce de Marseilles; and numbers of the French sailors having continued refractory, were sent to a French port.

In the interim, Marseilles was taken by General Carteaux; and the wreck of the departmental army, accompanied by numbers of both sexes, sought the protection of the English in Toulon. Barras and Freron, the two national commissioners at Marseilles, mortified at the success of the combined squadrons, made extraordinary exertions for the recovery of this valuable sea-port. They pressed the siege of Lyons, in order that the troops employed in the conquest of that city should give their assistance on this occasion; and forced a loan of four millions of livres from the merchants of Marseilles. Supplies, both in men and assignats, were also granted by the convention, for the accomplishment of this re-capture.

The English and Spanish had only taken possession of Toulon for a few hours, when General Carteaux approaching, took post at a small distance from it, while the army destined for his assistance were collecting. On the 31st of August, Captain Elphinstone marched out with a body of troops, consisting of 600 men, half English and half Spanish, and found the French force to consist of about 700 men, with ten pieces of cannon and a few cavalry. They were stationed in the village of Ollouilles, upon the side of a steep hill, having a deep ravine in front, with a stone bridge over it, defended with two pieces of artillery. The windows of the adjoining houses were filled with musquetry; and at a ruinous castle, about 200 yards further up the eminence, were posted a couple of cannon, the walls of the adjacent vineyards being lined with troops.

Captain Elphinstone determined on an immediate attack, though it was now near seven o'clock in the evening, and the French royalists and cannon expected from Toulon had not arrived. He accordingly kept up an incessant fire on the artillery stationed at the bridge, and advancing in column, rushed forward on the enemy; who

instantly abandoned all their posts, and left the victors in possession of their horses, cannon, ammunition, and two stand of colours.

The French general, however, having collected a body of 5000 men, not only harrassed the garrison on the 8th of September, but obtained possession of the gorges of Ollouilles, and occupied one of the advanced posts. On this occasion the Spaniards, being 400, and the national guards, 150, who had been left there, suffered considerably; whereupon the combined powers deemed it prudent to concentrate their forces within the forts that protected the place.

The zeal and industry of the English, now commanded by Lord Mulgrave, in the capacity of brigadier-general, had rendered Toulon impregnable. As the forts Faron, Balaguier, La Malgue, and L'Equillete, were overlooked and commanded by the adjacent hills, these eminences were judiciously crowned with redoubts. A new fort was also constructed at Malbousquet; encampments were formed at St. Roch, Equillete, and Balaguier; the last of which was the grand camp of the English, and Little Gibraltar of the French. All the redoubts were defended by heavy artillery, taken from the lower decks of the French line of battle ships. Moreover, at this period, a body of infantry from the Spanish army in the Roussillon entered the place; 2000 of his Sicilian majesty's best soldiers, under the command of the brigadier-general Pignatelli, arrived on board a small squadron, and more were daily expected; and a considerable detachment from the army of the King of Sardinia, consisting entirely of grenadiers and chasseurs, was sent to the succour of the garrison.

In the mean time the besieging army was supplied with an immense quantity of artillery, and became indefatigable in making preparations for the attack, while the other side was equally vigorous in defending detached posts. The French having opened two masked batteries at La Petite Garenne, and a third at Les Gaux on the following day, (Sept. 18,) sunk one of the gun-boats employed against them. Lord Mulgrave, on the 21st of September, sent a detachment to occupy the heights of La Grasse, which commanded a full view of all the enemy's position to the eastward of Toulon; and this important post, which completely covered the outward roadstead, was put in a complete state of defence, heavy cannon having been dragged up a very steep ascent by the British seamen, with infinite labour and extraordinary expedition.

A plan, however, had been conceived and executed by the enemy, which rendered the possession of Toulon, even at this early period of the siege, precarious. Various bodies of men having been detached in different directions, in order to attract the attention of the garrison, a bold attack

was made on the important post of Faron, on the night of September 30. A piquet of 60 men was in consequence of this driven in from the Pas de la Malue about break of day: and on returning to the redoubt of Faron, it was found that it had been abandoned by the Spanish garrison; which, as well as the summit of an adjoining mountain, hitherto deemed almost inaccessible, was taken possession of by the French.

When news of this unfortunate event reached Toulon, a council of officers was assembled, and it was determined to make an attack upon the west, while Governor Elphinstone effected a diversion on the side of the redoubt of Faron. Lord Mulgrave, with a column consisting of British and Piedmontese troops, led the way on the 1st of October; while Admiral Gravina, with another consisting of Spaniards and Neapolitans, followed; the care of Toulon and fort La Malue having been, in the mean time, undertaken by Lord Hood. The enemy defended their position, and an obstinate engagement ensued. At length the French were obliged to abandon the redoubt, and retire in confusion. The action was short, but hot; and the French had upon the heights from 1000 to 2000 men, the flower of the eastern army; but not a fourth part of which, as supposed, ever returned to head-quarters, for those who fell not by bullet or bayonet, broke their necks in tumbling headlong over the precipices in their flight.

On the 8th of October, a successful sally was also made against the new-erected batteries, which the enemy had constructed at La Hauteur des Moulins and La Hauteur de Reinier. The vice-admiral being apprehensive lest the fleet might suffer from the latter, it was determined to destroy them. A detachment of British infantry, marines, Piedmontese, and French royalists, was accordingly ordered under arms at eight o'clock at night, Oct. 16, for that purpose. Their march to the top of the height was performed with all possible expedition, the troops observing the greatest order and silence; by which, with the assistance of an intelligent French deserter, who answered the sentinels of the enemy as they passed, the advanced party arrived at the entrance into their first battery perfectly undiscovered. The first sentinel having been put to death, the grenadiers and light infantry of the British line, under the command of Capt. Stewart of the 25th regiment, very gallantly rushed in, and put every man to the bayonet that opposed them.

The French army, notwithstanding, increased daily, and skirmishes continually took place. At length a large detachment of the enemy, under General Lapoype, stormed and took possession of Cape Brun; which, by means of their superior numbers, they carried, after an obstinate resist-

ance. When news of this unfortunate event reached Lord Mulgrave, he marched out against them, but no engagement took place; and the fate of the garrison became every day more critical. BOOK I.
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On the 27th of October, a reinforcement, consisting of the 1st battalion of the royals, the 18th regiment, and a battalion of the royal artillery, arrived from Gibraltar, along with Lieutenant-general O'Hara, who had been appointed governor of Toulon and its dependencies. Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, one of the most essential belonging to the place, was repeatedly attacked in November by the French, but gallantly defended by the British troops, though with considerable loss.

Admiral Lord Hood, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and General O'Hara, being now appointed *Commissioners plenipotentiary* under the great seal of England, and being all present, proceeded to act in the name of the King of Great Britain. They accordingly communicated his majesty's declaration, stating, "that when monarchy shall be restored in France, and a treaty of peace concluded, the town, forts, and harbour of Toulon, together with the ships and stores therein, should be restored according to the engagement entered into by the vice-admiral." The inhabitants, however, were anxious for the presence of Monsieur, brother to Louis XVI. whom they wished to receive in the character of Regent of France, but this favor was denied.

In the mean time the enemy became more strong, and a powerful army invaded Toulon. Dugommier was now appointed commander-in-chief of the French army; and as the surrender of this great naval arsenal greatly depended on the management of the immense artillery employed against it, an engineer capable of this great enterprise was most assiduously sought. Napoleon Bonaparte, an obscure Corsican, was at length deemed worthy of the trust. This extraordinary character, who lately set all Europe at defiance, shall be the subject of a brief memoir in our next book, in which he will appear a more conspicuous actor. Having now offered his services, and being strongly recommended for his resolution and perseverance, he was readily employed on the present occasion by the deputy Barras.

Bonaparte, convinced that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal out-posts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, immediately opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes; which, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells, annoyed the position as intended. Governor O'Hara, in order to secure this important post, determined to destroy the new works, termed the convention battery, and bring off the artillery.

BOOK I. Having obtained a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet to defend some redoubts from which he intended to withdraw the troops, he sent out at five o'clock in the morning of November 30, under the command of Major-general David Dundas, a detachment, consisting of 400 British, 300 Sardinians, 600 Neapolitans, 600 Spaniards, and 400 French. These different bodies were fortunate enough to surprise the redoubt, though obliged to cross a river on a single bridge, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive-grounds, and to ascend a very considerable height cut into vine-terrasses. These arduous objects having been effected, the troops, flushed with success, rushed forward and pursued the enemy down the hill. The French general, taking advantage of this rashness, immediately advanced with a considerable body of troops, attacked the disordered assailants, and obliged them, in their turn, to make a precipitate retreat. On this occasion, the brave Lieutenant-general O'Hara received a wound in the arm, and was taken prisoner, while sitting down under a wall, faint with the loss of blood. Several other officers fell also into the hands of the enemy, who now began to make nearer approaches to the place, and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked the posts of Malbousquet, Le Brun, and fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Belaguiet, but also threatened a general assault. At this time the republican army amounted to nearly 40,000 men, while the allied troops, composed of different nations, never exceeded 12,000 rank and file.

The enemy being determined to push on the siege with increased ardor, by means of fresh supplies, who continually relieved the fatigued troops, opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave, at two o'clock in the morning of December 16, and from these and three former ones continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed several of the allied troops, and destroyed the works. The next day having proved rainy, they afterwards continued to assemble, secretly, a large body of forces; and by these means, they stormed the fortifications, and entered with screwed bayonets by that side defended by the Spaniards. The allied troops were consequently obliged to retire towards the shore of Belaguiet.

Another attack took place at day-break on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. These were repulsed, however, on the east side, by about 700 men, under the command of Col. Le Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who fell in this engagement; notwithstanding, the French found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, though 1800 feet high, so as to occupy that side which overlooked Toulon.

In consequence of the enemy's success, a coun-

oil of flag and general officers assembled; and, as it was deemed impracticable to regain the posts that had been taken, on account of the superior number of the republican forces, it was determined to evacuate Toulon. The troops were accordingly withdrawn; and, in the course of that evening, the combined fleet occupied a new station in the outer road. The sick, wounded, and British field-artillery, were sent off early on the 18th of December; the Neapolitans, after abandoning the port of Misissey without orders, embarked at noon; and during the night measures were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, now not exceeding 7000 men. The town, as well as some of the ships, being now under the command of the enemy by their shot and shells, Lord Hood gave orders for the boats of the fleet to assemble near Fort Malgue, in order that the retreat should take place as speedily as possible. His lordship had devised a plan for the destruction of all the French men of war and the arsenal, but the absolute necessity of a sudden evacuation prevented the complete execution of this design, which had been intrusted to Sir Sidney Smith. This gentleman, on entering the dock-yard, perceived that the artificers had already substituted the three-colored cockade in the place of the white one: about 600 galley-slaves, who had broken their fetters, grew enraged at his operations, and exhibited a determined resistance, when Sir Sidney Smith pointed the guns of two vessels in order to keep them in subjection. He then set fire to ten ships of the line and the arsenal, as well as to the mast-house, the great storehouse, and other buildings; but the success expected from the conflagration was prevented by the calmness of the evening. Add to which, the Spaniards, instead of scuttling and sinking, set fire to the powder-ships; but they, as well as the English, were prevented from cutting the boom, and destroying the men of war in the bason, by the repeated volleys of musquetry from the flag-ship and the wall of the royal battery. However, the Hero and Themistocles were set on fire, and the party left for this purpose effected their retreat after a most desperate service: by day-light, December 19, all the British, Spanish, and Sicilian ships, crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, were out of the reach of the enemy's vengeance. Rear-admiral Trogoff, on board the Commerce de Marseilles, with the Puissant and Pompée, two other ships of the line, and the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaze frigates, with several Corvettes, formed part of the English fleet, with which Lord Hood proceeded to Hieres Bay, and soon after landed the men, women, and children, with which his decks had been loaded.

The besieging army, which had provided 4,000 ladders for an assault, entered Toulon at seven

o'clock in the morning of December 19, being the day after it had been evacuated by the combined army. Here, as well as at Marseilles and Lyons, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the royalists. The sanguinary conquerors disgraced themselves by a dreadful and indiscriminate slaughter. Workmen were absolutely invited

from all the neighbouring departiments to destroy the principal houses; and the population of Toulon, which now received the name of Port de la Montagne, became visibly decreased by the daily butchery that took place; for all suspected of being inimical to the republican party, were shot or guillotined.

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CHAPTER VII.

Action at Pirmasens.—Landau invested—The Lines of Wissembourg carried.—Various Actions, —Fort Louis surrendered.—War in La Vendée.—War with Spain and Sardinia.

WE shall now narrate the various successes of the campaign on the banks of the Rhine. When the army of the Moselle had been compelled to withdraw behind the Sarre, the Duke of Brunswick again took the field, and the republicans, who had marched out against him at Pirmasens, were defeated, on the 15th of September; for, by turning the flanks of the assailants, the duke took 3,000 of them prisoners, and obtained twenty-seven pieces of cannon and two howitzers. Hitherto the Austrians had contended on unequal terms with the army of the Rhine, but the Duke of Brunswick, in order to support them, surprised a corps of French encamped near Bitche, and destroyed all the camp equipage belonging to it; while Kalkreuth defeated another body of assailants, and cut to pieces the *sans culottes* regiment.

Landau was invested by General Wurmser, who soon after advanced against the lines of Lauter and Wissembourg. These he attacked with his troops divided into six columns, carried by assault the various redoubts constructed in front of the French camps, took all the tents, nine standards, and twenty-six pieces of artillery; and, had not the retreat of the enemy been favored by a fog, the greater part must have perished. On this occasion the French declared that they were betrayed, and Lambert, a general of brigade, was condemned to death at Strasbourg, for having abandoned one of the principal redoubts at the attack of the lines of Wissembourg. To add to the misfortunes of the French army, Haguenau surrendered to General Mezáros; and, on the 17th of October, the enemy were beaten at Brumpt, and the important position at Wauzenau was, with all the camp-equipage, taken by the Austrians, while Fort Louis, nearly at the same time, after a siege of four days, surrendered with a garrison of 4,000 men.

The army of the Rhine having been reinforced with that of the Moselle, and considerably increased by means of new levies, Pichegru, lately a serjeant of artillery, and Hoche, were the generals employed on this occasion. The tide of victory now began to flow in another direction. The Prussians were attacked and defeated at Sarbruck, on the 17th of November. Early on the 18th their camp at Bliescastel was stormed. On the 21st, Deux Ponts was captured; but, on the 29th, and 30th, the Duke of Brunswick, in two attacks near Lautern, repulsed the enemy with great loss.

The victories of Pichegru now commenced. On the 8th of December, he took all the redoubts which defended Haguenau, at the point of the bayonet. The allies were driven from the town with great slaughter, and the heights of Reifhoffen, Jaudershoffen, and Wrotte, were successively stormed. The heights of Wrotte were strongly fortified, and deemed almost impregnable. Pichegru attacked them with his artillery, but, finding that this proved ineffectual, he marched up to the intrenchments, which he completely carried, after a strong resistance of three hours, and got possession of all the posts which the allied army had abandoned. On the 26th of December he triumphantly entered Wissembourg. The siege of Landau was raised when it was reduced to the greatest distress. Fort Louis was evacuated, and Kaiserslautern, Gernersheim, and Spire, submitted to the French. General Wurmser retreated to the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswick fell back to protect Mentz.

In La Vendée, however, the republicans were not so successful. The towns of Saumur and Machicoul had, in the course of the summer, been seized by the royalists; who, though afterwards defeated before Nantz, and frequently beaten by the garrison of Mentz, still kept possession of these places. Barrere having obtained

a decree for terminating this war in the course of *a single month*, the following ridiculous proclamation was issued to the army of the west:

"Soldiers of liberty! The rebels of La Vendée ought to be exterminated before the end of the month of October; the safety of the country requires, the impatience of the French commands, your courage ought to accomplish it. The national gratitude awaits all those who fight to secure liberty and equality."

Such was the presumption of the *impatient* Barrere, that, in consequence of the successes obtained at Mortagne, Chollet, Chatillon, and Beaupreaux, he soon after announced the total extinction of the rebellion; while Merlin of Thionville, on his arrival from the western army, declared, with savage ecstasy, "that the insurgent territories were reduced to a heap of ashes, and soaking in blood." On the contrary, the royalists in these departments had not only fought several actions, but had actual possession of some of the neighbouring towns. Their leaders, not depending on their own strength, had entered into a correspondence with foreign powers; and at the close of the year a body of English troops, under the command of Lord Moira, had sailed to their assistance. Thus succoured, they made an attack on Granville, in order to keep open a communication, and facilitate the reception of supplies. La Roche Jaquelin, the chief of their leaders, was killed on this occasion, and the attempt failed. This put an end to the expedition, and Lord Moira consequently returned to England.

The royalists, notwithstanding, increased in La Vendée; and though fresh victories were daily announced in the convention, yet this enemy seemed bitterly to annoy the republican party. In short, the rebellion, which was to terminate in a *month*, continued for nearly *three years*, and therefore, for the sake of chronological order, which we wish to preserve, as much as possible, the battles with the Vendéan chiefs, and the various successes attending them shall be the subjects of succeeding chapters.

Victories were also obtained against the French on the frontiers of Spain and Italy, notwithstanding the languid manner hostilities were carried on at the beginning. They were driven from the

fort of Andaya, early in the spring, by Don Ventura Caro, who destroyed the encampments of Biritau. About the same time, Don Ricardos, at the head of the army of Catalonia, defeated the republicans at Givet; and, after a bombardment of thirty-three days, Bellegarde was taken. General Dagobert attacked and carried a camp, belonging to the Spanish, at the bottom of Mount Libre; but the French were again defeated, near Perpignan, by Don Ricardos.

A formidable fleet, consisting of 19 sail, many of which were line-of-battle ships, had been fitted out by the French under Truguet, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the island of Sardinia. The isles of St. Peter and Antioch having been seized, this fleet appeared in the gulph of Cagliari, where the French admiral had retired with his garrison, containing 800 men. A deputation of 21 men was immediately sent on shore, with a flag and an officer, to demand the surrender of the capital. Seventeen of these having been put to death by the Sardinians, the remainder retreated to their boat. At length the fleet entered the harbour, and a desperate attack upon Cagliari commenced. The bombardment continued for three days, during which time the assailants were much annoyed by the red-hot balls that came from the shore. The shells which were thrown from the bomb vessels produced little or no effect, while those received did considerable injury; one ship being set on fire, and several others damaged in their masts and rigging. In short, this expedition proved abortive; for nearly all the troops, landed at various periods and in various places, were cut off by the brave inhabitants.

The chief part of the republican troops having been recalled on account of the civil war in Toulon and Marseilles, the remainder were by no means a match for the Sardinians, who completely defeated them in the county of Nice; and it appeared that the whole of Savoy would have been recovered by its ancient masters. However, the exertions of the King of Sardinia, though supported by the English fleet in the Mediterranean, were not sufficiently strenuous; and his army met with a severe defeat about the latter end of October, which gave a different appearance to the approaching campaign.

CHAPTER VIII.

Conduct of the contending Parties.—Campaign in Flanders.—Actions at Landrecies, Tournay, and Turcoing.—Capture of Ypres and Charleroi.—Battle of Fleurus.—Proceedings of the British Army.—Action at Mons.—The French enter Brussels.—Recapture of the Fortresses on the northern Frontier.—Defeat of Clairfayt.—The Austrians driven beyond the Rhine.—Conquest of Holland.

GREAT preparations were made by all the contending parties for the campaign of 1794; the defeated wishing to redeem the reputation of their arms, and the conquerors being desirous of adding to their laurels. The courts of London and Vienna adopted the most efficacious measures for raising a powerful body of men; and Colonel Mack, an officer in the confidence of the emperor, was sent to England, in order to concert a plan of operations with the British ministry.

Early in this year, an intercourse took place between commissioners from the French republic and General Kalkreuth, at Frankfort, which rendered the conduct of the cabinet of Berlin doubtful. About the same time too, the King of Prussia informed the diet of Ratisbon, that, unless his troops received subsistence at the public expence, he should be obliged to withdraw the army on the Rhine, and contribute no more than his simple contingent. Such was the deep policy of the court of Berlin at this time, that England and Holland immediately entered into a subsidiary treaty for the maintenance of 62,400 men. The Austrian troops in the Low Countries having been increased, they amounted to nearly 150,000 men; and it was determined that his imperial majesty should command the allies in person, in order to prevent any jealousies similar to those which had occurred in the course of the preceding autumn. On the arrival of the emperor at Brussels, he was complimented by the States with the title of the Duke of Brabant. The solemnity of his inauguration was very flattering. The keys of the gates of Louvain were presented to his imperial majesty, bearing this inscription—"Cæsar adest, fremet Galli." On his arrival at Valenciennes, he was joyfully received by the combined armies, consisting of Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians, amounting to 187,000 men, whom the emperor reviewed on the 16th of April. On the following day they advanced in eight columns towards the small but strong town of Landrecies. The first, composed of Austrian and Dutch troops, under the command of Prince Christian of Hesse Darmstadt, seized on the village of Catillon, April 17, where they got four pieces of cannon. They then crossed the Sambre, and occupied a position between that river and the little Helpe. The

second, under the command of Lieutenant-general Alvintzy, took post in the forest of Nouvion. The third, led by the emperor and the Prince de Cobourg, having forced the enemy's intrenchments, advanced to the heights called the Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns were formed from the army under the Duke of York. One was commanded by his royal highness, which was intended to attack the village of Vaux; and the other by Sir William Erskine.

Major General Abercromby commenced the assault with the van, supported by the two grenadier companies of the first regiment of guards, commanded by Colonel Stanhope. The fire of the republicans was very brisk; but, on seeing they could not retain their position, they retreated. The Star redoubt was stormed and taken, while three battalions of Austrian grenadiers, under the command of Major Petrash, attacked the wood, and made themselves masters of the works which the French had constructed for its defence. Part of the fugitive enemy was cut off in the wood, and the remainder retired towards the main army by the village of Bouchain.

The forces under Sir William Erskine were no less successful; for, finding the enemy posted at Premont, the brigade of British infantry, with four squadrons of light dragoons, was detached under Lieutenant-general Harcourt, to turn their position; while he himself made a bold attack in front, with three battalions of the regiment of Count Kaunitz, supported by a well-directed fire of British and Austrian artillery, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Congreve; and not only obtained possession of the redoubts, but of a pair of colours and two pieces of cannon. Their cannon were also taken in the course of the day, by the column under the immediate command of his royal highness the Duke of York. In consequence of this extensive attack, the French lost 30 pieces of artillery. The three columns, commanded by the hereditary Prince of Orange, did not come to action with the enemy, as they were only meant to watch the French on the side of Cambray.

These successes of the allies determined them to lay siege to Landrecies, and this important affair was entrusted to the direction of the Prince of Orange; while his imperial majesty with the

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BOOK I. grand army, estimated at 60,000, covered the operations on the side of Guise; and the troops under the Duke of York, amounting to near 30,000, were employed on a similar service towards Cambray. At the same time, a body of Hessians and Austrians, to the number of 12,000, under General Worms, were stationed near Douay and Bouchain; a body of 15,000, under Count Kaunitz, defended the passage of the Sambre; and 40,000 men, under General Clairfayt, protected Flanders, from Tournay to the sea.

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On the 21st of April, the hereditary Prince of Orange made a general attack upon, and carried all the posts which the enemy retained in front of Landrecies: their intrenched camp he also took by storm, and became master of a strong redoubt within 600 yards of the body of the place. The French, in the mean time, were collecting troops from Cæsar's Camp, near Cambray. Thither the Duke of York sent General Otto, with some cavalry, to ascertain their strength; but finding their force was far superior to his own, he declined an engagement till the morning of the 23d, when he received reinforcements. The French were driven from Cæsar's Camp in great confusion, and with considerable loss. Soon after they were repulsed in an attack on the heights of Cateau, where the Duke of York was posted; and, after an obstinate resistance, they were obliged to yield to the English, who took possession of 35 pieces of cannon, while Lieutenant-general Chapuy and 300 officers and privates were taken prisoners. The killed and wounded on both sides were very great.

The attack now became general, as it extended along the frontiers from Treves to the sea, a distance of about 180 miles. The column under the command of the emperor was attacked by the republicans without effect. The Austrian general, Clairfayt, having joined at Moucron with the Hanoverian troops, resolved to act upon the offensive, when his expected reinforcement of six battalions of Austrian infantry arrived. General Pichegru conjecturing this design, thought proper to attack, without delay, the post at Moucron; and having, after a warm resistance, defeated General Clairfayt, and taken from him 32 pieces of cannon, he soon after obtained possession of Werwick, Courtray, and Menin, the last of which held out for four days; but, finding no probability of succour, the garrison, consisting of five battalions of Hanoverians, and four companies of emigrants, forced their way through the enemy, and retreated with little loss.

The surrender of Landrecies, on the 30th of April, to the combined forces, made some compensation for their losses. With such fury had the place been attacked, that only two houses escaped the vengeance of the cannon at the end of the siege. Two hundred of the inhabitants

lost their lives, and 12,000 of the garrison; the remainder of the soldiers were made prisoners of war, to the number of 4,400 men.

The republican army suffered another defeat on the 10th of May, a body of 30,000 troops having attacked the army of the Duke of York at Tournay, which was productive of a severe engagement. The right flank of the combined army was meant to be turned by the French; but they were unsuccessful, having been repulsed with great loss by the regiment under Count Kaunitz, then posted in a wood. Failing in this attempt, they endeavoured to force the centre of the duke's army, and attacked it with great intrepidity in the face of the powerful artillery by which it was defended. The French, however, were obliged to retreat; above 400 men were taken prisoners, and they lost thirteen pieces of cannon. On this occasion, Lieutenant-general Harcourt, Major-general Dundas, and Sir Robert Laurie, distinguished themselves.

In another attack by the republicans, General Clairfayt obliged them to take shelter in Courtray; but soon after he was less fortunate, for Pichegru coming on him with irresistible impetuosity, he was forced to retreat in confusion across the Heule. With some difficulty his flying troops were prevailed upon to halt, and he immediately occupied a position which enabled him to protect Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend.

While Pichegru was thus engaged, Jourdan entered West Flanders, and, after crossing the Sambre, obliged General Kaunitz to retreat, and station himself between that place and Rouvroy, in order to protect Mons. On the 18th of May, the French endeavoured to dislodge him; but the Austrians rallied, and compelled the enemy to give way, with the loss of near 5,000 men, and three pieces of cannon.

This success induced his imperial majesty to make a general attack with his scattered forces, with the hope of forcing the enemy to evacuate the Low-Countries. The forces of the emperor, the Duke of York, and General Clairfayt, were to join, and act against the line of the republicans. The attempt, however, proved unsuccessful; for two of the five columns employed on this occasion were so exhausted with fatigue, as to be incapable of executing the plan; and a third found the enemy in such force at Moucron, that it retreated to Turcoing. In the mean time, seven battalions of British, five of Austrians, and two of Prussians, with six squadrons of light dragoons and four of hussars, led by the Duke of York, forced the French to evacuate Lannoy and Roubaix, and advanced, in consequence of orders from head-quarters, to Mouveaux. The brave General Abercromby, with four battalions of guards, seconded by the 7th and 15th light dragoons, under Lieutenant-colonel Churchill,

attacked the French, and compelled them to retire, with the loss of three pieces of cannon.

Early the next morning, May 19, the French attacked Turcoing, which was commanded by Colonel Devay. The Duke of York sent two battalions of Austrians in order to make a diversion in that quarter; and they were strictly ordered to join the army, if pushed; but, through some mistake, they joined the Colonel at Turcoing, so that a chasm was made in the right of the duke's forces, of which, it was to be expected, the French general would take advantage. A body of 15,000 French were seen advancing from Lisle, and another, having made General Otto abandon his position near Waterloo, attacked the British forces in the rear. The troops under the command of the duke, unable to stand against the enemy, gave way, and the duke was forced to fly to join General Otto, with whom he remained, on account of the distressed situation of his own army. Major-general Fox fortunately succeeded in gaining the village of Leers. The loss of the allies on this occasion was immense. The French boasted that they took 40 pieces of cannon and 2,000 prisoners.

On the 22d, Pichegru became the assailant, and attacked the lines of the allies, as soon as they had been collected, with a heavy fire of artillery. A succession of attacks, or rather battles, ensued, which lasted from the break of day until late in the evening. The republican force consisted of nearly 200,000 men, and they designed, if possible, to turn the right wing against the outposts; at first they succeeded; but a support being sent under General Fox, that officer distinguished himself in such a gallant manner, that the allies maintained their position, and the French, about nine o'clock at night, retired without being able to make any effectual impression, notwithstanding their immense numbers, and the boasted bravery of their commander.

Though great was the loss of the French on this occasion, they actually crossed the Sambre on the 24th of May, and occupied a position between Rouveroy and Fontaine-l'Eveque. They were, however, successfully attacked by General Kaunitz, who, coming on them by surprise, obliged them to make a precipitate retreat, leaving behind them 50 pieces of cannon and 5,000 men, 3,000 of whom were made prisoners.

General Beaulieu marched into the duchy of Bouillon, attacked and took the town of that name, conquered a large body of the French stationed there, and gave up the town to plunder. The republicans lost about 1,200 men killed, 300 prisoners, and six pieces of cannon. Jourdan, however, having invaded the duchy of Luxembourg with an army of 40,000 men, directly got possession of Arlon, which obliged Beaulieu

to give up his late conquest, and retreat with speed to defend Namur.

The enemy soon after crossed the Sambre again, and assumed a position near Josselies, on purpose to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which they had already begun to open trenches. The Prince of Orange, however, arrived again, and obliged them to retreat, with the loss of near 6,000 men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five ammunition waggons, and a considerable number of horses and baggage. General Jourdan, having received great reinforcements from the army of the Moselle, crossed the Sambre a third time, stormed the Austrian camp at Betignies, and persevered in the attempt of besieging Charleroi.

As the French generals had strict orders at this time not to suffer *the slaves of King George to return to the traitorous territory of England*, but to put every Englishman and Hanoverian to the sword, the conduct of the Duke of York on this occasion was truly dignified and humane. He gave those savages a christian lesson; for, instead of issuing orders for immediate retaliation, he addressed the troops, and requested them to suspend their indignation, assuring them "that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character."

A French army of 30,000 men commenced the siege of Ypres, (which contained a garrison of 7,000 men) and their operations were defended by another army of 24,000 men. This place was considered as the key to West Flanders, and the allies were assiduous in guarding it from the enemy. General Clairfayt, therefore, marched to its relief; but, wanting to make the enemy raise the siege, he was three times defeated within five days, and was obliged at last to make a precipitate retreat to Ghent, about forty-four miles distant, when he learned that there was no further intercourse between that place and Oudenarde. After a gallant resistance, Ypres surrendered to General Moreau, on the 17th of June, on honorable terms. This General Moreau had been, in early life, a private soldier, and afterwards a lawyer.

Charleroi being also considered a place of great importance, the Prince de Cobourg, assisted by the Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, marched with the combined army divided into five columns, and made preparations to relieve the place. The chief part of Jourdan's army was in Fleurus, in the direction of Lambisart, Espinies, and Gosselies. The allied army attacked the enemy's entrenchments on the 27th of June; but, the day before, (June 26,) Jourdan had pressed the siege of Charleroi so closely, that the garrison, consisting of 3,000 men, surrendered at discretion. This event was unknown to the

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Prince de Cobourg and his assistants during the battle of Fleurus, and it was evening before the left wing had arrived at the principal heights, which were fortified by an extensive range of field-works, lined with an immense number of heavy artillery. In consequence of many unforeseen obstacles, an attempt was made to force this strong position with the bayonet. Jourdan having, through the fall of Charleroi, obtained the assistance of the army which besieged it, resolved, in a pitched battle, to decide the fate of Flanders. Notwithstanding the impetuous valor of the allied forces, who repeatedly penetrated the French lines, and formed several times under the fire of their cannon, the superiority of Jourdan's numbers gave him advantage. Having drawn the troops out of their intrenchments, the French general made three distinct charges upon the enemy, and gained the victory, after an action which commenced at dawn of day, and did not terminate till sun-set. The combined army taking advantage of the night, immediately retreated, first to Marbois, and then to Nivelles, for the purpose of protecting Namur.

The ill success of the combined army, in an action on which so much depended, may be partly ascribed to the ignorance of the imperial general relative to the surrender of Charleroi, and partly to the impetuosity of the republican troops, apprehensive of being again driven across the Sambre, for, during the action, the exclamation of "No retreat to-day!" sounded from one end of the line to another. A company of aerostats had been sent to the head-quarters of the enemy by the committee of public safety, boasting of having enlisted science under the banners of liberty. A balloon, called *L'Entreprenant*, had been constructed for the occasion, and frequently elevated during the action with Etienne, adjutant-general of the army, who was the person pitched upon to reconnoitre, and who, in his report, observed, "I was attacked with hisses as well as grenades, but none of them reached me; I corresponded with the generals during the action, and informed them of every new position assumed by the enemy." The intelligence was conveyed in a note fastened to an arrow, while the balloon itself was attached to a cord. The loss of the combined army was stated, by the Prince de Cobourg, at 1,500, though exaggerated by the French to 10,000. No cannon was lost; a howitzer and one colour were taken by the enemy. His royal highness the Duke of York attempted in vain to form a junction with General Clairfayt, and was obliged to retreat from Tournay to Renaix; while General Walmoden, having been compelled to abandon Bruges at the same time, all communication with Ostend was cut off.

An expedition, under Lieutenant-general Earl of Moira, was now undertaken; and after landing

a body of troops in maritime Flanders, his lordship proposed a junction with the generals Clairfayt and Walmoden, so as to enable them to act from Bruges to Thielt upon the left wing of the French, with a view of covering Ostend, and also of producing a diversion in favor of the Duke of York. The situation of the Prince de Saxe Cobourg rendered the execution of this plan impracticable. The Duke of York being then in an embarrassed position, his lordship effected a junction with his royal highness; and on the 29th of June, the French were repulsed at Alost. The enemy still persevering in their attacks on all his royal highness's out-posts, in front of the canal leading from Brussels to Antwerp, they were repulsed again at Malines, July 6, and forced to retire. The Duke of York, however, found it necessary to retreat across the Meuse, and withdraw into Holland.

The Prince de Cobourg having collected the remains of his army at Halle, advanced and assumed a formidable position; but, having been attacked by a superior army, July 2, was obliged to evacuate Mons, on which occasion, his rear-guard left that town by one gate, at the same moment when the French entered at the other. Having retreated to Soignies, where he stood between the republicans and the capital of Brabant, he threw up intrenchments, and strongly fortified this post. The desperate assailants rushed in with screwed bayonets, and the Austrians retreated through Brussels.

The republicans having been determined to regain those fortresses which fell into the hands of the combined forces, General Scherer appeared before Landrecies, and immediately summoned that place. The fatal period of twenty-four hours was suffered to elapse, after which the foreign troops were put to the sword, according to a decree which the malevolent Robespierre had obtained from the too-compliant convention. At first the governor declined to capitulate; but no sooner had the French broken ground, and erected batteries, than he proposed terms which were refused. The garrison, consisting of near 2000 men, surrendered at discretion, July 15.

After a similar ceremony, Quesnoy surrendered, August 15, and the intelligence was transmitted to Paris within the space of one hour, by means of thirteen distinct motions of the Telegraph, the invention of Chappe, and first used on this occasion. Valenciennes, which had been taken with such difficulty, surrendered to the French August 29, and the next day Condé, the name of which was now changed to Nord Libre; under the walls of the latter were found 190 waggons loaded with stores and ammunition; and in Valenciennes a rich booty of three millions of florins. The emigrants taken in these garrisons were delivered up to the military tribunals, and the majority of them

executed. A report, read by Carnot in the French convention on this occasion, contained the following irony and bombast:

"Thus fade away for ever the chimerical hopes of all our enemies! Thus have the ephemeral successes of Europe produced only shame to her, and glory to us!

"What, cannot all Europe conquer France—that country which has been said to be only a chasm in the map of Europe!—Wait, legislators; the combined powers have only deferred their formidable designs, and next year they are determined to march to Paris."—(*Laughter.*)

The Prince de Cobourg used all his efforts to rouse the circles of Germany to make a desperate effort in vindication of Germanic liberty. He allowed that the resources of the French were inexhaustible, and their forces innumerable. He declared, that, if they did not assist in repelling the invaders, he would pass the Rhine, and leave them and their property to be plundered by the republicans. And though this was no time for issuing manifestoes, in consequence of the repeated successes of the French, yet the emperor thought proper to try the experiment. He admitted that his resources were totally inadequate to combat such an enemy with any chance of success. He felt indignant at his Prussian majesty for accepting a subsidy from Great Britain, and omitting to fulfil his compact. He stated, that so strong were the French armies, and so inconceivably rapid their march, that he was under the necessity of withdrawing his forces, and employing them to defend his own dominions.

The Prince de Cobourg was dismissed from his command, and bade farewell to his army in a most pathetic address. Clairfayt succeeded as commander-in-chief, and was the only general who now kept the field; as the Duke of York, after a long and ineffectual struggle, had withdrawn into Dutch Brabant, and the hereditary Prince of Orange was obliged to cross the Dyle, to prevent his army from being surrounded.

General Pichegru, who was at that time at the head of 80,000 men, resumed the operations of the campaign, after a suspension of about two months. This general prepared with one body of troops to attack Holland; while another, assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels, under Jourdan, proceeded in pursuit of the field-marshal Clairfayt, now at the head of the Austrian troops, and who, having been obliged by General Kleber to evacuate Louvain and abandon Namur and Antwerp, (in each of which a great booty had been found,) assumed a new position. For three successive days he was attacked by Jourdan, and by means of a fog effected a retreat. Still harassed, but never overcome, he moved first to Hervé, and then to Aix-la-Chapelle. The French army, having been reinforced, attacked all the

Austrian posts from Ruremonde to Juliers. By this time Clairfayt had occupied a strong position upon the Roer; and though he made a gallant resistance, October 1, yet the French army, being now immense, obliged him to retire into Germany, with the loss of near 10,000 men in the course of three days.

The republicans were now in possession of Hervé, Malmedy, and Spa; and preparations were made for investing Maestricht and Venloo. The city of Cologne having been taken by the French, October 6, a detachment of their army, under General Moreau, was sent to Coblenz, a place odious to the republicans, as being earliest in sheltering the emigrants. The allies were busied for two months in throwing up very formidable redoubts before it. General Moreau fell in with the hussars of the allies on the 22d, when he boldly engaged them, killed vast numbers, and took fifty prisoners. On the following day he took the redoubts with his infantry, by assault, and the Austrians repassed the Rhine in confusion.

Pichegru remained 17 days in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, for the purpose of establishing magazines, and insuring a supply of provisions. These preparations having been made for the invasion of Holland, his troops commenced their march, and assumed a position at Turnhout, near Hoogstraten. The Duke of York, knowing the superior force of the enemy, immediately retired towards Bois-le-duc, and left the defence of Breda to its garrison.

Moreau, having undertaken the siege of Sluys, found it necessary, in order to complete its investment, to post a body of troops in the isle of Cad-sand. Many difficulties at first attended this operation, as the passage was defended by a battery of fourteen cannon, and the troops were entirely destitute of either pontoons or vessels to convey them over; however some of them swam to the place, and others crossed the arm of the sea in small boats, by which means the capture of Sluys was effected on the 25th of August.

In order to oblige the English to cross the Maese, Pichegru marched up to the Duke of York's advanced guards, strongly posted upon the banks of the Dommel, all the bridges over which and over a neighbouring stream having been broken down. The French, however, effected a passage, partly by rafts and partly by swimming; and an action commenced at three o'clock, on September 15, which continued until six in the morning. The troops of Hesse Darmstadt, who occupied an advanced position, suffered considerably.

Lieutenant-general Abercromby, at the head of the reserve, was sent on the following day to retake Bostel, if possible; as the loss of it would oblige the Duke of York to abandon the whole

BOOK I. of his line of defence. The enemy, however, proved too strong, and Lieutenant-general Abercromby returned. By this time the commander-in-chief was informed, that numerous columns, to the amount of 80,000 men, were advancing against him; and as it appeared that the attack was meditated against his left, which was the point most vulnerable, it was deemed prudent to withdraw. Accordingly this portion of the allied army retreated in good order across the Maese, having lost, as the French accounts stated, 2000 men, who were made prisoners, seven cannon, and numerous horses. Bois-le-duc, Bergen-op-Zoom, and Breda, being now no longer protected, were obliged to depend upon their own internal strength.

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Bois-le-duc was invested by the republican troops, Sept. 23, who deemed it prudent to obtain possession of some strong place, in order to be provided with necessaries. In consequence of the inundations, which were increased by incessant rains, this task was exceedingly difficult. However, the fort of Orten having been abandoned, and that of Crevecoeur bombarded and taken, the governor of Bois-le-duc agreed to a capitulation; and, to the great astonishment of the French, resigned the place on the 10th of October. Hereupon General Pichegru made the passage of the Maese in pursuit of the allied army. The two first divisions of the French troops, under the generals Bonneau and Soutram, did not cross the Maese until October 19, being delayed for the want of pontoons, nineteen only of which could be procured.

The retreat of the Duke of York, in the face of a superior army, having been conducted with great ability, (as was even acknowledged by the enemy,) his royal highness waited for the assailants in a strong position in the neighbourhood of Pufflech, his two wings being supported by two rivers. Notwithstanding this, the republican army moved forward in four columns, and attacked the whole of the advanced posts on his right, particularly those of Drutin and Appelthorn; the former of which was defended by the 37th regiment, and the latter by the Prince of Rohan's light battalion. These troops conducted themselves with great gallantry; but a post on the left having been forced, Major Hope, after having displayed considerable valor, was obliged to retreat along the dyke of the Waal, where his regiment was furiously charged by the enemy's horse. Major-general Fox, while encouraging his troops to a strenuous opposition, was nearly being taken prisoner; having been detained a few minutes, it is said, by a French hussar. Of the 37th regiment only the major and 50 men escaped. The French general stated, that he made 600 prisoners. The unfortunate emigrants suffered considerably, 800 of the legion of Rohan having been cut to pieces, and 62 made prisoners. Immediately after this

engagement the Duke of York retired behind the Waal.

Notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, the republican army marched to besiege the neighbouring garrisons. Venloo was accordingly invested by General Laurent, but a capitulation having been assented to, the troops were allowed to march out with the honors of war and ten pieces of cannon. This general is said to have had only 4,000 men on the occasion, and to have been destitute of heavy artillery; consequently, his weakness must have been concealed, and the capture of Venloo effected more by manoeuvre than by gallantry.

Pichegru, who at this time was with the main body of the forces before Nimeguen, was obliged to resign the command to Moreau, and repair to Brussels, in consequence of an inveterate cutaneous disease which he had contracted. During his absence, General Kleber made preparations for the reduction of Maestricht, which surrendered to him, November 5.

The capture of Nimeguen, however, was not effected with such facility. This city was not only defended by a numerous garrison, but covered by the Duke of York, who, from his camp at Arnheim, was enabled to throw in supplies whenever needed. After forcing the British outposts in front of the place, the French immediately attacked Fort St. André, and, in the skirmish that ensued, Lieutenant-general Abercromby and Lieutenant-colonel Clarke were slightly wounded, as was also Captain Picton, in a sally from the place. The French, however, broke ground, under the direction of General Souham, and began to erect batteries. Hereupon General Walmoden marched out suddenly with a detachment of British infantry and cavalry, consisting of the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th regiments of infantry, and the 7th and 15th of light-horse, accompanied by two battalions of Dutch, the legion of Damas, and some Hanoverian horse under the command of General de Burgh, amounting in all to about 8,000 men. The infantry advanced under a severe fire, and, jumping into the trenches without returning a shot, charged with the bayonet, and thus retarded the operations of the enemy. On this occasion, Major-general de Burgh, while leading on his men with great gallantry, was wounded. The loss of the republican army was about 500 men; and that of the allies, independent of the Dutch, was 210.

In order to cut off all intercourse with the English army, the French immediately erected two strong batteries on the right and left of the lines of the defence, by means of which one of the boats, which supported the bridge of communication, was destroyed. The damage sustained upon this occasion was soon repaired by Lieutenant

Popham, of the navy. The Duke of York, however, aware of the superiority of the enemy, resolved to withdraw every thing from the town, except what was absolutely necessary for its defence. The town was accordingly to be deserted on the evening of November 7. All the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian battalions, immediately returned; but piquets, to the amount of 2,500 men, were left under the command of Major-general de Burgh.

The Hanoverian and British troops effected a retreat in a tolerable manner; but their hurry in destroying the bridge before the Dutch troops could reach it, produced the most fatal effects to the allies. Finding it on fire, they sought to pass the river over the great flying bridge; but no sooner had they got upon it, than it swung round, either owing to the republican artillery having cut the ropes, by which it was kept in one position, or from a mistake of the troops, who, thinking that the enemy had possession of the bridge, fired upon it for a length of time. The issue was, that some perished by shot, others were drowned, and about 400 were taken prisoners. The gates of Nimeguen were then opened to the besiegers.

The Duke of York, convinced that an engagement might be attended with the most fatal consequences to Holland, retired immediately. The French, continuing their military operations, were determined to cross the Waal, and General Daendels (who has been mentioned in our fourth chapter) was entrusted with this enterprise. Having collected a number of boats, he filled them with troops, and effected a landing near the post of Ghent, during a thick fog; in consequence of which, he was also enabled to surprise a battery. This attack, which extended to several posts belonging to the allies, was ultimately unsuccessful, several of the assailants having been killed by the fire of the batteries, and a great number drowned. This project was altogether relinquished, and the generals Bonneau and Lemaire received orders to invest Breda by means of winter cantonments. Grave also was surrounded in a similar manner.

The Duke of York left the British army, and returned to London, which announced that the court of St. James's thought the conquest of Holland by the French unavoidable. While the Duke of York held the chief command, the army was in a wretched condition, and it could not be thought that its situation would be bettered, when under a foreigner (General Walmoden). Patriotic subscriptions were raised in England, to supply the army with flannel vests, and other necessities essential in that country.

General Pichegru, on the return of his health,

left Brussels, and proceeded to head-quarters, with the determination of invading Holland.

The states of Friesland agreed to acknowledge the republic of France, to end their connection with Great Britain, and sign a treaty of peace and alliance with the convention. In other provinces, also, resolutions were passed, clearly inimical to the Stadtholder's government. Republican sentiments shewed themselves so plainly in Amsterdam, that the government of Holland positively forbade all popular discussions on political subjects, and the presenting of petitions or memorials on any account whatever. Soon after this, the Stadtholder went to Amsterdam in disguise, to ascertain the true state of the public mind. His situation was very distressing. He had published many spirited addresses to the people, but was unable to instil into them a spirit of resistance. The opposite party would subject the country to a foreign power rather than join in any way to secure its independence.

Many respectable citizens of Amsterdam drew up a petition, and presented it to the magistrates early in November. It stated the sudden appearance of the hereditary Prince of Orange, and the Duke of York in that city, which, they affirmed, had no other object in view than to check the deliberations of their high mightinesses, to induce them to receive British troops, and to consent to a general inundation. The petition condemned such measures, and if they did not desire to receive the French, they were not inclined to stop the subjugation of Holland by the only methods that could be properly adopted with that view. The petition was successful; the magistrates would not attempt the inundation, and many of the petitioners, who were arrested, were taken from prison in triumph.

Though the republican troops did not advance with their usual rapidity, the combined army found it very difficult to act upon the defensive. Numbers were cut off by disease, while the hospitals were in want of assistance and suitable medicines. The military were without clothing and shoes, and the sudden changes of the weather at this eventful period caused a putrid fever, which made the most dreadful destruction.

Nothing less than an intense and rigorous frost could assist the French general's design. Towards the latter end of the year, an unexpected degree of congelation took place, and General Pichegru, finding that both the Maese and the Waal were already able to bear troops, determined to take advantage of this opportunity to complete his projects. Two brigades, under the generals Daendels and Osten, received orders to march across the ice to the isle of Bommel. Another detachment was sent, at the same time, against Fort St. André, and the reduction

BOOK I. of those places were achieved in the month of December. A successful attack was made at the same time on the lines of Breda, Oudebosch, and Sevenbergen.

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The town of Grave, which was considered a master-piece of fortification, and which had already suffered a blockade of two months, was now obliged to surrender, being destitute of provisions and ammunition. Its garrison was consequently made prisoners of war.

The weather still continuing favourable to his enterprise, General Pichegru ventured to cross the Waal with 70,000 men, without the assistance of either bridges or boats. The whole of the troops had not, however, reached the place of destination, when a sudden thaw seemed to hazard the success of this bold expedition. The frost, however, returning, the French were enabled to form a junction.

The French general attacked the position occupied by General Walmoden, between Nimeguen and Arnheim. Major-general Dundas had succeeded in carrying Tayl, and driving a body of the enemy across the ice, with a loss of a number of men and four pieces of cannon; notwithstanding which, it was deemed necessary to remove the head-quarters from Arnheim to Amerongen. The allies, through the obstinacy of the frost, were obliged to fall back during the night, first upon Buern, and soon after behind the Leck. At times, however, they attacked the enemy, and with success, in an affair of posts, at Gelder Malsel; on which occasion, notwithstanding the difficulties resulting from an inclement season, Major-general Lord Cathcart, with three English regiments, behaved with extraordinary gallantry. The enemy at length crossed the frozen Waal in five different columns, and, having attacked the line of the allies, forced the Austrians to abandon Huesden, and the Hanoverians to retreat across the Lingen: but they were repulsed for a time at Rhenen, by the spirited conduct of the British guards and Salm's infantry. The

English, however, withdrew in the course of that very night to Voorthuisen, having been so fortunate as to remove all the wounded officers, and all the sick, except 300. During these several engagements, the allies suffered much. Unprepared for resistance or for flight, they were obliged to take shelter in uncovered sheds, or in the open air, at this inclement season, and, in their retreat, vast numbers of men, women, and children, were frozen to death. The French took Utrecht without opposition, for the troops in the pay of Great Britain had retired by the way of Amersfort to Zutphen. Its capital was entered on the very day (Jan. 18, 1795,) that General Vandamme took possession of Arnheim.

The Princess of Orange and the younger female branches of the family escaped on the 15th, with the plate, jewels, and whatever else of value they could carry off. The Stadtholder and the hereditary Prince of Orange did not leave Holland till the 19th, the day on which Dort surrendered to General Pichegru. His serene highness got into an open boat at Scheveling, having only three men with him who were acquainted with rowing; but he arrived at Harwich on the 21st in safety. The Stadtholder did not leave the Hague without much opposition; for the French party insisted he should be responsible for all the troubles of the country. He was indebted to the fidelity of his horse body-guards, and a regiment of Swiss, for his escape; they fired upon the people, and his flight was secured at the expense of the lives of some of the most forward patriots.

Dudrecht, Rotterdam, the Hague, and Helvoetsluys, were all occupied by the French troops in succession; and the States-General, yielding to imperious necessity, now negotiated with the invaders, by whom the abolition of the stadtholdership was decreed. The English army having experienced much distress from the severity of the season and the pursuit of the enemy, retired into Westphalia, being considerably diminished.

CHAPTER IX.

Campaign on the Rhine.—Defeat of the French at Kaiserslautern.—Battle of Edikhoffen.—The French seize on Theves and the Palatinate.—Campaign, in Spain and Italy.—War of La Vendée.

THE reduction of the strong fort of Kaiserslautern, in the Palatinate, was the commencement of the campaign in this quarter. The French afterwards obtained possession of Spire, Gummorsheim, and Limersheim. The Austrians aban-

doned Fort Louis, afterwards called Fort Vauban, and destroyed the works as soon as they heard of the enemy's approach.

On the resignation of the Duke of Brunswick, Field-Marshal Mollendorff, who had succeeded to

the command of the Prussian army, took the field. At this period, May 27, the French, to the number of 12,000 men, were forced behind the defiles of Otterback, Hogglesback, and the Lauter. These positions were defended by means of redoubts and entrenchments; the bridges were all destroyed, and three strong posts had been occupied to facilitate their retreat in case of danger. The Prussian commander-in-chief, by a sudden movement, contrived to surround and surprise their camp. Impressed with the idea of perfect security, the French were inattentive to the approach of the enemy; and their loss on this occasion was considerable. One thousand were killed on the spot, and more than 2000 made prisoners, while eighteen pieces of cannon and two howitzers fell into the hands of the conquerors. The marshal after this established his head-quarters at Winnweiler, while his advanced posts extended as far as Deux Ponts and Carlesberg; Nieustadt was at the same time taken possession of by the prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelsingen.

The French having procured a large reinforcement, renewed hostilities day after day, until they obtained their object. Notwithstanding the marshal's troops were posted in an advantageous situation, yet in the course of incessant attacks the Prussians gave way, though seven had been bravely withstood for two whole days before they were subdued. Another body, strongly posted at Tripstadt, gallantly resisted. The French, however, prevailed, and a great number of cannon and prisoners were taken, on the 14th of July. A fresh attack was commenced the succeeding morning, along the whole of the line occupied by the Imperial and Prussian troops. The allies, notwithstanding the superiority of the French artillery was particularly conspicuous, maintained their ground until night, when they happily effected a retreat.

The army of the Moselle having commenced its march under the command of General Michaud, entered the electorate of Treves, and seized its capital, on the 3d of August. The Palatinate, too, was taken by the French on the 8th; by which means they obtained the corn destined for the supply of Germany.

The Prussians, in consequence of the retreat of the unfortunate but gallant Clairfayt across the Rhine, thought proper to abandon offensive operations, and withdraw to the neighbourhood of Mentz. Various altercations now took place between two of the allied courts, which threatened the dissolution of the confederacy. The King of Prussia intimated his intentions, notwithstanding the subsidy received from England, to employ his troops solely in the defence of Germany; and the diet of the empire began at this period to listen to propositions for peace. This appeared to be the present disposition of the whole Ger-

manic body, nor was it opposed by his imperial majesty. The British cabinet, justly alarmed at the idea of a separate peace, dispatched an embassy to the emperor, to prevail on his imperial majesty to adhere to his engagements; and a subsidy, under the name of a loan, was also promised for the purpose.

The success of the French in the eastern and western Pyrenées began to alarm the court of Madrid. However, the progress of the French armies in Piedmont had been retarded by the unexpected possession of Toulon by the English, and the gallant resistance displayed by the inhabitants of Lyons. Oneglia, which contained a couple of frigates and a few galleys belonging to the King of Sardinia, and had been partly destroyed by the vice-admiral Truguet during the preceding year, and in the present campaign had been repeatedly menaced both by the English and French, was, on the 6th of April, captured by the latter.

A body of republican troops penetrated into Piedmont on one side, while another, after traversing valleys and ascending mountains covered with snow, at last scaled Mount Cenis. An attempt was made to oppose their progress, by means of batteries, redoubts, and fortifications; but General Dumas having seized all the posts in succession, obtained possession of a numerous train of artillery, and took 900 prisoners.

About the same time, in the month of May, General Dumvillon seized on the forts of Saorgio, Belvidere, Rocabilier, and St. Martin; by means of which he obtained 60 pieces of cannon, a vast quantity of ammunition, and 2000 prisoners.

A new system had been adopted by the Austro-Sardinians, for preventing the further progress of the French, by means of partial attacks upon their advanced posts, and, by defensive operations. Their endeavours, however, were unsuccessful; having been completely routed towards the end of autumn, and obliged to make the walls of Alexandria their refuge.

Notwithstanding the inflated accounts of the generals who had fought, and of the deputies on mission, who had been witnesses, and were frequently encouragers of the dreadful havoc which was made, the war of La Vendée still appeared to be interminable. It had been stated at the bar of the convention, by General Westermann, "That of the rebel army, which once amounted to 90,000 in the district of Mons alone, not a single combatant had escaped; chiefs, officers, soldiers, bishops, countesses, and marchionesses, had all perished by the sword, the flames, or the waves." It was also asserted by Carrier, on his return from the insurgent departments, "That the number of the banditti, and the nature of the war, had been alike unknown." He declared that the whole population, of a space of more than 400 square

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leagues had appeared in arms, and that the rebels "amounted to 150,000 men; but the victories of Montagne and Cholet had proved fatal to them, as their leader had acknowledged that the former battle cost them 20,000 combatants." He trusted that it would not be supposed the war had termi-

nated; for the country abounded in forests, and was covered with brush-wood, which afforded a secure retreat to the disaffected; as a proof of which he observed, that the republicans at one time had passed through 40,000, who had been concealed in this manner.

CHAPTER X.

Naval History.—Important Victory obtained by Lord Howe.—Lord Hood's Expedition, and Invasion of Corsica.—Campaign in the West Indies.—Various Captures.—Expedition under Victor Hughes.—The French re-conquer Guadaloupe.—Campaign in St. Domingo.

LORD HOWE having sailed directly in quest of the enemy, who were expected to put to sea for the protection of a fleet, chiefly laden with provisions, from America, Rear-admiral Montague was ordered to cruize in such a latitude as to be enabled either to rejoin the channel squadron, or to intercept the French store-ships.

The commander-in-chief having, on the 19th of May, received sudden information from two of his frigates, the *Phaeton* and *Latona*, detached for that purpose, that the Brest fleet was at sea, thought proper to effect, as soon as possible, a junction with the squadron under Rear-admiral Montague; but having been told, two days after, by some of the Lisbon convoy which he recaptured, that the enemy had been seen a few leagues further to the seaward, he immediately altered his course, and steered in that direction. On the 28th of May, the rival fleets descried each other exactly at the same time: the wind blew strong from the south-west, accompanied by a very rough sea, and the French possessed the weather-gage. Lord Howe having received intimation of this event from the advanced frigates, continued his course, while Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, to whom orders had been transmitted to protect the supplies from America, at the risk of an engagement, endeavoured, as much as possible, to assume a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack, by which means the approach of the English was considerably facilitated.

The British commander perceiving by the conduct of the enemy, who had hauled their wind, an intention to avoid a close fight, gave the signal for a general chase; and, to prevent their escape, Admiral Pasley, who commanded a flying squadron, consisting of the *Bellerophon*, *Russel*, *Marlborough*, and *Thunderer*, was instantly detached to make an impression on their rear. That officer, about two o'clock, came up with and attacked the *Révolutionnaire*, a three-decked ship of 110 guns, which happened to be the sternmost in the line;

but his top-mast being disabled during the action, Lord Hugh Seymour Conway, in the *Leviathan*, gallantly advanced and received her fire, which was exceedingly fierce; and by the time it was dark, Captain Parker, of the *Audacious*, having arrived close to the rear ship, (supposed to have been the *Révolutionnaire*, which had been previously engaged with the Rear-admiral and Lord Hugh Seymour,) fought her within the distance of half a cable's length. Captain Parker finding the mizen-mast gone by the board, and the lower yards and main-topsail yard shot away, first attempted to board his antagonist; but having failed, made sail before the wind, when it was imagined that the *Audacious* struck her colours. The situation of her antagonist was equally bad, having her rigging destroyed, her fore-topmast wounded, and the bowsprit crippled; and thus, with nine sail of the enemy to windward, followed by two of their ships, and occasionally fired at by a large frigate, and two corvettes, the captain, after a chase of 24 leagues directly to leeward, thought proper to return to Plymouth Sound.

During the whole night the rival fleets, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line on one side, and twenty-five on the other, remained within sight of each other on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction, with the French still to windward. Between seven and eight o'clock the next morning, (May 29,) the English tacked by signal, and with some degree of irregularity, with a view of making an impression on the enemy's rear. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse imagining, by the retreat of the *Audacious*, which gave him the superiority of one line-of-battle ship, that the victory must be his, immediately wore from van to rear, and edged down in a line a-head, to engage the rear of the British fleet, displaying a fixed resolution to come to action.

This favourable opportunity was immediately seized by Lord Howe, who renewed the signal for passing the enemy's line; but on finding that the

Cæsar, (Captain Molloy,) which was the leading ship, had not kept the wind, he himself gave the Queen Charlotte orders to attack; and being seconded by the Bellerophon and the Leviathan, gallantly broke through the fifth and sixth ships in the rear, and then resumed the larboard tack; by which means, in consequence of having obtained the wind, he was better enabled to renew the action. While his lordship remained in this critical situation, and the rest of the British fleet was passing to leeward, the French were again to the eastward, on purpose to succour their disabled ships in the rear, and which the English admiral, from the crippled state of his two consorts, was unable to prevent: the enemy, however, were repulsed by the Barfleur and two other three-deckers, in an attempt to cut off the Queen and Royal George. The French admiral tacked again by signal, and after a distant cannonade, stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the whole of the British fleet, which still retained the weather-gage. Thus terminated the second day's action; and a thick fog that intervened during the night and the greater part of the succeeding day, prevented the renewal of the engagement.

In the mean time, Rear-admiral Neilly joined the commander-in-chief with a reinforcement of three sail of the line, which enabled him to detach his crippled ships; and the dawn of the memorable 1st of June exhibited the French line to leeward, drawn up in complete order of battle, and prepared for a renewal of hostilities.

As there was time sufficient for the various ships' companies to take refreshment, the British admiral made a signal for breakfast; an event which induced the French to believe, that he wished to decline the engagement. In about half an hour, however, Lord Howe, to their great disappointment, gave orders for steering the Royal Charlotte, on board of which was flying the signal for close action, alongside the French admiral. This was effected at nine o'clock in the morning; and by an extraordinary display of seamanship on the part of Mr. Bowen, he was enabled to assume an excellent position, by which means he contended with advantage against a vessel far superior in point of size; and while some of the English commanders penetrated the line of battle, and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as allowed them to contend with their antagonists to windward. The contest was close and severe, and the muzzles of the guns of many ships belonging to the two hostile fleets, almost touched each other; and while the shot of the enemy made but little havoc on decks where there were no useless men, such was the superiority of the English seamen, that every broadside spread death and desolation through the crowded vessels of the French. So tremendous was the fire, and

so decisive the advantage on the part of the British, that about ten o'clock the French admiral determined to relinquish the contest. Several of his ships were dismantled, and one of 74 guns about to sink; six also were captured, and a great slaughter had taken place on board his own vessel, in which his captain, Basile, and a multitude of the crew were killed, while the national commissioner and most of his officers were wounded. Hereupon Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse crowded off with all the canvas he could spread, and was immediately followed by most of the ships in his van that were not completely crippled; two or three also of these, although dismantled, got away soon after, under a temporary sail hoisted on the occasion; for the victors were rendered incapable of pursuing the enemy, who had, as usual, aimed at the rigging. Had it not been for an unlucky broadside from Le Jacobin, the Queen Charlotte, which at that time was rendered nearly unmanageable, having lost her fore-top mast in action, would have captured La Montagne. This misfortune was soon after followed by the loss of the main-top-mast, which fell over the side, while the Brunswick, which had lost her mizen-mast, and the Queen, drifted to leeward, and were exposed to considerable danger from the retreating fleet. Lord Howe had still possession of two eighty-gun ships, Le Juste and Le Sanspareil, and five seventy-four gun ships, L'Amérique, L'Achille, Le Northumberland, L'Impétueux, and Le Vengeur; the last sunk between five and six o'clock at night, soon after she was taken. The slaughter on the part of the English was not very great. Captain Montagu, of the Montagu, was the only commander who fell during the engagement. Several officers of distinction, particularly Vice-admiral Graves, the Hon. G. Berkley, and Captain J. Harvey, were wounded; and the rear-admirals Pasley and Bowyer, and Captain Hutt of the Queen, lost a leg each. Captain J. Harvey died a few days after his return to Portsmouth of a fever accompanied by a delirium; and Captain Hutt also perished in a similar manner.

Admiral Montagu, who had repaired to England with an account of this brilliant victory, whence he was immediately dispatched to join Earl Howe, sailed for Brest; partly with a view to fall in with the commander-in-chief, and partly to pick up any crippled ships, which in case of an action might take shelter in that port. He accordingly encountered some of the retreating squadron, June 7, and chased them into the outer road. On the following day he espied the main body under Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, who, notwithstanding his late fatal contest, formed an admirable line of battle, and gave chase; while the fleet from America, consisting of 160 sail of merchantmen, supposed to be worth several millions sterling, and particularly valuable on account of

BOOK I. the then distressed state of France, arrived in safety three days after the French squadron had been obliged to abandon its protection.

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The six ships captured from the French were conducted into port, and being unable to keep the sea, on account of the disabled state of the squadron, Lord Howe sailed for England, and arrived safe off Dunmore, in the Isle of Wight, June 13.

The French fleet had received positive orders to fight, provided the English should cross their cruising ground; and to the measures adopted on this occasion, Jean Bon St. André attributed the safety of the American fleet. Barrère having asserted that one of their line-of-battle ships went down with the republican colours flying; that the crew refused quarter; and that their last prayers were offered up for liberty and their country; concluded with proposing—

1. That a model of *Le Vengeur* should be suspended from the roof, and the names of the brave republicans on board inscribed on the columns of the Pantheon.

2. That the three-decked ship then building in the covered bason of Brest, should be named *Le Vengeur*.

3. That recompences should be decreed at a national festival, to the poets, painters, and sculptors, who undertook to transmit to posterity the sublime trait of republican heroism displayed on the occasion.

The grand fleet of England having been refitted, and increased by five sail of line-of-battle ships and a Portuguese squadron of five vessels, (the latter of which added to its number rather than to its strength,) again put to sea; and notwithstanding Lord Howe was so ill with the gout that he was obliged to be hoisted on board in a chair, he still continued to superintend its movements. The Brest fleet never ventured out until the English commander returned to port, the enemy had been so completely humbled; and even then their commanders and crews reaped but little glory and advantage, for as they consisted chiefly of landsmen, unable to contend with so boisterous a season, instead of capturing any ships, they actually lost five sail of the line, and were incapable of performing any exploit whatever.

In the course of this year, the success of the British navy was nearly uniform, both in respect to squadrons and single ships. Captain Sir John Borlase Warren having been ordered to cruise on the coast of France with four ships, the *Arethusa*, *Melampus*, *La Nymphe*, and *Concorde*, while proceeding to his station fell in, on the 23d of April, with four sail of the enemy, under a commodore, fresh from port, having left Cancele Bay on the preceding evening. The two squadrons crossed each other on opposite tacks, and the action was begun by the enemy, as usual, at a

considerable distance. The English commander, by the wind having luckily changed two points in his favor, perceived that it was possible to weather the French, and therefore made a signal for the ships to engage as they came up, so as to insure a close action, and prevent them from gaining their own shore. After an engagement of two hours, in which Captain Sir Edward Pellew, of the *Arethusa*, who was the second astern, and the other commanders, behaved with great skill and gallantry, two of the ships struck, viz. *La Pomone*, forty-four 24-pounders and 400 men; and *La Rabet*, twenty-two 9-pounders and 200 men. As the *Flora*, which led the line into action, was rendered incapable of continuing the pursuit, a signal was made for the other English frigates to pursue the enemy. Sir R. Strachan, in the mean time, got up with and engaged two of the retreating squadron; one of which, *Le Résolue*, bore down, and laying herself across *La Concorde's* bows, obliged her to drop astern. Sir Richard Strachan, however, made sail and attacked the other vessel, which proved to be *L'Engageant*, of thirty-four 18 pounders, 41 caronades, and 300 men. During two hours and a quarter, the crew defended themselves with great bravery; but her guns being silenced, and her sails unmanageable, she was at length taken.

About the latter end of the summer, the same commander was again successful on this station. Understanding that some of the enemy's frigates were cruising near Scilly, he sailed in pursuit with a small squadron, consisting of the *Pomona*, *Artois*, *Santa Margaritta*, *Diana*, and *Arethusa*; and having discovered a French ship of war, which proved to be *La Felicité*, of forty guns, he made a signal for a general chase; in consequence of which, some of his consorts engaged with and ran her ashore near Penmark rocks. At the same time the commander, in company with the *Arethusa*, pursued two corvettes; and having obliged them to take refuge under the cover of three batteries near the Gomelle rocks, fought them in that position until their masts fell overboard, by means of which the greater part of the crews escaped. Having manned and armed his boats, it was the commander's intention to burn these two vessels, which were called *L'Alerte* and *L'Espion*; but, as the wounded must have inevitably perished, humanity forbade the execution of this design. During the action the *Flora* ran aground on this shore.

The Hon. Captain Paget, in the *Romney*, of fifty guns, brought *La Sybille*, of forty-four, to action in Miconi road; and after an engagement of one hour and ten minutes, captured her on the 17th of June. What rendered this attack remarkable was its being made on an enemy's ship in a neutral harbour.

On the 21st of October, Captain Nagle, of the

Artois, belonging to and in sight of Sir Edward Pellew's squadron, took the national frigate called *Révolutionnaire*, when the breakers of the Saints were discovered right a-head.

The English, however, lost a line-of-battle ship, which became to the enemy a subject of great exaltation. The *Alexander* and *Canada*, vessels of equal force, happened to be seen and chased at break of day, Nov. 11, by a squadron consisting of five seventy-fours, three large frigates, and an armed brig, under the command of Rear-admiral Neilly. The two English men of war at first separated, but Rear-admiral Bligh having made his consort a signal to form a-head for their mutual support, an attempt was made to obey. Hereupon two ships of the line and two frigates, which were in pursuit, hauled to starboard, and obliged her to pursue the former course. In the mean time the *Alexander* continued firing her own stern and receiving the bow chasers of the enemy; when three ships of the line advanced, and commenced a close action, which was gallantly sustained upwards of two hours, until she became a complete wreck, the main yard, spanker-boom, and three top-gallant-masts being shot away, and the sails and rigging cut to pieces, while all the lower masts were expected every moment to go over the side. The ships which had chased the *Canada*, not being able to overtake her, made sail at this critical period for the British admiral; and the officers, who had been assembled on the quarter-deck, deeming all resistance fruitless, the commander reluctantly surrendered, and was carried into Brest.

The progress of the British arms in the Mediterranean, after the evacuation of Toulon, was exceedingly flattering. In the month of February, Lord Hood sailed for Corsica, at that time in a state of rebellion against the French convention, acting under Paschal Paoli; who, some years prior to this, had been honorably restored to his country by the constituent assembly. The popular society of Toulon had accused General Paoli to the convention as a supporter of despotism. They stated that the general, along with the administrators of the department, had inflicted every hardship upon the patriots, and favored the emigrants and refractory priests. They demanded that he should fall under the avenging sword of the law. The convention decreed, that General Paoli and the attorney-general of Corsica should be ordered to the bar to give an account of their conduct. Soon after the convention received a letter from the commissioners sent to Corsica to arrest General Paoli, that they thought it not prudent to attempt it for the present, and in the same month a letter was read from the general, regretting that his extreme old age and bodily infirmities made it impossible for him to cross the sea, and travel 200 leagues by land, to appear at the

bar of the Convention, but offering to retire from his country, if it were thought necessary to the safety and peace of Corsica. Paoli, however, sent to Lord Hood for a few ships, to co-operate with him against the French in the island. At length Commodore Linzee anchored in the bay, to the westward of Mortella Point; and the troops having landed the same evening, under Lieutenant-general Dundas, possession was taken of a height that overlooked the tower of Mortella. It being the opinion of both the commodore and general, that immediate possession should be taken of this important post, in order to secure the anchorage, the *Fortitude* and *Juno* were accordingly placed in their proper stations, and a combined attack took place both by sea and land. The garrison having made an obstinate defence, the ships were obliged to withdraw, after a severe and well-directed fire of two hours and a half, during which several hot shot were lodged in the side of the *Fortitude*. The walls of the tower were of prodigious thickness; and the parapet, where there were two 18-pounders, was lined with bass junk five feet from the walls, and filled up with sand; and although it was cannonaded from the height for two days, within 150 yards, and appeared in a very shattered condition, the enemy still held out; but a few shot setting fire to the bass, made them call for quarter. The besieged, consisting of only one officer and thirty-two men, at length surrendered; only two were wounded, and those mortally. Thus what could not be effected by the navy, was achieved by the land-forces, who occupied an eminence that commanded the place and established a battery, consisting of one eighteen, two nine-pounders, and a carronade.

In order to take possession of the town of Fornelli, Lieutenant-colonel Moore had been detached with two regiments, a small howitzer, and a six-pounder, which were dragged about eight miles through a desert and mountainous country. The information which had been received respecting this place having been false, it was found that no attack on it could be successful without heavy cannon could be carried thither; which arduous task was cheerfully undertaken, and after four days incessant labor, accomplished by the officers of the navy. One battery, consisting of three pieces of artillery, was then constructed so as to enfilade the *redoubt of the convention*, mounted with twenty-one pieces of heavy ordnance, and considered as the key to the whole; while a second took it in reverse. Another 18-pounder was brought up next day, Feb. 17, to prevent two French frigates in the bay from obstructing the attack. At the same time, 1200 Corsicans, assembled by General Paoli, occupied the advanced posts, and covered the flanks. At 8 o'clock at night, Lieutenant-colonel Moore led one column

BOOK I. against the advanced point of the redoubt: Lieutenant-colonel Wauchope marched with another towards the centre, while Captain Stewart, with a third, entered on the left, and, carrying the works with the bayonet, drew the enemy down a steep hill in their rear; of whom ten officers and sixty men were made prisoners, and 100 killed and wounded, out of 550 who occupied the work. The success of this day was chiefly owing to the gallantry of the troops and men who gave the assault, and to the judicious fire of the batteries.

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The neighbouring town having been evacuated, the English were masters of the gulf, fortress, and town of St. Fiorenzo; and it was the opinion of the admiral, that Bastia, whither the French had retreated, should be immediately attacked: Lord Hood, therefore, made the necessary dispositions, though Major-general Dundas declined to join in the undertaking. Accordingly, Lieutenant-colonel Villettes having landed with a body of men who had hitherto acted in the capacity of marines, and Captain Nelson, (the late celebrated Lord Nelson,) with a detachment of seamen, batteries were opened, and the place summoned; while the mouth to the harbour was so guarded, the ships being moored in form of a crescent, and the intervals occupied by gun-boats and armed launches; that the arrival of supplies to the besieged was intercepted. The assailants did not exceed 1,300 English and 800 Corsicans, and the garrison amounted to near 3,000 men. The commander, General Gentili, a Corsican, made a very gallant defence; but, after a siege of thirty-three days, during which the English distinguished themselves greatly, the town and citadel surrendered to a detachment of British troops, and the French were sent to Toulon.

While the British admiral was cruising to intercept a squadron of six sail of the line from Toulon, supposed to be destined for the relief of Calvi, the only town now in possession of the enemy, and which was soon after obliged to seek protection under the batteries of St. Honora, St. Margaretta, and Cape Garoupe, Captain Nelson proceeded, with the troops from Bastia, and effected a landing at port Agra, on the 19th of June. In the course of the same day, the army, now considerably reinforced, and commanded by the Honorable Lieutenant-general Stuart, encamped in a strong position upon the Serra del Cappuccine, three miles distant from Calvi, the reduction of which had been determined upon. As the works were very strong, and the approaches difficult, rapid and forward movements were adopted instead of regular ones; the seamen and soldiers were therefore employed in making roads, dragging cannon to the top of precipices, and collecting military stores, in order to erect two mortar and four gun batteries against Mollino-

chesco, situated on a steep rock, and the stone star-fort Mozello; the walls of the latter it was determined should be suddenly attacked by batteries erected within 750 yards distance.

Admiral Hotham having been left to blockade the French in the road of Gourjean, returned to Corsica, in order to assist in the reduction of Calvi; and not only kept close off that port to relieve the occasional wants of the besiegers, but, in order to make an impression on the enemy's works, landed several of the lower-deck guns of the Victory. On the 18th of July, the French were obliged to evacuate Mollinochesco, and withdraw the shipping under the protection of the town; and a breach appearing practicable at this time on the west side of Mozello, Lieutenant-colonel Moore and Major Brereton advanced with unloaded arms, and, regardless of the firing of musketry and the bursting of shells, stormed the place; while Lieutenant-colonel Wemys, with the royal Irish regiment, and two pieces of cannon under the direction of Lieutenant Lemoine, of the royal artillery, without a shot carried the enemy's battery on the left, and forced the trenches.

A truce of twenty-five days was now proposed by Casa-Bianca, a general of division in the French service and a native of Corsica. This having been deemed inadmissible, the navy and army united their exertions, and, in the course of nine days more, additional batteries of thirteen heavy guns, four mortars, and three howitzers, were opened within 600 yards of the town; and after a cannonade and bombardment of eighteen hours, and a siege of fifty-one days, the enemy's fire being nearly silenced, the garrison surrendered, August 10; by which means the French were expelled from the island, and the English were complete masters of Corsica.

Soon after this, a general *consulta* was assembled at Corte, and General Paoli being elected president, the representatives of the nation voted the union of Corsica with the British crown. This act was accepted on the part of Sir Gilbert Elliot, the king's representative, who instantly assumed the title of viceroy. "Our minds," said he, "have been prepared by Providence for the fate which awaited us. The event of this happy day is only the completion of wishes we had previously formed. To-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long been united, and our motto should be—*Amici, e non di ventura*." The constitution presented to the Corsicans contained the establishment of universal suffrage; the dissolution of the legislative body at the expiration of two years; municipalities chosen by the people in every district; and the unbounded right of toleration unfettered by any tests or penal laws.

We shall now briefly state the naval transactions in the West Indies; where, in consequence

of a burning sun, disease rendered war doubly terrific.

The attack upon Martinica was made by a powerful armament under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, who sailed, on the 6th of February, from Carlisle Bay to Barbadoes. A joint manifesto was published on the part of the commanders-in-chief by sea and land, inviting all the "friends of peace, government, religion, and order, in the island to throw off tyrannical oppression, and set themselves free from the horrors of anarchy, by having recourse to the protection of a just and beneficent sovereign." Personal security, and full and immediate enjoyment of their possessions, conformably to the ancient laws and customs, were also promised.

Three separate landings having been effected on the island of Martinica, the enemy abandoned the port of Trinité, while General Bellegarde, a Mulatto chief, evacuated the fort which bore his own name. Hereupon Major-general Dundas immediately seized Morne Bruneau, about two leagues from Fort Bourbon, and the strong position of Le Maître. Another detachment, under Brigadier-general Whyte, forced the batteries of Cape Solomon and Bruges, in order to facilitate the possession of Pigeon Island, and enable the shipping to enter the harbour of Port Royal. Mount Catherine, which commanded the enemy's works at the distance of 400 yards, having been crowned with a battery so as to take Pigeon Island in reverse, in little more than two hours the garrison struck their colours, and surrendered at discretion, on the 10th of February, through the gallantry of Colonel Symes, with a detachment of the 15th regiment, and 200 seamen under the command of Lieutenants Rogers and Rutherford.

Sir Charles Gordon, assisted by Colonel Myers, and Captain Rogers of the navy, having landed to leeward with the third column, seized on five batteries, between Casise de Navire and Port Royal, and then occupied the posts of Gentilly, La Coste, and L'Archer. The entrance into the bay, and harbour of Port Royal being thus completely opened for the British fleet, Admiral Sir John Jervis immediately sailed from Ance L'Arlet, and anchored there, for the purpose of assisting in the reduction of the fortresses. The commander-in-chief also moved forward, with the troops from Riviere Salée, to the post of Bruneau, on the 14th of March, where he joined Lieutenant-general Prescott. As an attack upon the town of St. Pierre had been determined upon, Major-general Dundas proceeded towards the heights of Cassot and Calabasse, which the enemy had evacuated, but who had nevertheless attacked Colonel Campbell at Port-au-Pin. When this was perceived, the advanced guard, though no more than sixty-three men, was sent forward

under the command of Captain Ramsay, of the Queen; and, on gaining the summit, obliged them to desist. The gallant commander, however, lost his life while charging at the head of the 40th light company. The other two columns of the land-forces proceeded against St. Pierre, a considerable town, defended by batteries on the flanks, and protected by redoubts on the hills which overhang it: this place, however, had previously surrendered to a detachment under Colonel Symes and Major Maitland. The English, who had entered St. Pierre with the greatest regularity and decorum, were received by the inhabitants, not as foes, but as friends.

Two strong fortresses still remained to be captured, viz. Fort Louis, situated on a neck of land which forms one side of the harbour called the Carenage; and Fort Bourbon, built upon a hill, and in point of strength greatly superior. As the latter could not be closely invested without the previous possession of the heights of Saurriere, which were occupied by General Bellegarde, Sir Charles Grey resolved, at one o'clock of the succeeding morning, to force his position with the bayonet; but the Mulatto chief, anticipating his design, attacked his left flank with great impetuosity. Lieutenant-general Prescott, however, at the head of a reinforcement, gallantly checked the enemy; and the commander-in-chief embraced this opportunity to seize the position of the assailant. Accordingly, the third battalion of grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Buckeridge, and supported by the first and second battalions of light infantry, under Lieutenant-colonels Coote and Blundell, stormed the works on the left in such a gallant manner, that possession of the camp and artillery was immediately obtained with little loss. Fort Bourbon was then invested, but the siege of that place was attended with great difficulty; a new road, nearly five miles in extent, having been cut through a thick wood, for the conveyance of heavy artillery and mortars, while the cannon were dragged to the heights with infinite labor.

The Mulatto chief had, in the mean time, with his second, Pelocque, and 300 of their followers, yielded to the English. Bellegarde, on retiring to the heights of Sourriere, and finding his camp in possession of Sir C. Grey, immediately strove to re-enter Fort Bourbon, in order to assist in its defence; but General Rochambeau, who was at enmity with him, notwithstanding the small number of the garrison, repulsed and obliged him to surrender: he and his companions were immediately sent to America, while his batteries were confined on board the fleet.

For the purpose of reducing these two fortresses, a combined attack by the naval and land-forces was meditated. The artillery on the Morne, Tortenson, and Carrier, kept up a con-

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BOOK I. stant fire upon Fort Royal; while all the other
 CHAP X. batteries played upon Fort Bourbon, both day
 1794. and night, on the 18th and 19th of March.

While the battery on Point Carrier, which forms the east side of the entrance of the Carenage, kept up an incessant fire on Fort St. Louis, the *Bien Venue*, a French frigate, was boarded by Lieutenant Boven, of the *Boyne*, and the captain, lieutenant, and about twenty men, brought off, under a severe fire of grape-shot and musketry from the fort. For the purpose of assaulting this place, as well as Fort Royal, scaling-ladders were provided, and such was the gallantry of Captain Faulknor, in the *Zebra*, that Fort Louis was actually assailed and carried by escalade, March 20, before the boats under Captain Rogers could arrive to his assistance.

Fort Bourbon surrendered on March 23: agreeable to conditions, the garrison, consisting of 900 men, marched out with colours flying, thirty rounds a-man, and two field-pieces with twelve rounds; they then laid down their arms, and, after stipulating not to serve against his Britannic majesty or his allies during the war, were allowed to embark for France.

Six regiments having been left as a garrison, under Brigadier-general Whyte and Colonel Myers, the fleet sailed for St. Lucia, the reduction of which was attended with little or no difficulty, having been effected, April 3, without the loss of a man.

The British squadron immediately returned to Fort Royal Bay, in Martinico; where, having taken on board two regiments and the heavy ordnance, the admiral detached Captain Rogers, of the *Quebec*; with the *Ceres*, Captain Inledon; the *Blanche*, Captain Faulknor; and the *Rose*, Captain Scott; to take possession of the little islands called the *Saints*, which they effected without any loss, on the 10th of April. General Grey effected a landing, with a body of infantry and 500 seamen and marines, in the bay, notwithstanding the incessant fire of Forts Gozier and *Fleur d'Epée*, under cover of the *Winchelsea*, Lord Garlies, who placed his ship so close to the batteries, that the enemy could not stand to their guns, and happened to be the only person who was on this occasion wounded. On April 12, at break of day, the troops, in three divisions, attacked the fort of *La Fleur d'Epée* with the bayonet, which was carried; the first division, under the command of Prince Edward, stormed the post on *Morne Mascot*; the second, under Major-general Dundas, marched in such a direction as to take *Fleur d'Epée* in the rear, and cut off its communication with Fort Louis and *Pointe-à-Petre*; and the third, under Colonel Symes, proceeded by the road on the sea-side, in order to co-operate with the former. During this bold and successful attack, the heat of the

contest was so great, that the chief part of the garrison was unavoidably put to the sword; and immediate possession of that part of the island called *Grand Terre* was obtained by the English; the enemy having evacuated Fort Louis, the town of *Pointe-à-Petre*, and the new battery on the islet called *Cochon*.

A garrison having been placed in *Fleur d'Epée*, now called *Fort Prince of Wales*, part of the squadron, with two divisions of the army, under the command of Prince Edward and Colonel Symes, anchored under *Islet Haut de Fregatte*, and the troops were landed that night and the following morning (April 14) at *Petit Bourg*; another detachment, under Major-general Dundas, disembarked, about the same time, within a short distance of the town of *Basse Terre*, and carried the strong post of *Morne Magdaline*; while the two former columns, having seized on the redoubt of *d'Arbond*, evacuated by the enemy, and having carried *Arset* by storm, obtained possession of the important post of *Paliniste*, with all its batteries, early on April 20.

Guadaloupe, with all its dependencies, was surrendered to the English, April 20, on the same terms which had been allowed General Rochambeau for Fort Bourbon: the British colours were immediately hoisted, and the place received the name of *Fort Matilda*.

These objects having been accomplished, to the honor and glory of all concerned, Sir Charles Grey left General Dundas to command at Guadaloupe, and returned to Martinico. The general unfortunately fell a victim to the yellow fever; and Colonel Clos, the second in command, was seized at the same time with a fatal disease. In the interim, an armament for the West Indies had been fitted out by the French government. The command of this squadron was given to Victor Hughes, an officer fitted by nature for a desperate undertaking; and, having escaped all the English cruizers in a most extraordinary manner, he arrived at *Pointe-à-Petre* on the 3d of June, after a passage of forty-one days from *Rochefort*, and landed a body of troops near the village of *Gozier* in the course of that night.

A body of royalists, to the amount of 180, ignorant of the force as well as of the ultimate intentions of the enemy, proposed to march out and surprise them. This party accordingly sallied forth at eight o'clock in the evening, under the command of Captain McDowall of the 49d; but, at sight of the enemy, whose numbers far exceeded their expectations, they fled, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the English officer to rally them. They knew that if they escaped from the fire of the republicans, they would be exposed to the guillotine; and that very thought, which should have inspired them with courage, unfortunately rendered them cowards,

Victor Hughes, thus encouraged, began his march about midnight, for the purpose of attacking Pointe-à-Petre; and at one o'clock in the morning, the English commenced their operations by a discharge of grape-shot from one 24-pounder and two field-pieces, which slackened the career of the assailants. But, notwithstanding this was accompanied and followed by a heavy fire of musketry, the French again pressed forward, when the remainder of the unhappy royalists immediately abandoned the place. Lieutenant-colonel Drummond, with his garrison, consisting of only 300 men, partly British merchants and seamen, gallantly resisted two successive attacks; but no longer able to oppose a superior enemy, he retreated with loss to Fort Louis, whence he proceeded to Petit Carral, and shortly after embarked with the remainder of his followers to take shelter in Basse-Terre. The enemy consequently obtained possession of Fort Gouvernement, the town of Pointe-à-Petre, and the whole of that part of the island called Grand Terre.

As soon as this unexpected and unwelcome intelligence had reached the British commanders by sea and land, who had in the mean time actually embarked, and were about to sail from St. Kitt's for England, Sir John Jervis, after dispatching a vessel to Martinico for reinforcements, and collecting some ships of war, immediately proceeded to Guadaloupe, and arrived on the day after the evacuation. Perceiving the real state of affairs, he anchored off Point-à-Petre, and blockaded the French squadron; while Sir C. Grey proceeded to Basse-Terre, and sent to the different colonies to collect all the force that could be spared. A considerable body of volunteers, to assist in the expedition, was raised by the islands of St. Christopher and Antigua.

A successful night attack had, in the mean time, been made, June 13, under Brigadier-general Dundas, on the post of St. Jean or Gabarie, in which Brevet-major Ross, of the 31st regiment, behaved with the greatest gallantry, and a landing was afterwards effected, under cover of two frigates, at Ance Canot; Lieutenant-colonel Fisher commanding the grenadiers, and Lieutenant-colonel Gomm the light infantry. Hereupon the French abandoned Gozier, June 19, and assumed a position that commanded the road to Fort Fleur d'Épée. On the night of June 23, an attempt was made to dislodge them, which proved unsuccessful, through the disobedience of the troops; who recurred to the fire of their muskets, instead of trusting solely to their bayonets, as commanded. However, on the 27th, the republicans were attacked on all sides, and driven along a chain of high and woody grounds to Morne Mascot. Here they again rallied; but on being boldly charged, they retreated into the fort.

The post occupied by Col. Fisher on Morne

Mascot, under cover of the guns of Fleur d'Épée, was successively attacked by a motley army of whites, blacks, and mulattoes. On June 29, a more formidable army advanced, consisting of 1500 men, with a field-piece; but they were driven again from the heights with considerable slaughter by the bayonets of the English.

It being the determination of the British commander to make a grand and decisive blow, Brigadier-general Symes received orders to advance from Morne Mascot, and assault the town of Pointe-à-Petre. Before day-break, on July 2, Pointe-à-Petre was accordingly stormed by a body of infantry and the first battalion of seamen, under Captain Robertson; but having, through an unfortunate mistake on the part of the guides, entered at the strongest side, they were violently attacked by the enemy with round and grape shot, as well as small arms; and, notwithstanding the most heroic exertions, the attempt failed, with the loss of about 600 men. The commanding officer, Brigadier-general Fisher, Lieutenant-col. Gomm, and Captain Robertson of the navy, were wounded in the struggle. It was the determination of Sir Charles Grey, in case of success, to have stormed immediately Fort Fleur d'Épée; but this meditated attack was now relinquished, and a body of troops under Captain Stewart, and another of seamen from the Boyne, under Lieut. Woolley, were sent to the assistance of the unfortunate assailants. In the course of that very night, the English found it necessary to retire to Gozier, to march one part of the forces by Petit-Bourg to Berville, and to embark the remainder; which was happily effected, under the direction of Rear-admiral Thompson, without the loss of a single man.

The commander-in-chief, after this, occupied the ground between Point St. John and Mahault Bay with his whole force. He likewise erected batteries of heavy artillery, as well as of mortars, at Point Saron and Point St. John, opposite Pointe-à-Petre, whence he attempted to destroy both the town and the shipping; while the gun-boats belonging to the fleet were incessantly employed in battering the ports at Pointe-à-Petre and La Fleur d'Épée.

In the mean time the French commissaries, who had accompanied the expedition, endeavoured to inflame and seduce the inhabitants by their usual proclamations and addresses. The French victories were exaggerated, and the English conquests represented as easy tasks. As no succours had arrived from England, Basse-Terre, which had been defended as long as possible, again fell into the hands of the French, Sept. 27; who, during a dark night, made two different landings, the one at Goyave and the other at Lamentin. After seizing on Petit-Bourg, where, under pretence of retaliating former outrages, many of the

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BOOK I. sick and wounded were basely put to death, they advanced to Point Bacchus, and obtained possession of the heights in the neighbourhood of the English camp, which had been established at Berville.

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The enemy thrice attacked the troops at Berville, consisting of near 600 regulars and royalists, under Brigadier-general Colin Graham, and were as often gallantly repulsed. As the plantation of Berville had been the property and residence of a colonist unfriendly to the republican cause, it was therefore marked for republican vengeance. The attack was renewed, and both the English posts and men of war annoyed by batteries; the red-hot shot prevented the latter from succouring the besieged troops; and General Graham was obliged, though very reluctantly, to capitulate. He obtained the honors of war for his own troops, but for the protection of the royalists, could only procure the privilege of a covered boat, in which he conveyed the principal of them to a place of safety. One of the chiefs, finding that his three brothers were not to be admitted into this boat, shot himself, it is said, in the presence of the English General. The remainder of the royalists, who were obliged to cut their way through the ranks of their countrymen, were either shot or guillotined.

Thus the French obtained possession of the whole of the island of Guadaloupe, one post only excepted; and the militia, conscious of the fate that awaited their non-compliance, now declared in favor of the republicans. General Prescott,

who commanded at Fort Matilda, (lately called Fort Charles,) finding his cannon dismounted, and that even the Boyne and other men of war, which had repaired to his assistance, were occasionally obliged to sheer off from the gun and mortar batteries, now, after protracting the siege for near a month, deemed it prudent to evacuate the place during the night of December 10; which, under the superintendence of Captain Bowen of the *Terpsichore*, who was wounded on the occasion, was effected without loss.

The chief of the French settlements, called Port-au-Prince, on the west side of St. Domingo, was taken by the British during the course of the summer; and Brigadier-general Whyte erected the flag on the fort on the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day. The main body of the English, however, had not yet arrived; and the national commissioners, taking advantage of this interval, escaped in safety, with their treasure, towards Aux Cayes. The merchantmen, indeed, consisting of twenty-two sail, laden with sugar, cotton, coffee, and indigo, fell into the hands of the victors.

It appeared, notwithstanding, that the occupation of so many places together rendered the defence of each too weak; for in October, the town and port of Leogane fell into the hands of the republicans, though Captain Grant, of the 13th regiment, gallantly repulsed three distinct bodies of the enemy, after both himself and his two lieutenants were wounded; and on the 30th of December, the officer commanding at Tiburon was obliged to evacuate that post.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Political State of France at this Period.

DURING the latter events, recorded in the preceding book, the situation of France was far from being tranquil. No sooner had the faction of the Mountain obtained a bloody triumph over that of Gironde, than a second division took place; and the conflict now lay between the Cordeliers and the Jacobins. The latter were Christians; therefore power in the hands of the former would be as dangerous to them as if in the royalists; and Robespierre resolved to take advantage of this pious idea.

Hebert, Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz, and others, were at the head of the Cordeliers, men who adopted the most extravagant theories to gain the attachment of the populace, condemned all religion, preached up equality in the most absurd extent, and publicly recommended an agrarian law. The table of the rights of man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape in the beginning of March; and Hebert maintained, from the tribune of the society, that tyranny existed in the republic. Hebert, Ronsin, Clootz, and a number more of the same association, were arrested on the 25th March, brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and condemned to the guillotine. To these executions succeeded those of Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, Bazire, and Julien of Toulouse, with some other popular deputies of the convention; the accusation against them being, that they had engaged in counter-revolutionary projects.

The convention were informed, by Legendre, March 31, that four of their members were arrested—"Danton is one of them; I know not the others; you should hear them; I am pure, and so I believe is Danton." This gave offence to Robespierre, who moved the previous question, which was carried.

A decree of arrest being confirmed against Danton, Lacroix, Philippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, and Herault Sechelles, they were brought before the revolutionary tribunal. None appeared to be agitated. The wit of Danton dis-

concerted the judges, and he threw small balls about the size of a pin in their faces. All the prisoners asked for Robespierre to be present, but he excused himself under the view of assassination. They were sentenced at two, and in three hours afterwards brought out to the guillotine. Danton suffered last, and turned himself up to the dreadful axe with such magnanimity, that the spectators were penetrated with respect.

Danton is described as a man of abilities and eloquence, trained to the law. His person was tall, rather corpulent, and but few could look at him without being prepossessed in his favor. Many counter-revolutionary charges were alleged against him, but were never proved. When in the prison of the Conciergerie, he thus exclaimed, "Tis better to be a fisherman than govern men; the fools, as they see me pass to the scaffold, will cry, 'Vive la République!' Last year I had the revolutionary tribunal instituted; I beg pardon; it was to prevent the massacres of September." He is thought to have been the planner of the attack upon the palace on the 10th of August, which dreadful outrage was executed by the ruffian Westermann, and they both perished in one day on the same scaffold. Robespierre seems to have considered Danton in the light of a rival for power, which, in the eyes of that execrable monster, was a dreadful crime.

At this period Fouquier Tainville, the public accuser, demanded that the sister of the ci-devant king should be given up to the revolutionary tribunal. The Princess Elizabeth was accordingly sent to the prison of the Conciergerie on the 10th of May, and appeared before her judges. The trial was of the same hasty kind which had always distinguished these examinations, being composed of a few absurd questions put to the prisoner: she had neither advocates nor witnesses of any description whatever, and was condemned to the guillotine without further ceremony.

Robespierre fed his vanity by taking the lead

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at a procession in honor of the Supreme Being; and the awkward joy which he shewed in return for this flattery, gave the malevolent an opportunity of calling him an ambitious conspirator, who meant to usurp the sovereign power. Attempts were soon made to assassinate some of his party, and he was foolish enough to exalt himself into a servant of the Most High, and mounted the tribune to thank God that he and his party, as faithful servants to their country, were accounted worthy of the daggers of tyrants.

After he had butchered thousands to his own safety, being tormented by unceasing suspicion and remorse, he in vain sought to convert his couch of thorns into a bed of roses. That terror at last took possession of his own guilty mind, which he had infused into the minds of all: he was perpetually haunted with the dread of approaching death. Solitary and abstracted in the midst of company, he seemed to hear nothing but the cries of the victims whom he had sacrificed to his insatiable ambition and vindictive cruelty.

One of the members of the convention, whose name was Bourdon de l'Oise, was bold enough to demand, that the decree should be re-established, which affirmed the persons of the representatives to be inviolable; and that none should be brought before the revolutionary tribunal, but by virtue of a decree of accusation from the convention itself, not from the committee of safety, in which Robespierre, together with Couthon and St. Just, the execrable instruments of his infamous tyranny, carried every thing before them; which decree passed before the sanguinary despot could recover from his astonishment. After this event, the party formed against him increased with great rapidity; and even Barrère, his celebrated and artful colleague, had a secret but effectual hand in the accomplishment of his destruction. It was evident that he plotted the overthrow of all whom he considered as his enemies, and it was believed that he intended openly to assume the office of dictator of the French republic. It is uncertain whether he looked upon Barrère as among the number of his enemies; but, on the 23d of July, that wonderful man delivered a speech in the convention, which was admirably calculated to plunge him into a fatal security. "This government," said he, "is odious on account of its energy. Let me conjure the convention not to sleep on its victories, but to strike terror among its conspirators." A speech which Robespierre delivered in the convention, on the 25th of July, gave clear indications of his future designs. "What a terrible use," said he, "have our enemies made of a word which at Rome was applied only to a public function!" Every thing now conspired to prove, that his influence in the convention was entirely gone. This of course was the critical moment. He had

still the armed force of Paris at his command; but his sagacity and resolution appeared to fail him; his popularity was declining fast, and the galleries were only attentive to the speeches of his enemies.

Billaud Varennes openly complained, in the sitting of the 27th of July, "That the armed force of Paris was entrusted to paricidal hands. Henriot was denounced as an accomplice of Hebert. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name him?—Robespierre. In order to effect his purpose, he has resolved to mutilate the convention, to leave there men only as vile as himself, and to inflict a fatal blow on the representatives of the people. I proclaim—I proclaim the tyranny of Robespierre." Bursts of applause resounded from every part of the hall, and Robespierre, turning red with fury, darted towards the tribune, while vast numbers of voices exclaimed, "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" He had now to encounter universal imprecations; was not permitted to speak in his own defence; and Tallien rose "to congratulate the convention that the veil was at length withdrawn, and the real conspirators unmasked. Every thing announces that the enemy of the nation is about to fall. In the house of that guilty man, who now stands humbled with the consciousness of detected crimes, and overwhelmed with that detestation which his infamous designs against liberty have so justly merited, were formed those lists of proscription which have stained with so much blood the altars of rising liberty. He copied the example of the detestable Sylla. His proscriptions were intended only to prepare the way for his own power, and the establishment of a perpetual dictatorship.—Was it to subject ourselves to so abject and degrading a tyranny, that we brought to the scaffold the last of the Capets, that we declared eternal war against kings, and swore to establish liberty as the price of life? No! the spirit of liberty has not sunk so low. I invoke the shade of the virtuous Brutus; like him, I have a poniard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the convention do not deliver him to the sword of Justice. Let us, republicans, accuse him with the courage which springs from loyalty in the presence of the French people: and, as it is of the utmost importance that the chiefs of the armed force do no mischief, I move that Henriot and all his staff be arrested. I move that our sittings be permanent, until the sword of the law has secured to us this revolution. I also move, that Robespierre and his creatures be immediately arrested."

These motions passed amidst thunders of applause. Barrère was now desired to speak in the name of the committee of public safety; and after making a proposition that the national guard should resume its primary organization, and that

the mayor of Paris should be made responsible for the safety of the convention, he freely and ardently joined against the fallen tyrant, who had exhibited the art of wearing so many different masks, and who, having no farther occasion for his creatures, never failed to send them to the guillotine.

Being overwhelmed with astonishment, Robespierre submitted to the decree of the convention without any farther opposition, and the proper officers conducted him to the prison of the Luxembourg; but the governor would not receive him, being one of his creatures, in consequence of which he was conveyed to the Hotel-de-Ville.

In the mean time Hebert effected his escape, and collected his adherents with that astonishing rapidity which desperation inspires. Having made three divisions of the troops under his command, he resolved at once to attack the Hotel-de-Ville, the committee of public safety, and the convention. A high degree of courage and presence of mind was exhibited by the legislative body at this very critical juncture; for they were no sooner made acquainted with the situation of affairs, than they pronounced Robespierre and his associates to be outlaws and traitors. Barras was chosen to the chief command of the troops; and the people were exhorted by proclamation to assert their own liberty, and prove the defenders of the national convention. The sections of Paris appeared at the bar, one after another, swearing to be subject to no other authority than that of the convention. When the president, Collot d'Herbois, returned them thanks in the name of the convention, he expressed a hope that the heads of the traitors would fall before the setting of the sun. These measures induced nearly the whole of the troops under Henriot to abandon him, while he himself, and a few who remained with him, took possession of the Hotel-de-Ville. Here they were resolutely attacked by a party of the conventional guards, with Bourdon de l'Oise and some other commissioners at their head, who rushed with impetuosity into the hall of the commune. The insurgents made a short but unsuccessful resistance, after which they endeavoured to make away with themselves. Robespierre, who had been previously wounded in the side by a sabre, discharged a pistol in his mouth, which produced no other effect than to add fresh horrors to his ghastly countenance. Le Bas shot himself dead on the spot, and Couthon terminated his wretched existence by means of a poniard. While Henriot, from an upper window, delivered an oration to the people, he was, by their desire, precipitated to the street, and was thus dreadfully wounded.

The convention put an end to its sitting about six in the morning, victory having declared in their favor, in consequence of which Robespierre,

and the other criminals who had been outlawed, were instantly conveyed to the revolutionary tribunal, for no other purpose than to identify their persons, and then conveyed back to the palace of justice, being on the evening of the same day (July 28th) executed in the Place de la Revolution, to the number of twenty-one, the multitude expressing their joy and transport in a more tumultuous manner than was perhaps ever known. The eyes of the populace were particularly fixed on Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who were covered with wounds, and blood mingled with dust. The last who fell under the axe of the guillotine was Robespierre, having remained on the scaffold the whole time in a state of stupefaction, speechless, and petrified with horror.

Such was the merited fate of a tyrant, whose memory is devoted to the execration of all mankind, and who was perhaps superior in ferocious wickedness to even the Neros, the Domitians, and the Catilines. Not long after this great and memorable event, a very general alteration for the better took place in the different branches of the government of France. The Jacobin club, that sink of tyranny and barbarity, was completely abolished, and seventy-one members of the proscribed Gironde party were restored to their seats in the national convention. Hundreds were liberated from various state prisons, most of whom would no doubt have fallen a sacrifice to the implacable cruelty of Robespierre, had it not been for this revolution.

The different parties into which the convention was at one time divided, united for the purpose of accomplishing the overthrow of the infamous Robespierre; yet, when the danger was over, the former animosity of the several factions began again to display itself. Those who formerly acted with Robespierre, wished to mitigate, but not to abolish the cruelties of the revolutionary government; while others were anxious not only to establish a regular constitution, but to bring to punishment all the advocates of his monstrous tyranny. Merlin of Douay, on the 27th of December, said there was just reason for examining into the conduct of Barrère, Billaud Varennes, Collet D'Herbois, and Vadier. The accusation of Barrère was extremely unpopular, because he had been frequently known to exert all his influence in diminishing the horrors of that remorseless tyrant, joining the combination formed against him even at a time when ultimate success was extremely doubtful; and because he delivered a very animated speech to rouse the people of France to rise as one man to banish despotic hirelings from the territories of the republic, the importance of which advice was still gratefully remembered.

On March 2, 1795, M. Saladin made the report

BOOK II. concerning the committee of twenty-one, who said that the guilt of the accused was very apparent.

CHAP. I. The 22d of the month was fixed for their trial, before which Vadier found means to escape in the disguise of a courier. Lindet and Carnot made a very able defence in their behalf, although two members of the same committee of safety, but under the influence of compulsion, during the reign of Robespierre, whom none durst oppose without inevitable destruction. On the 1st of April, a prodigious number of the lower classes in Paris went to the hall of the convention, declaring that the accused patriots should not fall a sacrifice to the passions of the other party. Dumont observed, "That all these tumults were excited only to prevent the trials of the three great criminals. Let us abolish the pain of death, but cast out these monsters from our society." It was in consequence decreed, that Barrère, Collet, and Billaud Varennes, should be immediately transported to Guiana. As General Pichegru was at this time in the capital, the convention made choice of him to command the armed force of that extensive city. By his authority and exertions tranquillity was happily restored, and the opportunity embraced of arresting several other leaders of the Jacobin faction, who were conveyed to the castle of Ham in Picardy.

The convention certainly punished the abuses of arbitrary power upon arbitrary principles, combining in their own persons the heterogeneous characters of accusers, witnesses, and judges; and the establishment of a regular constitution of government became more and more the object of the general wish. For this important purpose a committee of eleven was made choice of, that they might frame a constitutional code for the examination of the convention.

The trial of the notorious Fouquier Tainville, who had sustained the office of public accuser, with the ex-judges and jurors of the late revolutionary tribunal, was deferred till the 8th of May, from a variety of causes. It was no difficult matter to substantiate the most abominable crimes against this abandoned court, completely subversive of all public justice, in the room of which was substituted a kind of judicial assassination. Next morning Fouquier and fifteen others, either formerly judges or jurors, were executed amidst the hisses and execrations of the multitude.

The deputies of the Jacobin faction under sentence of transportation for Guiana had been embarked on board different vessels; but Cambon and Thuriot, having effected their escape, reached Paris with great secrecy, and found means to excite a most dangerous insurrection. Hand-bills were previously posted up in different parts of the city, in which a degree of scarcity prevailed little short of famine. The *tocsin* was sounded at an early hour on the 20th of May, in the suburb of

St. Antoine, and the *générale* beaten. A decree passed as soon as the convention met, which commanded all citizens to repair to their respective sections, declaring their sitting permanent, and pronouncing sentence of outlawry against all those who should appear at the head of the insurgents. Disregarding these injunctions, however, vast multitudes even surrounded the hall of the convention, when the gendarmes were summoned to defend the persons of the deputies, and a terrible conflict took place between the military and insurgents. General Hoche was chosen to the command of the military force of Paris, but the tumults and disorders in the hall were still continued. One of the representatives, called Ferrand, was butchered by the rabble with the repeated strokes of a sabre, after which his head was severed from his body, and brought into the hall exhibited on a pike. The president continued uncommonly firm and undaunted during this horrible scene of violence, while the convention had much more the appearance of a camp of military men than an assembly of legislators. Many of the Girondists having left the hall, this opportunity was eagerly embraced by the Jacobin party, to repeal several decrees which had been levelled against themselves, which they accomplished, at this moment of consternation and terror, amidst the applauding shouts of a misguided multitude. The military having made their appearance in great force, together with a number of citizens in arms, the mob hurried with the utmost rapidity through the doors and windows. The pretended decrees of repeal were themselves repealed, or rather annulled, on the motion of Bourdon de l'Oise, and many of the Jacobin members, who were concerned in this horrid transaction, were put under arrest.

Next day, however, the convention was again surrounded by the multitude, and a deputation from the insurgents was reluctantly admitted. The president was under the necessity of returning a favorable answer to their demands, and submitted to the mortifying deed of giving its members the fraternal embrace, who were likewise invited to the honours of the sitting. The convention resumed on the third day the exercise of their functions, but, on the fourth, the inhabitants of the suburbs were again preparing to assault the hall of the convention, and the citizens of Paris arose to defend their representatives, filling every avenue which led to the Thuilleries. The convention resumed courage when they found themselves thus supported, and declared the suburb of St. Antoine to be in a state of rebellion; giving orders at the same time to the sections of Paris to march immediately against them, sustained by the skill and energy of the regular troops. The wretched, the deluded multitude, finding themselves surrounded on all sides, and

exposed to an immediate cannonade, surrendered at discretion. A decree then passed the convention, ordering all the Jacobins to be disarmed, abolishing the use of pikes, and, by order of the legislature, the cannon of the different sections were delivered up. When this dreadful insurrection was finally suppressed, several of the leaders of it were arrested and executed. Collet D'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barrère, were ordered back to stand their trial; but the two former had sailed already, and Barrère was committed to close imprisonment.

While thus reviewing the internal state of France, it will here be proper to mention, that the infant Capet, the only son of Louis XVI. died on the 9th of June, 1795, in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined since the unfortunate 10th of August, 1792. He was a boy of a sickly habit of body, and his valetudinarian state of health was in all probability augmented by the want of proper exercise.

The committee of eleven presented, on the 23d of June, the plan of the new constitution, the report concerning which was made by Boissy D'Anglas. After much discussion, and a number of changes, the constitutional act was pronounced complete on the 23d of August, and referred to the primary assemblies, for the purpose of obtaining the sanction of their approbation. It may here be proper to present our readers with the principal features of this constitution.—The legislative power was to consist of two assemblies, the members of which were to be nominated by the electoral assemblies; the one was to consist of 500 members, and the other of half that number; the former were to propose, and the latter to confirm the laws. The executive power was to be lodged in the hands of a directory of five members, to be in part renewed by the election of one member in regular rotation. The council of five hundred were to propose a list of ten persons by secret scrutiny, out of whom the senate was to choose one in a similar manner. The judges of departments and districts were to have committed to them the judicial power, and these judges were to be elected by the electoral assemblies, and a tribunal of appeal and annulment established for the whole republic by a similar mode of election. It would be extremely uncandid to deny that this was unquestionably the outline of a free constitution; but one egregious blunder entirely destroyed its beneficial effects. The two councils were in some respects rendered permanent, since the directory had not the power of convening and dismissing those formidable bodies in conformity to its discretion, which ought always to be the case, and as the ministers of the executive government could not sit in the legislative assemblies, which unavoidably created an opposition of interests. The functions of the executive power were neces-

sarily encroached on by the councils; and the same act in reality established two distinct governments. The authority of the executive power was likewise very much weakened by being put into the hands of five persons, who, it was natural to think, would be actuated by different interests; and it was believed that it would have been more conducive to the general welfare to lodge it in the hands of a single person, under whatever name.

On the 22d of August, before the constitutional act was sent to the primary assemblies, it was decreed by the convention, that, in choosing the deputies, the electors should return two-thirds from among the members of the present convention; and, if a deficiency happened, the members wanting were to be nominated by the legislative body itself. The sections of Paris were much displeased with this decree, which they in vain endeavoured to have rescinded, and therefore declared openly, that means more forcible than remonstrances were necessary to bring the convention to reason. On the 4th of October, at midnight, the insurgents were heard to exclaim, "To arms! to arms! liberty or death!" By the dawn of day a bloody battle commenced, the insurgents having drawn out their forces to march against the convention. They suffered very severely from the cannon which were planted in the avenues of the Tuilleries, yet they often rallied, and returned to the charge with determined obstinacy, fighting the whole day before they were completely vanquished, with the loss, it has been said, of nearly 2000 men.

When the new legislature met, they first proceeded to the election of five men to constitute the executive directory; viz. Reveillière Lepaux, Reubel, Letourneur de la Manche, Barras, and the celebrated Carnot, the last of them being chosen instead of the profound Sieyès, who saw too clearly the radical defects of the new constitution, to have any concern in the execution of it. It deserves notice, that these men were inclined to the mountain or jacobin party, although certainly inimical to the horrid tyranny of Robespierre; but the late violent proceedings had made such an impression, that a majority of the two councils were unhappily disposed to elect men of ardent minds, possessing more courage and vigor than wisdom and moderation. Barras was formerly a viscount, trained from his early youth to the military service, and had very much distinguished himself in the suppression of riots, at the head of the conventional troops. Letourneur de la Manche was a man of abilities, whose character was unexceptionable, and he was an officer of engineers before the revolution. Carnot was formerly minister of war, and a member of the execrable committee of public safety, during the tyranny of Robespierre; but he had wholly con-

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fined himself to the duties of his peculiar department, and the success of his measures was perhaps the most splendid in the annals of history. Reubel had been bred a lawyer, and was employed in negotiating the treaty with Holland; and Reveilliere Lepaux was likewise a lawyer, one of the deputies of the Gironde, proscribed by virtue of the revolution of the 31st of May, 1793.

A treaty of defensive alliance was concluded, in the month of February, 1795, with the Empress of Russia, which was certainly not very favorable to the interests of Great Britain. If his Britannic majesty should be attacked by any power whatever, the empress, by the fourth article of the treaty, was to assist him with 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry; and, should Russia be attacked by any European power, Britain was to send twelve sail of the line, to continue in the Baltic from the beginning of May to the month of October.

Notwithstanding the agitated state of the government of France at this period, yet the repeated successes of her arms rendered her so formidable, that the coalition which had been formed against her began to dissolve; and most of the neighbouring powers were ready to acknowledge the republic in the beginning of 1795. A treaty of peace was concluded between France and Tuscany on the 9th of February. The King of Prussia, also, entered into a negotiation with the committee of public safety, and at length con-

cluded a treaty, April 5, by means of his minister, Baron de Hardenberg, with Citizen Barthelemy, the French ambassador, at Basle. While this pacification, without surrendering any of the acquisitions on the left bank of the Rhine, withdrew a powerful enemy from the alliance against France, it also contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of Prussia; and, by admitting a number of states in the north of Germany to the benefits of neutrality, added greatly to the influence of Frederick-William II. in the empire. The mediation of this sovereign also procured an opportunity for the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel to retire from the war; and the latter prince not only agreed that the French should still occupy one of his fortresses, Rheinfeldt, but also stipulated neither to prolong nor renew the two subsidiary treaties with the court of Great Britain.

A treaty of peace was likewise concluded between France and Spain, July 22. The Regent of Sweden not only sent an ambassador to Paris, to compliment the convention in the name of his nephew, Gustavus Adolphus IV. but is also reported to have signified a wish to enter into a close alliance with the republic of France.

England, however, persevered in the struggle, Mr. Pitt having declared that the necessity and policy of the war were very apparent; the arguments of this able statesman, however, could not open the eyes of those who were advocates for a pacification.

CHAPTER II.

Review of the War of La Vendée.—Defection of the Republican Army.—Fontenay-le-Peuple seized by the Vendéans.—Their Defeat.—Defeat of the Republicans.—Battle of Chollet.—Capture of Noirmoulier.—Action at Martigné.—Battle at Mans.—Defeat of Charette.—Cruelties.—Treaty concluded by the Chiefs of La Vendée.

LA VENDEE being in a state of insurrection, as mentioned in the preceding Book, Chapter VII. Canelaux and Hoche were employed to counteract the horrors of a civil war, which at this time seemed inevitable; the Vendéan chiefs were suspected, and a correspondence with the English had been intercepted.

Some of the regiments, which had been sent by the convention against the Vendéans, began to imbibe their principles; many of the troops of the line deserted to them, and the foreigners in the French service went over in large bodies; the legion of Rosental, in particular, repaired in crowds to the white standard; while the greater part of the Germanic legion, especially the ca-

valry, withdrew in a body within their limits. A corps of infantry, of this description, assumed the appellation of "Avengers of the crown;" and, conscious that no mercy could be expected from their enemy, they neither gave nor received quarter, but fought with an uncommon degree of valor.

The catholic and royal army, as it was called among the Vendéans, besides other valiant achievements, took possession of Fontenay-le-peuple, the chief town in the department, which continued to be their head-quarters for some time. The Vendéan war now began to exhibit a degree of regularity which threatened the downfall of the republic. A sovereign council, consisting of ge-

nerals, priests, and civilians, assembled at Chatillon, and not only directed all the operations of the army, but concentrated all authority within itself. Bernard de Marigny was the president at this board; while Lescure, Stofflet, D'Elbée, Fleuriot, Beauchamp, and others, gave their assistance. The ancient laws were substituted in the place of the new code, all acts of authority were proclaimed in the name of Louis XVII., and no assignat was suffered to have currency unless sanctioned by their signature.

The exclusive establishment of the catholic religion, and the plenary restoration of loyalty, were the views of all. The insurgent army assumed a new form, and the peasantry were classed into communes and divisions, styled the "defenders of the altar and the throne." Regular battalions of infantry, squadrons of cavalry, and seven regiments of artillery, were formed from among the foreign deserters; some of these were, in point of discipline, equal to the first troops in England; and they were regularly paid, and even billeted. But, notwithstanding this regularity, and the unity of sentiment which prevailed, the leaders differed frequently about the means of effecting their wishes; and many of them, actuated by ambition, aspired to the supreme rank, to the entire exclusion of their colleagues. Talmont and D'Autichamp imagined that their birth entitled them to superiority; Charette thought his military talents and the number of his followers should recommend him; however, D'Elbée, who boasted of both parentage and abilities, was elected generalissimo. In consequence of this difference among the chiefs, two distinct bodies of troops were formed; the catholic and royal army of Anjou and Upper Poitou, under the direction of D'Elbée; and the army of Jesus, or Lower Poitou, led by Charette.

The convention, in order to oppose this formidable rebellion, sent detachments from the northern departments, and several battalions of national guards, cavalry, and chasseurs; which, being collected together, was entitled the army of the West.

These republican troops, drawn up in form of a semicircle, endeavoured to pierce the revolted provinces on all points, but on all points were constantly defeated. The Vendéans, becoming assailants in their turn, appeared on the plains in large unbroken companies, from 20 to 30,000 men; while one army, under Charette, menaced Nantes, and advanced under the cannon of Les Sables; June 2, another seized on Saumur, after a battle in which the republicans lost, as imagined, 23,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; General Chalbot, beaten under the walls of Fontenay, lost 1500 men, a vast quantity of

fire-arms, and from twenty-five to thirty cannon. BOOK II.
General Quétineau, with nearly 6,000 troops, although stationed within Thouars, only resisted two hours; and with the possession of this place, the insurgents obtained 7000 muskets and twelve pieces of artillery. Menou was equally unfortunate, although invested with the chief command, and supported by a considerable army; still he was incapable of defending Saumur, the capture of which emboldened the Vendéans to cross a river hitherto the boundary of their incursions. CHAP. II.
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The Vendéans remained ten days at Saumur, and then directed their march, towards the right bank of the Loire; and having first menaced Tours, they obtained possession of Angers. In the month of June the siege of Nantes was resolved upon, and they appeared before that place at a period when every thing seemed auspicious to the royal cause. The only fortifications consisted of a few ditches and some mounds of earth thrown up in great haste; the cannon were supplied from the navy, and the garrison was composed of about 10,000 men, mostly national guards. On the other hand, the besieging army amounted to at least 30,000 troops, under D'Elbée, who had been ever victorious from the commencement of the war. A second body of nearly equal force, commanded by Charette, invested the city, which was so defended by the republican generals, Canclaux and Bonvoust, that D'Elbée and Charette failed in their design.

At the epoch when Nantes was attacked, the insurgents were in the height of their power; and its capture would have been considered as a signal of general insurrection in Brittany. Had that event taken place, the castle of O, and Painbœuf on the Loire, and all the fortified ports on the coast, would have fallen into the hands of the Vendéans. The cause of the miscarriage originated partly in the disputes among the leaders, and partly in their ignorance of the art of attacking fortified places.

Biron, a general of experience, having been dispatched for the purpose of terminating this war, obtained, on his arrival, some advantages at Luçon, and soon after established his headquarters at Niort, where he collected about 16,000 chosen men. Having confided his advanced guard to Westermann, who had commanded at the attack on the Tuilleries, this officer surprised one of the Vendéan chiefs, and obtained possession of Parthenay; but soon after he was himself surrounded, and with great difficulty escaped at the head of his horse, his cannon having been taken and his infantry cut to pieces. Westermann was consequently deprived of his command; and General Biron, who was suspected of remaining inactive, while his van was sacrificed at Châtillon, and one of his detachments completely

BOOK II. beaten at Vihiers, was recalled, and expiated his ill fortune by a premature death, through the enmity of his accusers.

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The rebellion of La Vendée still continued formidable, and the ruling party became alarmed. On the arrest of Biron, generals of another description were sought, it having been determined that none but plebeians should for the future be entrusted. In September, Rossignol, formerly a journeyman goldsmith, was accordingly appointed to the command of the army of Brest, who immediately established his head-quarters at Saumur, where he collected his scattered forces. Soon after he took the field, and commenced his operations by the capture of Doué. At this critical time, the chiefs of the insurgents were again divided by their personal jealousies. The Prince de Talmont, who possessed large estates on the right bank of the Loire, and had achieved some brilliant exploits after crossing that river, still aspired to the supreme command, although he had been recalled from a dungeon in Angers by the general-in-chief, D'Elbée. Lescure, who was rescued by Stofflet from a similar confinement in the prison of Bressuire, was another candidate, in consequence of the skill and bravery he had displayed in an action before Thouars two years before. Chevaliers D'Autichamp and Charette were also other candidates. Had these leaders been cordially united, they might not only have been a match for the plebeian general, now elated with his success at Doué, but they might have regulated the fate of France.

The republican army had been considerably increased by fresh reinforcements from all parts of the empire; and the garrison of Mentz, which had not been precluded by the King of Prussia serving at La Vendée, added to their strength. The convention at this time adopted measures most shamefully severe. Fire, as well as the sword, was to be carried into the recesses of La Vendée; the banditti, as they were entitled, were to be pursued to their most secret retreats; the villages which afforded them occasional shelter, were to be destroyed, the granaries to be burned, the windmills and ovens to be thrown down, the cattle and crops to be seized, and the peaceable part of the inhabitants to be removed. Such were the measures resorted to, which neither justice nor policy could sanction.

A council of war, consisting of eleven deputies and eleven officers, was convoked by the representatives on mission, in order to deliberate on the expediency of a general assault. Different opinions, however, arose among the members, concerning the side on which the enemy ought to be attacked. Canclaux was for commencing operations by the west, which was opposed by Menou; others thought Doué was the point whence they could

begin with the greatest advantage; while Turreau observed, "that as the country occupied by the rebels formed a kind of square, of which the sea and the Loire constituted two sides, they ought to close upon and drive them into the angle formed by these two natural barriers, by commencing the assault from the opposite quarter." As the plan proposed by Canclaux was preferred, the direction thereof devolved on that general, who entered La Vendée on the side of Nantes with three columns; and after carrying Sainpen Lege and Machecoul, intended to unite all his forces, and proceed against Chollet, the centre of the rebellion.

Notwithstanding their private disputes, the Vendéan leaders now united their efforts against the republicans. Accordingly General Beysser, who led one of the invading columns, was surprised at Montaigu; Canclaux, who by this time had obtained possession of Clisson, on being informed of Beysser's misfortune, prepared to fall back; but being also attacked, he effected his retreat in disorder, and was obliged to take shelter under the cannon of Nantes, while he beheld his baggage carried off, and his wounded men strangled. Soon after this, Rossignol was assaulted at Doué by a division of the grand catholic and royal army, but was indebted entirely to General D'Amburere, an officer of engineers, who arranged the troops, disposed the artillery, and took post on a commanding eminence, for having obtained an easy victory over the Prince de Talmont and M. D'Autichamp.

In order to profit by this success, Santerre, formerly a brewer in Paris, advanced against Coron with a body of troops forming a single column, and headed by the representatives of the people. Though the insurgents were driven from Coron, Santerre was soon after attacked in this town by a body of about 30,000 men, who advanced in form of a crescent, and counteracted the effects of a battery of two 12-pounders and two mortars, erected on the great road, by three 8-pounders stationed in their centre. The republican army, after an engagement for nearly an hour, was routed.

Bouchet, then minister of war, having invested Lechelle, originally a fencing-master at Saintes, with the command of the army of the West, that general penetrated to Chatillon. After taking that place, he was attacked, October 16, by D'Elbée, Bouchamp, and Stofflet, who had assembled the wreck of the catholic and royal army, which still amounted to 40,000 men. During an engagement of two hours, victory seemed to incline to the assailants; but Merlin and the other deputies placing themselves at the head of the troops, and D'Elbée, Bouchamp, and some of the principal royalists, being wounded, the Vendéans

were at length defeated. Their cause appeared at this time desperate, as the Prince de Talmont and Charette had either declined to form a junction with or to support the confederates by means of a diversion. But, notwithstanding the insurgents disappeared, they were not destroyed.

At length the Vendéans, burning with implacable fury to renew the contest and recover their glory, retaliated on their adversaries; and Lechelle, who had hitherto triumphed in opposition to all the rules of war, was overcome under the walls of Chollet, the scene of his former success. Hereupon he was suspended from all his functions by the representatives with the army, and, having been imprisoned at Nantes, he died soon after of a broken heart.

Taking advantage of the absence of the army of Rochelle, Charette, who had lately declined to succour the other chiefs, now marched at the head of the insurgents of Lower Poitou, and seized on the islands of Bouin and Noirmoutier; and although he was successively defeated by Haxo, Dutruy, and Dufour, and even lost the former of these acquisitions, yet his army still appeared vigorous and formidable.

The major part of the republican forces having crossed the Loire in search of the Prince de Talmont, the Vendéans crept forth from their places of concealment, began to assemble in bodies, and in a short time resumed all their former audacity. On the contrary, the diminution of the army of the west was daily apparent; the cavalry decreased with incessant toil, and numbers of the infantry perished by fatigue of forced marches in a close country; in short, the number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers in many of the corps, exceeded that of the soldiers, so that 157 squadrons, battalions, or regiments, formed scarcely 40,000 men. A division of 15,000 men had been indeed dispatched from the army of the north, to supply the loss of the garrison of Mentz, most of which had been already cut off. In addition to these disadvantages, the commanders, who were frequently changed, were wholly unacquainted with the art of war, as well as with the manners of the people against whom they marched.

The place of Lechelle was supplied by Danican, who commenced his military career under auspicious circumstances, and displayed a degree of moderation which in times like these was deserving of the highest praise. However, as this general was defeated at Martigné, he was suspected of a secret attachment to the cause of the royalists; his remonstrances on the occasion were productive of no benefit; and although he afterwards overcame the same enemy before Angers, December 5, he was recalled and disgraced.

The provisional command was then given to Marceau, a general of division, and scarcely twenty-four years of age; who, soon after his ap-

pointment, December 12, fought a long and sanguinary battle, in which he defeated the insurgents led by the Prince de Talmont. The slaughter of the Vendéans during this engagement was immense; and, had it not been for the exemplary conduct of a young royalist, Laroche Jacquelin, who gallantly secured the retreat of the fugitives, and succeeded in conducting them back to the almost inaccessible roads, these unfortunate people would in all probability have been nearly exterminated.

After this victory, Marceau was immediately recalled on purpose to superintend the operations of the army of the Ardennes. Turreau, who succeeded him, had formerly acted as adjutant-general in the insurgent departments, and since commanded the troops in the eastern Pyrenees. As he had received instructions from the ministers at war to retake Noirmoutier, situated at the mouth of the Loire, he made a descent for that purpose with a body of about 3000 light troops; while Carpentier, in pursuance of his orders, attacked Charette at Machecoul, in his way to the relief of that island. Having effected a landing with the loss of a few men, he proceeded against the principal village, placed in the midst of salt-pits, and protected by about 1260 men and nearly twenty pieces of artillery; but, although the garrison at first exhibited a show of resistance, yet, being unacquainted with the defence of fortifications, they abandoned the lines without firing a single shot. This act of cowardice sorely embittered the last moments of D'Elbée, the celebrated Vendéan chief and generalissimo of all the forces beyond the Loire; who, in consequence of a mortal wound, was now languishing in his bed. Some of the leaders, particularly Willaud and D'Hauterive, were made prisoners; and Cathelinier, one of Charette's confidential officers, was also taken by Turreau, who had distinguished himself by this brilliant exploit.

The wreck of the grand catholic and royal army having been collected and re-organized by the remaining chiefs, it was divided into three circles, in consequence of the death of D'Elbée, and commanded by Stofflet, Laroche, Jacquelin, and Bernard de Marigny; while Charette, who seemed to have been rendered more valiant by having endured thirty successive defeats, still maintained the terror of his name at the head of a body of faithful followers.

Two detachments of the republicans having penetrated to Chollet, the intrepid Laroche Jacquelin, gliding with a body of troops during night between two others, fell on the rear of Turreau, and seized on the town of Chemillé, the garrison of which abandoned it without firing a gun. General Turreau, however, ordered the two columns at Chollet to attack Charette by the east, while two others, still more numerous, were to advance

BOOK II. against him by the west. Charette, remarkable for his sagacity, was not to be found by his antagonists. In avoiding General Duquesnoy, now in full pursuit of him, he fell upon Legé, the advanced post of General Haxo, which he carried, occupied, and abandoned in succession. At length overtaken at Pont James, he was compelled to give battle, and, although defeated with the loss of 8000 men, he safely conducted the main body of his army to the Brocage, still remaining, notwithstanding all his disasters, unsubdued. Stofflet then appeared before Chollet, in order to attack it. The garrison, alarmed at the ferocity of his followers, fled after the first discharge of musketry, though threatened and intreated by Moulin, the general of division, who commanded there, to stay and defend the place. Indignant at the cowardice of his troops, Moulin, who was at the same time wounded by two shots from the enemy, snatched a pistol from his belt, and put an end to his miserable existence.

No sooner did intelligence of this event reach Paris, than the convention decreed, that the memory of Moulin was dear to his country; and orders at the same time were given for the erection of a tomb to his memory at Tiffanges.

The general-in-chief, Turreau, once more marched to attack Charette at Luc; but, on advancing against that place, he found that the Vendéan chief had gained his rear, and taken post at St. Philibert-de-Boué. Having by a rapid counter-march reached the neighbourhood of the latter station, to his great mortification Charette had already decamped. An action, however, commenced on the part of the marksmen of the republican army; but, as usual, Charette avoided a general engagement. At length, being pressed and pursued on every side, he was overtaken April 26, and defeated by a body of troops commanded by General Haxo. The Vendéans, however, remained in the same district as before: and Haxo killed himself, like Moulin, apprehensive of falling into the hands of the enemy.

Stofflet twice overcame General Grignon, and was also twice defeated by that general. Charette was once more foiled at Challans; but retreated, with his usual good fortune, into the strong woody country called the Bocage. Adjutant-general Dusirat was about the same time beaten by Stofflet and Marigny, near Mount Gléne.

The cruelty of Turreau was at this period taken great notice of. This general, on his commencement, is said to have addressed his soldiers in the following language:—

“We are about to enter the country of the insurgents. You are to burn every thing, and bayonet all the inhabitants. There may be indeed some few patriots among them; but, notwithstanding that, the whole must be sacrificed.”

Other republican generals were equally as cruel; and some of the deputies sent to those devoted departments acted more like executioners than legislators. Francastel assisted Carrier in the massacre of the priests of Nantes; and he himself is said to have issued an order to bind sixty-one of the clergy of Nièvre together, and drown them, by means of a vessel sunk for that purpose. The following were his directions to General Grignon:—

“You must make the robbers tremble, and give them no quarter. Our prisons are crowded. What! prisoners in La Vendée!—It is necessary to burn all the lone houses, the mills, and, above all, the castles; in short, to transform the whole country into a desert—no mildness, no clemency. Such are the intentions of the convention.”

The Vendéans retaliated these cruelties, even with the approbation of the priests, and with the assistance of the women. All the republican prisoners, even those who had not carried arms, finished their existence in dreadful and prolonged tortures. Every cruel device which the most rancorous enmity could invent, was perpetrated on the mutilated bodies of their expiring enemies, in the name of the catholic faith and of Louis XVII.

Turreau being unable to finish this war, notwithstanding his plausible system of entrenched camps and moveable columns, was recalled. Conciliation was adopted, as the best means of terminating those miseries. Hoche, at the head of a powerful army, extended the olive-branch of peace with one hand, and the sword of war with the other; and, while he willingly received the peasantry under his protection, on a simple promise of submission, he gained over several of the leaders by commissions. A treaty was accordingly signed at Jaulnay, near Nantes, by Charette on the part of the Vendéans, and Carmartin on behalf of the Chouans. For about a fortnight Stofflet refused to fix his signature as chief of the army of Poitou; but he at length consented.

Substance of the treaty of peace, signed by Charette, on the part of the inhabitants of La Vendée, and the commissioners of the National Convention, March 7, 1795:—

Article I. The representatives of the people promise, in the name of the convention, that the sum of eighty millions shall be granted to the inhabitants of La Vendée to indemnify them for the losses, burnings, and devastations, they have suffered.

II. Forty millions shall be immediately paid and distributed.

III. All the contracts entered into between the generals and inhabitants of La Vendée shall be discharged by the French republic.

IV. The sum of ten millions shall be deposited for that purpose.

V. The inhabitants of La Vendée acknowledge the French republic.

VI. and VII. General Charette shall have the command of a body of 2000 men, in the pay of the republic, consisting of three battalions, to be stationed at Machecoul, Challans, and a third town to be determined hereafter.

VIII. A list shall be given of such persons as shall be banished from La Vendée; that list to be drawn up and presented by General Charette.

IX. The free exercise of the catholic religion shall be permitted; ground may be purchased for the building of a church, but there shall not be any bells or exterior ceremonies.

X. XI. and XII. The banished nonjuring priests may return, but can only be restored to their patrimonial estates. There shall be no districts or municipalities, but only a national agent in La Vendée, in which no requisitions shall take place for the space of five years.

Summary of the treaty, signed by Carmartin, between the inhabitants in Brittany, known by the name of Chouans, and the French Convention:—

Article I. The laws for the freedom of religious worship shall be put in execution. BOOK II.

II. The Chouans, who have neither profession nor estate, shall be received into the armies of the republic. CHAP. II.
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III. The inhabitants of the insurgent departments shall be allowed to organize a body of chasseurs, not to exceed 2,400 men.

IV. and V. The youth of the first requisition shall remain at home; and the contracts entered into by the chiefs for defraying the expences of the war, shall be liquidated to the amount of one million five hundred thousand livres.

Thus terminated, for the present, the war of La Vendée, with disgrace to the convention, who had ordered a *speedy* annihilation of the country. How far the French were faithful to the above treaties, will be seen in our Fourth Chapter; where the reader will find, that hostilities were not only renewed, but that the bravest of the Vendéan chiefs were either shot or guillotined as traitors.

CHAPTER III.

Preparations for a Campaign.—Disposition of the French Armies.—Commencement of Hostilities.

—Surrender of Luxemburg.—Jourdan crosses the Rhine.—Pichegru follows him.—Capture of Dusseldorf, Berg, and Manheim, by the Imperial Army.—Retreat of Jourdan and Pichegru.

—The French worsted on all sides.—Campaign in Italy.—Cursory Remarks.

A SUBSIDIARY treaty having been signed at Vienna between Great Britain and Austria, May 4, as "the Emperor and King of Great Britain were equally convinced of the necessity of acting with vigor and energy against the common enemy, in order to procure to their respective dominions a safe and honorable peace," the latter engaged to guarantee the regular payment of the half-yearly dividends, on the sum of four millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be raised on account of his Imperial Majesty; who, in return, stipulated to employ in his different armies, in the ensuing campaign, a body of troops which should not be under the number of 200,000 men, to act against the common enemy. The emperor, according to this agreement, immediately re-united his forces, strengthened his garrisons, and prepared a numerous and well-disciplined army for the field.

Equal preparations were also made on the part of the French. The army of the Sambre and Meuse was confided to Jourdan; the army of the North to Moreau; and the army of the Rhine and Moselle to Pichegru, who, in case of a junction,

was to act as generalissimo. The armies of the Alps and Italy were united under Kellermann; the army of the eastern Pyrenees was to be led by General Scherer, and that of the western by Marceau; while Conclaux was to command a body of troops in the neighbourhood of the insurgent department, and Hoche to have the direction of the joint armies of the coast of Brest and Cherbourg. Such was the disposition of the French armies.

As the French were unable to secure the possession of the Austrian Netherlands, without previously reducing Luxemburg, they were determined to make a bold attempt on that fortress, which they had formerly taken; but by the treaty of Utrecht it had been restored to the house of Austria, and was now rendered nearly impregnable. The republican generals, aware that its reduction was extremely difficult, and would be easier effected by famine than by the sword, cut off all supplies, and left a numerous garrison to subsist entirely on its own magazines. This place was under the command of Field-marshal Bender, a veteran general; but, as it was regularly in-

BOOK II. vested, without the most distant prospect of relief, he was under the necessity of capitulating, and yielding, not to courage, but to stratagem.

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Thus far successful, the French were determined upon the subjection of Mentz, which the King of Prussia had recently wrested from them. Accordingly, the blockade of this city was the first operation that took place on the frontiers of Germany. The defence of Mentz, formerly entrusted to the troops of the house of Brandenburg, had now devolved upon the emperor, who was pleased to select Marshal Clairfayt, as the most able officer, to whom the command of the troops collected for that purpose could be confided. Though, towards the termination of the last campaign, this general had been driven across the Rhine, yet, undismayed, he returned to the charge; and, having gallantly attacked and routed the French, who were posted upon the heights of Mornbach, on the 7th of May he and his troops occupied that advantageous position.

In the month of October, however, Germany was menaced with a new invasion, and Mentz with a new siege, by Generals Jourdan and Pichegru. A considerable time having elapsed in preparation, a large portion of the army of the Sambre and Meuse suddenly crossed the Rhine, October 6, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorf, which city was immediately summoned to surrender. It was taken by assault, but not before the Austrians had fortunately retreated. The duchy of Berg was also over-run; and the imperial army retiring on every side, a large quantity of ammunition and artillery fell into the hands of the invaders, who again invested Mentz.

When Pichegru had received intelligence of this success, he immediately crossed the Rhine with his army, and advancing against Manheim, obtained possession of that city, but with such astonishing facility, that it was evident, from the strength of the place, that the inhabitants had been seduced. Hereupon General Wurmser, who was advancing by rapid marches to the relief of Manheim, in vain endeavoured to form a junction with Marshal Clairfayt, having been overtaken and defeated by a detachment of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. The imperial arms, notwithstanding this sudden reverse, recovered their good fortune; for, having soon after surprised and overcome their enemy, they boasted of superior advantages.

As Pichegru was now no longer capable of assisting his colleague, Jourdan was under the necessity of raising the siege of Mentz, and retreating before the victorious Austrians to Dusseldorf, when he repassed the Rhine. In the mean time, Pichegru fell back upon Manheim; and, after leaving a considerable garrison in that place, and sustaining several sanguinary attacks, he was also very happy to cross that river, and effect his escape.

On the 29th of October, Marshal Clairfayt, having appeared before Mentz, attacked and carried the entrenched camp, which, by the assiduous labour of eleven months, the French had endeavoured to render impregnable. On the retreat of Jourdan, General Schaal occupied this strong position with fifty-two battalions of infantry and five regiments of cavalry. He was, however, obliged to retire, and leave in the possession of the assailants 260 pieces of cannon and 200 ammunition waggons. They also took about 2000 prisoners, among whom were two generals.

Notwithstanding the garrison of Manheim consisted of about 9000 men, it made an ineffectual resistance. On November 23, the Imperialists obtained possession of an entrenched hill, called the Guyenberg, by assault, as well as Nacker fort; but, though they were driven from the latter, such was their obstinate perseverance and unabating ardor, that this important city was at length obliged to capitulate after a long siege.

Other disasters the French army were also obliged to encounter. Marshal Clairfayt and General Wurmser had crossed the Rhine in pursuit of them; and, having formed a junction, they resumed possession of the Palatinate, and not only retook many of the acquisitions of the French, but even threatened to recover Luxemburg.—Hereupon, Pichegru and Jourdan, having received the necessary reinforcements, marched to encounter the victorious foe. Pichegru carried the town of Kreutznach twice by storm, in the course of one day, December 1; but he was obliged to evacuate it soon after; while Jourdan, equally unsuccessful, was repulsed on the 20th of December, in an attack upon Kayserlautern, in which he lost 2000 men.

The severity of the weather, and an unexpected armistice of three months, put an end to this campaign, the close of which was far different from its commencement, and indeed from what might have been predicted, in consequence of the superior numbers of the French forces. The troops of the house of Austria, who were now entirely destitute of the support of the Prussians, with whom they had been formerly united, conducted themselves with exemplary skill and uncommon bravery. The Field-marshal Clairfayt and Wurmser added greatly to their former reputation; and the generals Boros, Kray, and Had-dick, displayed the most promising talents.

The reputation of the French generals, Pichegru and Jourdan, experienced a sudden diminution, in consequence of the losses they had sustained; and these generals, which is so frequently the case on such occasions, endeavoured to attach the blame to each other, and by these means became inveterate enemies.

The peace with Spain had produced a considerable effect on the military operations in Italy.

As soon as the court of Spain agreed to the termination of hostilities, the French troops, which had crossed the Pyrenees in search of conquests, soon found their way to the Appenines; and Kellermann became possessed of all the summits of the Alps, from the lake of Geneva to the county of Nice. For some time, however, the war was defensive in this quarter; and while the Austrians entrenched themselves at Borghetto and Albenga, the French strengthened their position at Dego, neither of the armies paying any attention to the neutrality of Genoa, the territories of which were occasionally invaded and occupied by both. This is the more remarkable, when we consider that the war was ostensibly undertaken on one side in defence of religion and monarchy, and on the other in behalf of the liberties of mankind. It seems, however, that neither party, when it suited its interests, paid the least respect to the rights of independent nations.

In the mean time, General de Vins, who had again assumed the direction of the Austro-Sardinian army, extended his redoubts along Mount Balin, which commands Savona and Vado, for the purpose of securing a retreat, in case he should be pressed with superior forces, and also with the view of keeping up the communication with Alexandria and Savona, whence he drew his supplies.

In consequence of the capture of all neutral vessels laden with corn in the Mediterranean, the army of Italy was at length reduced by famine; and a council of war having been held at Albenga, Oct. 26, it was determined to attack the Imperialists throughout the whole extent of their line, with a view of chasing them from the dominions of Genoa, and obtaining a supply of provisions. Several partial engagements accordingly took place, in one of which the generals Augereau and Chastel drove the Austrians from Campo di

Petra, with the loss of 500 prisoners. They were again attacked, November 16, by General Scherer, in the valley of Loano; and, on the 22d, after a battle which lasted from six o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, the Imperialists were obliged to retreat to Garesio, with the loss of 8000, who were either killed or made prisoners. This action being renewed at break of day, Nov. 24, the Austro-Sardinians retreated towards Savona and Bagniano. De Vins, in this state of embarrassment, summoned the senate of Genoa to surrender the fortress of Savona, which was refused; and not being able to obtain possession of the place by force, the allies were obliged to pass the defiles of the Bochetta, and retire towards Acqui. Hereupon the French took possession of Pietra, Loano, Finale, and Vado, as well as of the immense magazines which the Austrians had collected at Savona. By means of this success, the barriers of the Pyrenees were completely laid open to the invaders.

The excesses, however, which accompanied their triumphs, soon reduced the republican army to a state of complete anarchy. In the mean time, the emperor, by his recent successes on the Rhine, was enabled to detach a body of 25,000 men into Italy, who fortified a position on the back of the Appenines; while the court of Turin, fully aware of its critical situation, sent a reinforcement of 6000 troops to General Colli, who commanded the Sardinian army. These circumstances added to their disorganization, and stopped for the present the career of the French.

The allies, however, were prevented from accomplishing any important enterprise by the rigor of the season, the mountains being at this time covered with snow; and the fate of Italy was consequently postponed.

CHAPTER IV.

Renewal of the Civil War in La Vendée.—Expedition to the Coast of Brittany.—Landing of the Emigrants at Quiberon.—Fort Penthièvre taken.—De Puisaye's Proclamation.—Hoche dispatched with an Army.—His Proceedings.—Fort Penthièvre retaken by the French.—Sudden Attacks.—Unfortunate Termination of the Expedition.

THE French government, under pretence of bad faith, having refused to advance the sum stipulated in the late treaty with the chiefs of La Vendée, as mentioned in a former chapter, another civil war broke out, and orders were issued to arrest several of the principal insurgents. Clermont, who had been permitted to traverse the departments lately in commotion, with a view of

preventing further hostilities, was seized in the act of distributing forged assignats. Tinçinac de la Bossière was also taken prisoner, when about to repair to Jersey. Cormartin was stopped, and likewise imprisoned, under the accusation of spending the money advanced to him in recruiting a new army. Charette, of whom the French government was particularly jealous, was likewise

BOOK II. surrounded with spies. Another correspondence between the Vendéan chiefs and the English ministry having been intercepted, hostilities were unavoidable.

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On the 16th of June, a report was made to the convention relative to the critical situation of La Vendée; and on the 21st, a manifesto appeared on the part of the insurgents, which was published in form at the head-quarters of Charette and Stofflet.

An expedition to the coast of Brittany had in the mean time been meditated by the British government, for the purpose of attacking France in the most vulnerable point. A number of regiments were accordingly raised and embodied, consisting partly of the unhappy Toulonese, who had been forced to abandon their country, and partly of those who had retired from France at different periods. As the number of volunteers for this desperate undertaking was insufficient, a multitude of prisoners were recruited from the gaols, a measure which had nearly proved fatal, as some of the troops exhibited a spirit of mutiny immediately after they sailed.

The youthful but promising Count de Sombreuil, who, by an extraordinary degree of courage, had lately obtained a military decoration from the King of Prussia; and the Count d'Hervilly, a general anterior to the abolition of monarchy, were prevailed upon to engage in this expedition. The chief command, however, was given to M. de Puisaye, formerly adjutant-general to Wimpffen, who possessed considerable influence among the Chouans, having formerly been one of their leaders. On this account he was chosen to direct this important enterprise; but, unfortunately, he was destitute both of military talents and of the confidence of the troops.

This little army, consisting principally of the regiments of Hector, Hervilly, Dudrenuc, Royale-Marine, Royale-Louis, Loyal-Emigrant, and Royale-Artillerie, was embarked in transports, under the convoy of a small squadron, commanded by Sir John Borlase Warren. After being sixteen days at sea, the fleet arrived at the place of destination, and anchored in the bay of Quiberon on the 4th of July. During the night the debarkation of the main body of the troops was effected, under the orders of General d'Hervilly; and on the succeeding days the remainder landed, together with an immense quantity of muskets, uniforms, provisions, ammunition, and five pieces of cannon. In order to gratify the royalists, homilies, benedictions, and titles of nobility, were liberally recurred to: a quantity of assignats was also provided; and it is worthy of remark, that this paper money could not be termed *forged*, as it was entirely different from that issued under the authority of the French government.

The republicans having been obliged to eva-

cuate Auray and Vannes, the invaders took possession of those places, and extended their cantonments. As their position, however, could not be maintained without Fort Penthievre, which had recently received the appellation of Fort Sans-Culottes, it was attacked on the 2d of July, by means of three frigates on one side, while the emigrants presented themselves on the other with four pieces of artillery. The garrison, consisting of 400 men, capitulated to the English, after a resistance of two days.

Soon after, the royalists became masters of the whole peninsula, and also of the entrenched camp of Carnac, the inhabitants of which were quickly joined by a body of Chouans. M. de Puisaye established his head-quarters at the village of Genève; and, having armed and clothed such of the peasantry as volunteered, under the title of "Lieutenant-general of the King's armies, and commander-in-chief of the catholic and royal army of Brittany," he invited every description of Frenchmen to rally round his standard, by the publication of the following proclamation:—

"Ye brave inhabitants of La Vendée, the admiration of Europe, and the envy of France, the moment is arrived to reap the fruits of your heroic toils. The illustrious shades of Bouchamp, L'Escure, La Roche Jacqueline, and as many other heroes as were your guides and friends, are hovering around you! The associates and inheritors of their glory, Charette, Stofflet, Sapineau, and all your intrepid leaders, will accomplish this great work, which they have begun and conducted with so much constancy and courage. We bring you ammunition, arms, and the assistance which a protecting power, that does not confine itself to a bare admiration of your fortitude, condescends to grant you.

"Ye loyal inhabitants of Brittany, who have honored me with your confidence, you now see that it has not been violated. The British government, roused by your perseverance and misfortunes, has granted your request. An army, entirely composed of French troops, comes to second your endeavours; and I bring you all the succours you have demanded. His Britannic majesty, forced to repel the aggressions of your tyrants, and to assert the respect due to his crown, has, nevertheless, graciously received your fellow-citizens, and the persecuted ministers of your religion, whom he now restores to your wishes. This is the only answer worthy of his majesty to the ambitious and destructive plans which your foes have imputed to his generous intentions. French officers and soldiers, who, like yourselves, for these four years past have fought for their king, now hasten to rejoin you; and your princes intend to place themselves at the head of your invincible columns."

As soon as the intelligence of these events

reached Paris, the national convention immediately selected two deputies, Blad and Tallien, whom they dispatched to Brittany. While these stimulated the neighbouring departments, Hoche assembled troops; and having left Cherin, whom he had placed at the head of his staff at Rennes, in order to furnish him with occasional supplies of ammunition, artillery, and provisions, he immediately proceeded to Auray to watch the enemy's motions. Conscious that he was at present incapable of opposing so formidable a force, he allowed the emigrants to remain in quiet possession of the fort of Quiberon, as well as of the peninsula, and remained a patient spectator of their progress. This commander-in-chief excused his inactive state, by declaring that it was his intention to shut up the enemy *like so many rats in a trap!*

When the general had collected a sufficient army, he forced the emigrants to withdraw to the camp of Kousten, under protection of the fort of Penthievre, July 10, while he himself remained at the village of Sainte-Barbe, and entrusted General Lemoine with the erection of the batteries intended to encompass the invading army. These preparations naturally alarmed the chiefs of the royalists, who immediately saw the necessity of raising the blockade, in order to keep up a communication with the disaffected in the interior parts of the country; and were therefore resolved, early on the following day, to assault the republican lines. On the preceding evening, however, July 15, intelligence of this important design was communicated by no less than four deserters; and preparations were accordingly made to counteract the enemy's operations. General Humbert, therefore, on the approach of their columns, agreeable to his orders, fell back: and the assailants were not only exposed to a severe fire of grape-shot from two covered batteries in front, but also to a charge of infantry and cavalry on both their flanks. By this unexpected reception, the emigrants were entirely disconcerted; and about 300, with a number of nobles, including the Count de Talmont, were left dead on the field of battle. General d'Hervilly, who commanded on this occasion, was desperately wounded; and the republicans obtained possession of three pieces of cannon. Had it not been for the timely protection of five English boats, the victors would have accompanied the fugitives into Fort Penthievre.

By this time the French commander-in-chief had a formidable force, consisting of the national guards of Brest and all the adjoining towns, in addition to a powerful reinforcement of regular troops. Thus the republicans were increasing, while the royalists were diminishing; and, as the latter were penned up within the peninsula, Hoche determined to leave the lines hitherto occupied by his army, and oppose the invaders. It being

however necessary first to obtain possession of Fort Penthievre, he resolved to attack that place; and, notwithstanding all the engineers in his army were of opinion that it could only be reduced by regular approaches, Hoche was determined to carry it by assault. He was certainly encouraged to make this bold attempt by the number of deserters, who not only made him acquainted, from time to time, with all the movements in the royalists' camp, but even undertook the task of conducting the republican troops to the fort, and obtaining its surrender.

The entrenched camp at length was forced, and while numbers of the royal army joined that of Hoche's, and protested their inviolable attachment to the republican cause, the remainder retired to a rock, where they had posted a piece of cannon, and defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. As some of their chiefs, however, seized this opportunity of effecting their escape on board the boats which were sent to their assistance; and as the fire of the republicans was exceedingly fierce, these unhappy men, now reduced to the deplorable alternative of perishing by the swords of their enemy or the waves of the sea, were obliged to surrender at discretion.

Such was the melancholy fate of this unfortunate expedition to the coast of France. About 700 of the emigrants perished at the foot of the rock, where they had taken shelter, called Le Rocher de Portignes; about 2000 were saved by the boats of the fleet; of those who surrendered, such as were not noble obtained their freedom after some time; and all the women and children of the Chouans were immediately liberated. This was the boast of those historians who defended the proceedings of France at this period: but, on an impartial review, we must deem it more policy than humanity: it is evident, from what followed, that humanity was entirely abolished. The Bishop of Dol, and fourteen of his clergy, were devoted to immediate death, which they met with the most exemplary resignation. M. de Broglie, and several others of birth, to the amount of about 300, were tried by a military tribunal, consisting of a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, serjeant, corporal, and a private; and being, as usual, condemned, suffered upon this occasion. The fate of Count Charles de Sombreuil, who had embarked in the expedition from sentiments of honor, and conducted himself in a gallant and disinterested manner, from the beginning to the end, was deeply lamented by all Europe. In a letter which this unfortunate youth addressed to Sir J. B. Warren, on the 28th of June, he said:—

"A number of vessels which remained on the coasts, might have afforded me the disgraceful retreat which M. de Puisaye so vigilantly seized; but the dereliction of my companions in arms would have been far more shocking to me than

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

1795-6.

the lot which awaits me. I am bold to say, I deserved a better fate; and this you will acknowledge, together with all those who know me, if chance will ever permit any of the companions of my misfortune to reveal to the world the mysteries of this fatal, this unexampled day.—Farewell: I bid you farewell with that calmness which can alone result from purity of conscience.”

In Fort Penthievre and the peninsula were found 70,000 muskets, 150,000 pair of shoes, and all the artillery landed from the fleet. The beach of Quiberon was covered with wines, liquors, provisions, and stores of all sorts; and a regiment of infantry, taking advantage of the general confusion, is reported to have obtained possession of a number of vessels laden with flour, rice, and provisions.

The British squadron, having remained some time on the coast, occupied the attention of the republican army. Several partial descents were attempted from time to time; and it was at length determined to seize on Noirmoutier, formerly the haunt of Charette and his followers. As this island was found to be too well guarded, the isle of Dieu, though considerably smaller in extent, was taken possession of instead, by the royalists, and converted into a place of arms; whereby the Chouans might be occasionally succoured: while the British cruisers, by hovering in the neighbourhood, kept the adjacent coast in continual alarm, and intercepted all communication by sea. The ardor of the insurgents, however, was cooled by reiterated defeats.

As Sapineau had recurred to arms, General Willot was sent, with a column of 1800 men, into the districts occupied by his adherents, with orders to seize on the grain and oxen of the inhabitants, and not to restore the latter until they had deposited their arms in the public magazines. Another body of troops proceeded in search of Stofflet, who still headed a small band of determined followers; but, unable any longer to cope with the republican forces in the open field, he lurked in the woods, and was forced to recur to the habits of his early life, by sometimes firing upon his prey from behind trees and hedges, and at other times encouraging his adherents in the pursuit and murder of occasional wanderers. The conduct of Charette, however, was more cautious; for he remained secreted with a few faithful companions, and made war more like a free-booter than a general. In short, it was apparent that these chiefs had lost all their influence, and that the Vendean insurrection was near a termination.

The two principal leaders at length fell into the hands of their enemies. Stofflet, being desirous to place himself at the head of a formidable party, left the haunts where he had so long re-

mained in security, and ventured into the neighbouring towns. Being indefatigable in his exertions, he repaired from place to place, endeavouring to stimulate the now lukewarm spirit of a people which had been heretofore burning with zeal. In one of these excursions he unfortunately repaired to the village of Langrerie, with only one domestic and a couple of aide-de-camps. Intelligence of his arrival having reached Lontil and Liegard, two republican officers, they immediately hastened thither, at the head of a small body of infantry and cavalry; and, having secured all the avenues, suddenly entered the apartment, and seized one of the most powerful of the Vendéan chiefs, who, in the course of two years, had fought no less than 150 actions; in more than a hundred of which he had proved victorious. He was guillotined Feb. 23, 1796.

Still the bold and crafty Charette eluded the vigilance, and defied the menaces, of his enemies. Although no longer able to appear at the head of a formidable army, and raise a whole department in his defence, he yet continued to sustain a petty warfare. At this time his troops did not exceed 1000 infantry and 300 cavalry; but with these he acted constantly on the offensive; and, after a defeat, still found means to escape, and carry on the war anew, by rallying the wreck of his troops at twenty or thirty miles distance from the field of battle. As he knew some of the priests were in the pay of the government, he distrusted them all, and at length became so suspicious, that he confided his secrets to a few female favorites alone, who are said to have encouraged a temper naturally sanguinary to fresh excesses. At times, however, he pretended to negotiate with the generals, and actually offered to accept of terms; but he refused the proposition of being exiled to Switzerland, or conveyed to Jersey; and disdainfully replied, “that all the fleets and vessels of the republic were not sufficient to transport the brave royalists under his command.”

This hero having retired into the recesses of the forests of Machicoul and Prinée, wandered with a few fugitives along the margin of Grand Lieu, and seldom left his retreat but when imperious necessity obliged him. Three small moveable columns of cavalry were sent thither in pursuit of him; and, as it was well known that he possessed about 6000 louis-d'ors in gold, this booty was promised as a reward to the person who should take him. The pursuit, at length, became so hot, that his mistress was seized, and a trunk, containing his correspondence, fell about the same time into the hands of his enemies. Soon after this, Moelle, one of his generals of division, was killed; and Caillue, another, wounded and taken prisoner, after a disastrous skirmish, at the close of which the brave

Charette escaped, with great difficulty, at the head of forty horsemen. Hereupon, Robrie and Guerin, two inferior chiefs, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves and their party.

Charette was still incessantly pursued by the cavalry of Hoche; as, during his life, the Vendéan war could never be considered as finished. At length, Travot, the adjutant-general of the army, came up with him at Chabottier, in Poitou; and although harrassed with unceasing fatigue, and wounded both in the head and hand, he had still sufficient strength and sagacity to make his escape into a wood, supported by two faithful followers, who were determined to share his fate, and who actually fell dead in succession at his feet, covered with wounds. Adjutant-general Travot ran up, seized the chief, March 23, and

conducted him to Nantes, where, but a few months before, he had made a triumphal entry, mounted upon a superb courser, surrounded by the officers of his staff, and accompanied by republican generals as well as the representatives on mission in the western departments. On the present occasion, he appeared dressed in a short green vest and pantaloons, disfigured by blood, with his arm in a scarf, and his countenance pale and dejected. Notwithstanding, he beheld the preparations for his execution with an undaunted eye, for he not only surveyed the soldiers that were drawn up for that purpose without shrinking, but even refused to have a bandage tied across his face, and actually gave the signal for his own death. On the fall of their chief, all the insurgent departments readily submitted.

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

1796-5.

CHAPTER V.

Naval History.—Action in the Mediterranean under Admiral Hotham.—Gallant conduct of Vice-admiral Cornwallis in the Channel.—Lord Bridport's Action with the French Fleet.—Encounters between single Ships.—Death of Captain Faulknor.—Campaign in the West Indies.—Insurrections in Grenada.—Re-capture of St. Lucia by Victor Hughes.—The Maroon War.—Proceedings of England with respect to Holland.—Conquests of the Dutch Settlements by the English.

ALTHOUGH the memorable engagement off Ushant had considerably reduced the naval power of France, yet, early in the spring, she found means to fit out a squadron in the Mediterranean. This armament, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, four frigates, and two corvettes, issued forth from Toulon, with a view of making a descent upon Corsica, and restoring that island to the dominion of its former masters.

Intelligence, from Genoa, of this fleet having been seen off the isle of Marguerite, soon reached Vice-admiral Hotham, who immediately left Leghorn Road, with fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and four armed vessels, in pursuit of it; and, anticipating the enemy's destination, shaped his course accordingly. He likewise sent orders for the Berwick, then at St. Fiorenzo, to join him off Cape Corfe; but received the disagreeable news of the capture of that ship, two days before, by the enemy's fleet, after an action in which Captain Littlejohn was killed.

Notwithstanding the respective squadrons were daily seen by the advanced frigates of both, yet they did not descry each other until three days had elapsed, when the French were discovered to windward. As no inclination to bear down was evinced, the signal was made by the admiral for a general chase; in the course of which, one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was perceived

to have lost her top-masts, the wind being squally and blowing very fresh. Hereupon the Inconstant, which acted as repeating frigate to the commander-in-chief, attacked, raked, and harassed this vessel, until the arrival of the Agamemnon, of 64 guns, commanded by Captain (the late Lord) Nelson, who rendered her a complete wreck; but he was twice recalled, by signal from the Britannia, as several of the enemy's ships were advancing to her succour, by one of which she was soon after taken in tow.

On the 14th of March, the vice-admiral, perceiving that the British squadron did not gain upon that of the French, the ships of the latter being fresh from port, gave orders to form on the larboard line of bearing; and, finding the disabled ship, with her consort, separated from, and to leeward of, the main body, it was determined to reduce the enemy to the alternative of either abandoning two of their line-of-battle ships or coming to action. Accordingly, the Captain and Bedford, of 74 guns and 590 men each, (Captains Reeve and Gould,) were dispatched to secure these vessels: on this the French squadron bore down to their assistance, and a partial action ensued; in the course of which, the British van ships, particularly the illustrious of 74 guns and 590 men, (Captain Frederick,) and the Courageux, of 74 guns and 640 men, (Captain

BOOK II. Montgomery,) not only lost their main and mizen-masts, but suffered considerably, the former having 20 seamen and marines killed, and 70 wounded. However, the *Ca Ira*, of 80 guns and 950 men, was captured, with the *Censeur*, of 74 guns and 930 men, which had been separated from the fleet after an obstinate and sanguinary engagement, for one of these ships having 1300 men and the other 1000 on board, their decks were strewn with carnage, and they lost nearly 400 men. The whole loss, on the part of the English, amounted to only 75 killed, and 280 slightly wounded. The English had fourteen ships: and the order of battle was—

Van Squadron.

1. Captain, Capt. Reeve, 74 guns, 590 men.
 2. Bedford, Capt. Gould, 74 guns, 590 men.
 3. Tancredi, Captain Le Chevalier Caraccioli, 74 guns, 600 men.
 4. Princess Royal, Captain Purvis, 90 guns, 760 men.
- Romulus, repeating frigate.
Fox, cutter.

Centre Squadron.

5. Agamemnon, Capt. Nelson, 64 guns, 491 men.
 6. Illustrious, Capt. Frederick, 74 guns, 590 men.
 7. Courageux, Capt. Montgomery, 74 guns, 640 men.
 8. Britannia, Capt. Holloway, 100 guns, 859 men.
 9. Egmont, Capt. Sutton, 74 guns, 590 men.
- Inconstant, to repeat signals.
Meleager, ditto.

Rear Squadron.

10. Windsor Castle, Capt. Gore, 90 guns, 755 men.
 11. Diadem, Capt. Tyler, 64 guns, 491 men.
 12. St. George, Capt. Foley, 90 guns, 760 men.
 13. Terrible, Capt. Campbell, 74 guns, 590 men.
 14. Fortitude, Capt. Young, 74 guns, 590 men.
- Lowestoffe, repeating-frigate.
Tarleton, Poulette, and Minerva.

The following were the names of the ships which composed the French fleet:

	Guns.	Men.	On board during the action.
Le Sans Culotte	120	1200	2000
La Victoire (late Languedoc)	80	950	1300
Le Tonant	80	950	1300
Le Guerrier	74	730	1000
Le Conquerant	74	730	1000
Le Mercure	74	730	1000
Le Barras	74	730	1000

	Guns.	Men.	On board during the action.
Le Généreux	74	730	1000
Le Heureux	74	730	1000
Le Duquesne	74	730	1000
Le Timoleon (late Commerce de Bourdeaux)	74	730	1000
Le Ca Ira (taken)	80	950	1300
Le Censeur (ditto)	74	930	1000
L'Alcide	74	930	1000
Le Souverain	74	930	1000
La Vestale	32	250	250
La Minerve	40	300	300
La Thémise	40	300	300
L'Alceste	32	250	250
Scout	18	120	120
La Hazard	20	120	120

On the 7th of July, a flying squadron, consisting of the *Agamemnon*, *Meleager*, *Ariadne*, *Mosselle*, and *Mutine* cutter, under the command of Captain Nelson, was chased into St. Fiorenzo Bay, by twenty-three sail of the enemy, seventeen of which proved to be of the line. Hereupon, Admiral Hotham immediately put to sea; and the enemy was at length desisted to leeward, July 13. Unfortunately, six of the English squadron were forced to bend main-top-sails in the room of those that were split in the course of the night; and, in consequence of this delay, the attempt to cut the French off from the land, from whence they were only five leagues distant, proved abortive. About eight o'clock the signal was hoisted for a general chase, and a few of the van ships got up with their rear about noon; in consequence of which, a partial action took place, and the *Alcide*, of 74 guns, struck, but about half an hour after she caught fire, and was entirely consumed. The rest of the fleet, being favored by a shift of wind, took shelter in Frejus Bay, and eluded all further pursuit.

On the 26th of August a detachment from the Mediterranean fleet, consisting of the *Inconstant*, *Meleager*, *Southampton*, *Tartar*, *Ariadne*, and *Speedy*, under the command of Captain Nelson, proceeded to the bays of Allassio and Languellia, in the neighbourhood of Vado, whence he cut out nine ships belonging to the French; and, had it not been impracticable, the enemy having two thousand horse and foot in the adjoining town, he would have landed in Allassio, and destroyed a convoy of ammunition and provisions.

On the other hand, the *Censeur*, and part of the Mediterranean convoy, were taken, nearly about the same time, by a squadron under Richery, consisting of six sail of the line and three frigates: that admiral, however, being either afraid to keep the sea or return to a French port, took shelter in Cadiz, which was immediately afterwards blockaded by the English.

In the course of this summer a manifest supe-

riority over the French, both in skill and resolution, was evinced by a small detachment from the Channel fleet. On the 16th of June, Vice-admiral Cornwallis, whose flag was flying on board a first-rate, the Royal Sovereign, with four 74-gun ships, the Mars, Triumph, Brunswick, and Bellerophon, and two frigates, the Phaeton and Pallas, fell in with a fleet of thirteen line-of-battle ships, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter, near the Penmarks. The enemy, in consequence of a change of wind, obtained the weather-gage, and while one of their large ships began to fire on the Mars, a frigate, which had kept to leeward, ran upon her larboard quarter, and frequently yawed and fired with an unusual portion of gallantry, while the other ships kept up a distant cannonade. An attempt was made, towards evening, to cut off this vessel, which was at some distance from the squadron; on which the English admiral bore up for her support, and all the ships under his command displayed such resolution and valour, that the superior fleet absolutely drew off, and tacked and stood away before sun-set.

On the 22d of June, a portion of the same fleet was perceived off L'Orient by Admiral-lord Bridport, whose flag was flying in the Royal George, with a strong squadron under his command, consisting of two ships of 100, three of 98, one of 80, and four of 74 guns. As he found the French declined a contest, four of the fastest sailing men of war, the Sanspareil of 80 guns, the Orion of 74, the Russel of 74, and the Colossus of 74, were the first detached, and the whole followed soon after, in quest of the enemy, and continued the pursuit during the whole night. Early on the 23d, the headmost ships came up with the enemy, viz.

	Guns.	
The Irresistible . . .	74	Capt. Grindall,
Orion	74	Sir James Saumarez,
Queen Charlotte . . .	100	Sir A. S. Douglas,
Russel	74	Capt. T. Larcom,
Colossus	74	Capt. J. Monkton, and
Sanspareil	80	Capt. Ld. H. Seymour.

After an action of three hours, the Alexander, Formidable, and Tigre, struck; and, had not the remainder been protected by the land, there is no doubt but more would have been captured: notwithstanding, when it is recollected that this action was fought in the face of batteries, and before a strong naval port, it must be allowed that the British squadron evinced considerable gallantry.

The coasting trade of France was at this time greatly distressed; and, by the zeal and attention of the English cruisers, many of her armed ships captured. Several commanders, well acquainted with all the rocks, shoals, and harbours, distinguished themselves upon this occasion, particularly

Sir W. S. Smith, who, in the Diamond, chased some of the enemy's corvettes on shore, and engaged with their land batteries; while Sir John Borlase Warren, Sir Richard Strachan, and Sir Edward Pellew, seized every opportunity of doing some bold achievement.

Early in this year, the most remarkable of all the actions between single ships during the campaign took place in the West Indies, between the Blanche, mounting thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Faulknor, and La Pique, of thirty-eight guns and 360 men. During a cruize off the island of Guadaloupe, Captain Faulknor perceived, on the 4th of January, a frigate at anchor near Pointe-à-Petre, under protection of the batteries. Finding that this vessel came out the next day, and was two leagues astern, he made sail for, and about noon passed under her lee, on the starboard tack, exchanging broadsides at the same time. Having put about, and come up with her again, the enemy wore within musket-shot, with the intention to rake; on which the English tacked also, engaged nearly aboard, and soon after, putting the helm a-starboard, ran across and lashed the bowsprit to their own capstern. While in this critical situation, the French frigate's main and mizen masts having fallen, they payed off before the wind, towed the enemy along with them, and finding that their own stern-ports were not sufficiently large, the upper transom-beam was blown away, so as to admit the guns to run out, and fire into the adversary's bows; while the marines kept up such a well-directed fire, that no man could appear on her fore-castle. At length, after an engagement of five hours, during which La Pique had 76 men killed and 110 wounded, she surrendered to the Blanche; but Captain Faulknor, who had before displayed his gallantry in presence of the English fleet and army, at the assault of Fort Royal, received a mortal shot in the midst of this action, and was no longer alive to receive the sword of his vanquished rival. The Blanche had only eight killed and twenty-one wounded; an indisputable proof of the superior skill and seamanship of the victors. A monument was soon after erected at the public expence, to commemorate the exploits of this much-lamented commander.

Another gallant action, which was fought in the Mediterranean, between two English and two French frigates, is worthy of recording. The Dido, Captain Towry, and the Lowestoffe, Captain Middleton, having fallen in with three French frigates off the Hieres, the Dido bore down upon La Minerve, carrying forty-two guns, and commenced a close fight, in the course of which both vessels suffered considerably; while the Lowestoffe prevented the Artemise, of thirty-six guns, from assisting her consort; and, after having forced her to retreat, returned, and helped to secure the

BOOK II. crippled ship, which had lost her bowsprit, foremast, and main-top-mast.

CHAP. V.
1794-5.

In short, the naval campaign of this year was peculiarly auspicious to England, who lost only four ships, namely, the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, in the Mediterranean; *Le Censeur*, of seventy-four, which was retaken by the enemy off Cape St. Vincent; the *Daphne*, which was forced to yield to two men of war; and the *Nemesis*, of twenty-eight guns, taken by two frigates in the port of Smyrna, in express violation of the law of nations. On the other hand, the French had about fifty armed vessels of various descriptions sunk, destroyed, and captured. Of these, one was a ship of ninety-eight guns, two of eighty, four of seventy-four, two of forty-four, one of forty-two, two of forty, one of thirty-eight, and one of thirty.

Victor Hughes, renowned for his boasting, as well as for his inhumanity, retained possession of Guadaloupe, and extended his influence to the neighbouring isles. This man not only exposed the living to all the penalties of rebellion without remorse, but absolutely violated the sanctuary of the dead without compunction. He had, in the latter end of the preceding year, published a proclamation, in which, after stating, "that the rights of humanity, of war, and of nations, had been violated by the British commanders," he added, "that the body of Thomas Dundas, major-general and governor, interred in Guadaloupe, should be taken up, and given as a prey to the birds of the air." In one of his numerous publications, he boasted, that 800 republicans and two French frigates had conquered the island where he then resided; and, after ridiculing the idea of declaring Guadaloupe to be in a state of blockade, he asserted that his cruisers "had taken, sunk, and burnt, eighty-eight of the enemy's vessels," while they, according to his account, had "turned pirates, and ransacked neutral vessels;"—a powerful armament was therefore fitted out by the English ministers for the West Indies.

In the mean time, the French government thought proper to provide a reinforcement for Commissioner Hughes; and the following small armament sailed from Brest, with troops and warlike stores on board.

1. *L'Esuelle*, a 74 cut down, carrying 46 guns and 500 men.
2. *L'Astrée*, of 30 guns.
3. *La Leveret*, 20 ditto.
4. *La Prompte*, 20 ditto.
5. *Le Ducas*, 20 ditto.

Ten armed transports.

This squadron having been chased by Captain G. Wilson, of the *Bellona*, and Captain Carpenter, of the *Alarm*, the *Ducas*, laden with field-pieces, mortars, shells, shot, and entrenching tools,

was captured. The rest arrived safe in the West Indies, January 7.

Hereupon the commissioner, who had dispersed proclamations and emissaries every where, determined to extend hostilities, and retaliate on the English, by attacking them in their own settlements. Accordingly, he began with the island of Grenada, which formerly belonged to France; and, having conveyed thither a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, with a small body of troops, an insurrection took place under Fedou, April 10; by means of which, the lieutenant-governor and several of the inhabitants were taken prisoners. Another insurrection broke out in St. Vincent, which was considerably aggravated by the fury of the Charibbs. The French inhabitants of Dominica were also instigated to revolt, and a small detachment sent to their assistance; but they did not hold out so long as in the other islands, for the invaders were resisted by the militia, and obliged to submit as prisoners of war, while those who had joined them were punished with all the rigor of the laws.

The island of Dominica is so situated as to be commanded both by Martinico and Guadaloupe. It is a small and mountainous colony; and, as the negroes amounted to 20,000, there was some danger that, in case of a descent, these might be induced to rise in arms, and add all the horrors of a servile war to those of an invasion. These fears were naturally increased by the consideration, that Farcelle, a French negro, and many slaves who had joined him, were then in the woods, and well acquainted with all the fastnesses of the settlement. Governor Bruce, actuated by motives of policy, accordingly entered into a negotiation with this chief; and both he and his followers were allured from the mountains, in consequence of certain stipulations, which for some reasons were not adhered to; as it appears, that Farcelle was afterwards arrested and sent out of the island.

Victor Hughes, having found means to recover St. Lucia, landed a body of troops there under Massades and Lombard, April 20; and, by the allurements of liberty, stimulated the negroes to revolt. Brigadier-general Stuart, after obtaining possession of Vieux Fort, proceeded to attack the enemy at Soufriere; but he was anticipated in his intentions, and notwithstanding he found means to dissipate an ambuscade, his troops were compelled to retire, after an engagement of seven hours. The capture of Pigeon island, and the loss of the *Vigie* soon after, rendered St. Lucia no longer tenable; and it was therefore determined to evacuate it, which Captain Barrett, of the *Experiment*, happily effected without loss on the 19th of June.

The Maroons took up arms in Jamaica about the same time, which produced a severe contest.

The most rigorous measures were obliged to be adopted; and the insurgent slaves, whom the sword had spared, were transported. On this occasion many stratagems were resorted to, which have been highly, and perhaps justly censured; but absolute necessity appears to have been the cause.

The conquest of Holland by the French, and the treaty of alliance which ensued immediately after, May 18, produced an entire change in the connection between that country and England. A proclamation was therefore issued by the King of Great Britain, ordering all Dutch vessels in the ports of Great Britain to be stopped; and five men of war, nine Indiamen, and about sixty sail of smaller vessels, were consequently detained. Afterwards, all kind of property belonging to that nation was ordered to be seized; and at length the king in council published a third declaration, in which, after stating that divers injurious proceedings had lately taken place in the United Provinces, in derogation to the honor of his crown and the just rights of his subjects, an order for general reprisals was granted "against the ships, goods, and subjects of that country."

On the 2d of May, 1796, a manifesto appeared in the name of "the national assembly representing the Batavian nation." This ridiculous production stated, that the people of Holland, so often oppressed and pillaged, under the mask of friendship, would no longer suffer themselves to be dragged in the dust, but would cease to be the sport of the ambitious ministers of England, who, by the dazzle of piratical treasures, blind their own nation, *which fancies itself to be free*, and at the same time exempt from the terrible calamities they have brought upon Europe and the whole of the human race. After asserting, that the proceedings in the Netherlands, alluded to in the above declaration as contrary to the honor of his majesty's crown, were the acts of his majesty's own troops, it added, that the orders given to the Dutch ships of war, "to repel violence by violence," originated in the rights of an independent republic.

In the Dutch manifesto it was also asserted, "that letters were sent, signed by the Prince of Orange, and dated at Kew, the 7th of February, 1795, to several of the colonies of the republic in the East Indies, and also to the Cape of Good Hope; ordering, on his individual authority, the respective governors to put the colonies of the state under the protection of the British arms; that is to say, in the artful and customary language of the British ministry, to surrender them to England."

The government of Madras, pursuant to the instructions received from England, immediately set about fitting out a small armament, for the

purpose of obtaining possession of the important island of Ceylon. This expedition, which was entrusted to Rear-admiral Rainier and Colonel Stuart, sailed on the 24th of July, and consisted of the *Suffolk*, which was the flag ship, the *Centurion*, the *Diomedé*, which joined off Negapatam, and several transports. The chief hope of success, however, depended upon a secret negotiation entered into with a Swiss officer, who commanded there; for the Dutch had entrusted the defence of their settlements to foreigners. The name and authority of the Prince of Orange were also made use of on this occasion with extraordinary effect; but the promised liquidation of certain or supposed debts contributed still more to the advancement of this intrigue, which was entrusted to the adjutant-general of the army.

On the 2d of August, being the day after the little squadron had anchored in Back Bay, Major Agnew, who had been dispatched in the *Heroine* to Columbo, with letters from Lord Hobart, returned with an order from M. van Angelbeck, the governor-general of Ceylon, to the commandant, to surrender Fort Oostenburgh to the English. The latter having refused obedience to this injunction, under pretence of informality, it was determined to attempt the reduction of that part of the island by force. The *Diomedé* unfortunately struck upon an unknown rock, between Pigeon Island and the outer point of the bay; but, notwithstanding this loss, the first detachment, consisting of 520 European and 110 native soldiers, with two field-pieces, landed at the White Rocks without opposition, and the remainder of the troops immediately followed. The debarkation of stores and provisions occupied ten days more; and the English then commenced their approaches, opened batteries against the fort of Trincomalé, and completed a practicable breach in the course of a week after they had broken ground, during all which operations the enemy seldom or never interrupted them. Hereupon Rear-admiral Rainier and Colonel Stuart summoned the garrison to surrender, on the 18th of August; and on the 26th Major Fornbauer consented to a capitulation, by which the troops, amounting to more than 600, were made prisoners of war, but it was expressly stipulated that none of the officers should be sent to Europe; whence it appears, that some apprehensions were entertained of the displeasure of the Dutch government.

Immediately after this, (August 31,) the commandant of Oostenburgh also entered into a negotiation for the surrender of that place; which was accordingly delivered up, on terms similar to those of Trincomalé, and the British colours were hoisted on the ramparts. On the 18th of September, the fort of Batticaloe was secured, as well

BOOK II. as the settlement of Jaffnapatam, on the 27th;
and the fort and military post of Molletivoe, Oc-
tober 1.

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On the 5th, the capture of the island of Manar was effected by Captain Barbutt, with the flank companies of the 72d regiment and two parties of sepoys.

A small armament from Madras, consisting of the *Resistance*, Captain Newcombe, some transports, and the *Suffolk* tender, with four companies of Europeans and some native troops, commanded by Major Brownie, obtained possession of Malacca on the 17th of August; by which addition, security was afforded to the British commerce in the straits of that name, as well as in the Chinese seas. Cochin also surrendered to the English arms, with Chinsurah and its dependencies, and the fort of Porca and Quilon; in short, all the settlements on the continent of India appertaining to the Dutch.

The invasion of the Cape of Good Hope was undertaken, partly with a view of preventing the French from obtaining possession of it, and partly for the purpose of securing an intermediate station between Europe and the rich and numerous acquisitions of Great Britain in the east. The conduct of this expedition was entrusted to Vice-admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and Gen. Sir Alured Clarke; but a considerable time elapsed before the armament could be completed, and even then it sailed liable to many disadvantages. At length part of the squadron reached the place of its destination, and a negociation was immediately entered into with the governor of Simon's-town; but, as he could not be prevailed upon either to acknowledge the Prince of Orange or surrender his charge, a landing was effected and possession obtained of that place, July 14, though the enemy had intended to destroy it with fire previous to its evacuation.

At this time the British troops consisted of the 78th regiment, the marines of the squadron, and two battalions of seamen, in all about 1600 men; while the enemy, composed chiefly of the Burgher militia and Hottentots, were not only more numerous, but amply provided with heavy cannon and field-pieces. Notwithstanding this disparity, and although the commander-in-chief with the remainder of the troops had not yet arrived, and they were entirely destitute of artillery, Major-general Craig determined to march against the enemy, who occupied Mysenberg, a formidable station, provided with cannon, and rendered difficult of approach both by land and sea, on account of a steep mountain on the right, and the shallow water and high surf on the left. In the interim, the admiral secretly prepared a gun-boat, and armed the launches of the fleet with heavy caronades; he also obtained two battalions of sea-

men, about 1000 in number, under the command of Captain Hardy of the *Echo*, and Captain Spranger of the *Rattle-snake*; while his cruisers were frequently dispatched round the bay, that no suspicion of an attack might be entertained.

About 12 o'clock on the 7th of August a favorable opportunity occurred, and the preconcerted signal was hoisted from the flag-ship; on which General Craig put the troops in motion, while Commodore Blankett in the *America*, with the *Stately*, *Echo*, and *Rattle-snake*, got under weigh, in order to precede and protect the march of the advancing columns. Immediately on their approach, two small batteries were abandoned, and the respective vessels having taken the stations assigned them, a fire commenced upon the Dutch camp, which, in the course of a few minutes, was evacuated with precipitation. Hereupon the major-general proceeded over heavy sand, and, after a most fatiguing march, took possession of it. He also drove the Dutch from an advantageous ridge of rocky heights, and resisted an attack which was made, the succeeding morning upon his position by the whole force of the enemy, supported by eight field-pieces. An attempt, however, failed, which was made at night upon one of the principal out-posts, defended by the burgher militia; partly through the timidity and ignorance of the guides, and partly on account of the intricacy of the road.

The situation of the British commanders was at this period very critical, for neither the numbers nor energy of their adversaries appeared to be diminished; and while the army had no fair opportunity of advancing, the navy was not able, on account of the unfavorableness of the weather, to occupy Table Bay, by means of which a shorter and readier communication with the troops would have been procured. It was at length agreed to wait six days longer for General Clarke; and if, at the expiration of that time, no succour arrived, Major-general Craig was to march forward under every disadvantage, in order to try the fortune of an attack, before the total failure of their provisions rendered a retreat inevitable.

The enemy, however, anticipating their intentions, meditated a general assault on the British camp; and on the 1st of September advanced during the night with their whole strength, supported by a train of eighteen field-pieces. At this critical and important moment, considerable bodies of troops had already made their appearance, when fortunately the signal for a fleet, soon after succeeded by the appearance of fourteen large vessels, induced them to relinquish their enterprize, and return to their former post in haste.

Had the enemy's project been accelerated, the British troops would have been in a very awkward dilemma; the timely arrival of the fleet, however,

was decisive of the conquest of the Cape. General Clarke, having immediately landed, September 14, with a body of troops, proceeded to the camp, and soon after advanced against the post of Wyneberg, where the Dutch, with nine pieces of cannon, seemed determined for resistance. Hereupon the army, which had marched in columns, was formed into two lines, and a detachment dispatched against each of the flanks of the enemy, while the main body and artillery advanced against the centre. As Commodore Blankett appeared

at the same time with three ships in Table Bay, in order to effect a diversion on that side, the Dutch immediately retired, and early on the 16th of September an officer arrived with a flag and letter from governor Sluysken; in consequence of which a cessation of arms ensued, and the castle and Cape of Good Hope were surrendered to the British.

In addition to five Dutch men of war detained in England, one of sixty-four was seized at Cork, and six smaller ships were captured elsewhere.

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CHAPTER VI.

Campaign in Italy.—Napoleon Bonaparte appointed General.—His Education, &c.—Situation of the Voltri seized by the Austrians.—Montenotte attacked.—Battle of Millesimo.—Action at Dego.—Second Action at Dego.—Attack on the Camp of Ceva.—Retreat of the Piedmontese.—The Treaty of Cerasco.—Passage of the Po.—Actions at Tombio and Cadogno.—Battle of Lodi.—Insurrections.—Seizure of Leghorn by Buonaparte.—His Arrival at Brescia.—Action at Borghetta.—Blockade of Mantua.—Battle of Castiglione.—Second Blockade of Mantua.—Battles of Roveredo, of Bassano, and of Arcole.

As hostilities were now doomed to take a more extensive range, the unoffending inhabitants of the Alps and the Tyrolese mountains, as well as those of the Danube and the Po, experienced all the horrors of a conflict which the Revolution in the capital of France produced, when a new constitution was presented to the French, June 29, 1795. The Italian war consequently began to assume an interesting appearance, and great preparations for the approaching campaign were made on all sides. The command of the troops of the King of Sardinia was still entrusted to General Colli, an officer supposed to be admirably calculated for the management of a defensive system; while the emperor confided the direction of his forces to Baron Beaulieu, an able and enterprising warrior, who had acquired considerable reputation, not only for his exploits, but for his virtues.

The Directory, (for thus the present government of France was styled,) instead of selecting an experienced officer, General Scherer having been displaced for habitual intoxication, gave the command of the army of Italy to NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, a man hitherto untried and almost unknown.

In our history of the WARS of the French Revolution, biographical sketches of the principal warriors are absolutely essential. We have not copiously dwelt upon the *trials* and *executions* arising from the revolution, as they are not the leading features of a work of this nature; and particularly as unnecessary prolixity would oblige

us to curtail recent events, by an abbreviation of which that part of our history, which should be most interesting, would be the least satisfactory.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who has been slightly mentioned in our first book, on his being employed as engineer at the siege of Toulon, was born August 15, 1769, at Ajaccio, a small town in the island of Corsica. He was the eldest son of Carlo Bonaparte, (supposed to be a lawyer,) of Italian extraction, by his wife Letitia Raniolini. General Count Marboeuf was the only patron of Napoleon, who became so much the object of his protection, that, by the Count's influence with the Maréchal de Segur, he was admitted as an *Elève du Roi*, into *L'École Royale Militaire* at Brienne, in the province of Champagne.

This school was one of the thirteen royal military schools, or colleges, which were established in various provinces of the kingdom of France, and they were particularly patronised by the two last sovereigns of the Bourbon family. These establishments were magnificently endowed, and the pupils enjoyed every advantage which was essential to their domestic convenience. The most able masters superintended their education, and they were principally encouraged to acquire a competent knowledge of the ancient and modern languages, geography, history, the mathematics, and every branch of military science. *L'École Royale Militaire*, at Paris, was at the head of the other military schools in the provinces; and it was to this school that not only subordination was

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acknowledged by the pupils of the others, but to which they looked forward as the haven of all the youths of pre-eminent genius that the military schools of the provinces had educated. Bonaparte arrived at the Royal Military School at Brienne in the year 1779, being then only ten years old. At this early age, however, he discovered a peculiar temper of mind. He avoided the juvenile sports and amusements of the other pupils, and courted solitude and gloom: withdrawing himself from their mirth, he devoted his attention to sedentary rather than to active employments, and appeared entirely engaged in his own individual and retired pursuits. He seems to have neglected, if not altogether rejected, in his early years, the attainment of the Latin language. He soon, however, applied himself with earnestness to the mathematics, the rudiments of which he was taught by Father Patrault, a minim at Brienne. Fortification, and all the other branches of military science and tactics, he studied with increasing ardor; and these, with the reading of history, principally of ancient Rome and Greece, were his most delightful occupations. During the period which Bonaparte continued at Brienne, a library was formed for the amusement and instruction of the pupils, and which was to be under their entire direction. To give them proper notions of arrangement and order, their superiors left the distribution of their books and other affairs to the management of two of the boarders, chosen by their comrades. The calls of Bonaparte on one of these, who was appointed librarian, were so often and so much more frequent than the applications of his companions, that the young man considered him tiresome, and sometimes lost his temper; Bonaparte was not less patient nor less positive, and on these occasions extorted submission by blows.

The rudeness of manners which Bonaparte displayed, and the violence of temper to which he was subject, were not at all softened or subdued previous to his quitting Brienne; his paroxysms of passion had sometimes amounted even to fury, and his anger was often so sudden and so uncontrollable, that few of his comrades would venture to hazard his displeasure.

The annual examination of the pupils by the Royal Inspector General, M. le Chevalier de Renault, took place soon after. This officer found Bonaparte well versed in the art of fortification, and as he himself owed his preferment and his fortune to his talents, and to the universal testimony of an honorable conduct, he knew well how to estimate the ingenuity and ability which are the result of inquiry and reflection, and he adjudged that Bonaparte's proficiency in military knowledge entitled him to be sent to *L'Ecole Royale Militaire* at Paris. His masters, however, represented to the inspector several occurrences

unfavorable to his promotion, but without effect, and Bonaparte arrived at the Military College at Paris on the 17th of October, 1784. To complete his knowledge of the mathematics was the principal object of Bonaparte. He labored with unwearied diligence under the instructions of the celebrated Monge. The corps of artillery and the corps of engineers were, at that time, the only corps in France where merit was certain of promotion, and in which interest had no influence, and into one of these he determined to enter as soon as he had passed the requisite probation. Monge had so well qualified Bonaparte by his care and information, that, on his first examination, he passed with praise, and was allowed to enter the regiment of artillery *de la Fere*, in garrison at Auxone, as Lieutenant, in the month of July, 1785, and he immediately proceeded to join the regiment. His attention to the theory of his profession was unremitting; he devoted part of the night to the study of military details, and passed most of the day in contemplating and examining the fortifications of the garrison. In his occasional conversations with the officers of the regiment, he expressed opinions which were then considered as factious, both by those of the higher orders and those who were the partisans of royalty. His opposition of sentiment to all the measures of government was uniform, and unchangeable by any endeavours to remove its inconsistency or its injustice. The death of General Count Marbœuf, in the year 1786, deprived Bonaparte of his protection and influence; the advantages which he derived from that officer's pecuniary assistance were no longer attainable, and his pay as a lieutenant was scarcely adequate to support the appearance his rank required. His dissatisfaction was increased by the narrowness of his income, and the numerous factions which disordered all the ranks of society in France, induced him to await with complacency for some terrible convulsion of the state that should open a path to his military activity and preferment.

When the directory was inaugurated, Bonaparte, as General of the armed force of Paris, waited on each of the five directors. Carnot, who succeeded Sieyes, lived at the top of a house beneath the ruins of the Luxembourg, his official apartments not being ready. It was on a Monday that Bonaparte presented himself, the day when a celebrated writer regularly visited Carnot. This person was singing an air, accompanied by a young lady on the piano-forte. The appearance of Bonaparte, a little well-made olive-complexioned youth, amid five or six tall young men, who paid him great attention, was a great contrast; he entered the room, and bowed with an air of ease and self-possession; and the author in question asked Carnot who the gentlemen were. The Director answered, "the General of the armed force of

Paris, and his aids-de-camp." His being unlike such generals as Santerre or Rossignol was striking. "What is his name?" said the author.—"Bonaparte."—"Has he great military skill?"—"So it is said."—"What has he ever done that is remarkable?"—"He is the officer who commanded the troops of the Convention on the day of Vendemiaire." The enquirer was one of the electors of Vendemiaire; he retired to an obscure part of the room, and looked on the new visitor in thoughtfulness and silence. Bonaparte seeing the young lady still at her instrument, and the company taken up with him, said, "I have stopped your amusement; some person was singing; I beg I may not interrupt the party." The Director apologized; the general insisted; and after two or three national airs were played, he rose, and took his leave. When he departed, the conversation turned on Bonaparte, and Carnot predicted from this short interview, that the young general would not long retain a command that an aspiring genius would consider only as a step to future fame and glory.

Barras duly valued the exertions of Bonaparte in the business of the sections; he saw that he was fitted for a station in which vigilance and activity were essentially requisite, and he procured him the command of the army of the interior. The high rank of this appointment was attended with adequate emoluments, and carried with it considerable influence.

We must now take notice of Bonaparte's first wife, a widow, from whom he was afterwards divorced. Josephine la Pagerie, when twenty-two years of age, married the Viscount Alexander de Beauharnois, major in a royal French regiment of infantry; both were descended from noble families, both natives of Martinique, and both educated in France. The fortune of the beautiful Josephine was a pleasing addition to the slender income of the youthful viscount; their expenditure was liberal; and, having been introduced at court, their rank, their manners, and the elegance of their entertainments, ensured them the best company in Paris. At the beginning of the revolution, M. de Beauharnois was chosen by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a deputy to the States-general or National Assembly; and in June 1791, he was elected their president, and in that capacity signed the proclamation to the French people on the journey of the king to Varennes. He served under General Biron in April 1792, and bore the rank of adjutant-general when the French were defeated near Mons. He succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine; was suspended by the deputies in August, 1793, and soon after arrested with his wife. He was consigned to the guillotine on the 23d of July, 1794; if Robespierre had not followed him a few days after, Madame Beauhar-

nois would also have perished on the Republican scaffold. In one of the thirty-six lists of persons destined by Fouquier Thionville to feed the guillotine for thirty-six successive days, appeared the name of Madame de Beauharnois; another list contained the name of Barras. On the 12th of August, 1794, she was released by Legendre. Barras had the national seals taken off her house, in the Rue de Victoire, a few weeks after, and honored her with his protection, by sojourning in her hotel until October, 1795, when his being chosen to the office of Director, required that he should make use of the splendid suite of apartments allotted to him in the palace of the Luxembourg.

Barras, dignified as one of the chief magistrates of France, found it inconvenient to continue his intimacy with Madame Beauharnois; had their attachment been mutual, it was either easily subdued, or it had suddenly subsided, for the lady agreed to an arrangement, which shewed her obedience to the wishes of her friend, and the self-command that she had acquired over her own feelings; she agreed to give her hand to Napoleon Bonaparte, the general of the interior, if the general could be brought to offer her his vows of conjugal affection. The plan was formed, and Barras proceeded to provide his mistress with a husband, and his friend with a wife.

Bonaparte having shewn his talents both at Toulon and on the 13th Vendemiaire, Barras recommended him to Carnot, as most likely to serve the Republic faithfully in Italy. Carnot's high opinion of the genius of Bonaparte seconded the nomination. Barras offered to Bonaparte, Madame Beauharnois and 500,000 livres, and Carnot offered him the army. Barras told him the lady and the army were equally necessary to a youthful and aspiring general; his friendship, gallantry, and ambition were roused; and as the terms of the offer signified, that neither could be gratified without the other, he obliged his friend Barras, and became the husband of Madame Beauharnois, and commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. The remaining particulars of Bonaparte's life, his divorce from Josephine, his second marriage, &c. will be duly mentioned in the course of this history.

The Italian war, no longer confined to the attack and defence of posts, exhibited at this time a scientific appearance: the course of the rivers, the height and direction of the mountains, the extent of the forests, the nature of the government, and the inclination of the inhabitants, were all consulted; every movement was studied and generalized; and the contest, no longer depending on the fate of a single action, became a continued series of combats, or rather of pitched battles.

Bonaparte having arrived at the head-quarters of his army, early in the spring, prepared to take

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The Austrians occupied the heights of Savona, Sassello, Musona, Campo-Fredo, the Bochetta, the valleys of the Trebia and the Serevin, including within their entrenchments the two roads leading from Genoa to the Milanese; the one by Novi and Tortona, and the other by Bobbio and Piacentia. The Piedmontese were posted on the declivity of the Alps, so as to extend from the Col de Tendi to Cairo in the province of Acqui. The French army was cantoned all the way from Nice to the neighbourhood of Final; the headquarters were established at Albenga; the advanced posts extended to Voltri, between Savona and Genoa; while Ormea, on the other side of the mountains, was in their possession.

After some time spent in movements, intended to deceive the French, hostilities were first renewed on the part of the Imperialists. Beaulieu ordered 10,000 men to attack Voltri, and the attempt was made on the 9th of April. This important post was defended for a considerable time by General Cervoni at the head of about 4000 troops, but he was obliged to retreat during the night to the church of Our Lady in Savoni; and the Imperialists, pursuing their advantage, in the course of the following day carried part of the line of entrenchments. On the 10th Beaulieu, with 15,000 men, attacked and drove in all which supported the centre of the French, and at one o'clock of the day was before the redoubt of Montenotte, the last of their entrenchments. In spite of repeated charges, this redoubt arrested the progress of the Imperialists. The chief of brigade, Rampon, who commanded 1500 men, made his soldiers take an oath to perish in the redoubt, and, for the whole night, kept the enemy at the distance of pistol-shot. In the night-time, General La Harpe took post behind the redoubt, and Bonaparte, followed by the Generals Berthier and Massena, and the Commissioner Salicetti, brought up his centre and his left, at one o'clock in the morning, by Altara, on the flank and rear of the Austrians. On the 11th, at day-break, Beaulieu and La Harpe, attacked each other with vigor, and various success, when Massena appeared, dealing death and terror on the Austro-Sardinians, where General Argenteau commanded. The enemy's generals, Roccavino and Argenteau, were wounded, and the rout was complete. Fifteen hundred men were killed, and 2500 made pri-

soners, of which sixty were officers; several standards were also taken.

As Beaulieu was yet able to send assistance from his right wing to the left of the Austro-Sardinian army, Bonaparte changed his head-quarters to Cawcara on the 12th, and ordered General La Harpe to march to Sozello, in order to threaten the eight battalions of the enemy stationed there, and on the day following, by a rapid and concealed march, to get to the town of Cairo, while General Massena was to gain the heights of Dego, at the time that the Generals Menard and Joubert occupied one of the heights of Bietro, and the other the formidable position of Santa Margherita. This movement following the battle of Montenotte, placed the French army on the other side of the Alps, notwithstanding many of the passes were still in the hands of the enemy; and it was now determined to obtain immediate possession of them.

General Augereau accordingly forced Millesimo, early in the morning of April 13, while the Generals Menard and Joubert drove the Imperialists from all their posts, and surrounded a corps of 1500 Austrian grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-general Count de Provera, (a knight of the order of Maria Theresa,) who gallantly retired to the mountain of Copalia, and entrenched himself in an old castle, extremely strong on account of its position. Augereau ordered his artillery to advance, when a cannonade was kept up for several hours. In the course of the day, Bonaparte, vexed at finding his march checked by a handful of men, ordered General Provera to be summoned to surrender. He requested to speak with the commander-in-chief, but a lively cannonade commencing on the right wing of the French, hindered him from going to the commander, who treated with General Augereau for several hours. Augereau, at length, formed his men into four columns, and advanced against the castle. Joubert entered the enemy's works with seven men, when, being wounded in the head, he was thrown on the ground; his soldiers thinking him dead, his column relaxed. The second column, under General Banel, advanced in silence, when the general was killed. The third column, under Adjutant-general Quenin, who was also killed, was in like manner disconcerted. Night coming on, made Bonaparte fear that the enemy would attempt to make their way sword in hand: he therefore made dispositions to prevent them.

Next morning, April 14, at dawn, the hostile armies faced each other; the French left, under Augereau, kept General Provera blockaded, who, with his grenadiers, was also assailed by batteries of howitzers, which had been erected in the course of the night by Bonaparte's orders. Several of the Austrian regiments strove to penetrate the

centre of the French, but were repulsed by General Menard, who was then ordered to fall back on the right wing. Before noon General Massena extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego, strongly entrenched. The French pushed their light troops as far as the road leading from Dego to Spino. General La Harpe's division marched in three close columns; the one on his left, under General Causse, crossed the Bormida, and attacked the right of the enemy's left wing. General Cervoni with the second column, also passed the Bormida, covered by one of the French batteries, and advanced against the enemy; while the third column, under Adjutant-general Boyer, turned a ravin, and cut off their retreat. The Imperialists had not time to capitulate; and the French columns, spreading terror and death, put them to the rout. The brave General Provera, with the corps he commanded at Copalia, surrendered prisoners of war. By this victory the French acquired from seven to nine thousand prisoners, and the Austrians had near 3000 men killed, besides the loss of forty field-pieces, and the greater part of their baggage and magazines.

On April 15, before the French troops had scarcely returned to their camp, Beaulieu, with the flower of his army, attacked the village of Dego at break of day, and carried it by a sudden charge with the bayonet. The French, taken by surprise, fled on all sides. Massena, when he had formed part of his troops, attempted to stop Beaulieu's progress, but was repulsed in three attacks. General Causse was still more unfortunate; he attacked the enemy, and was on the point of charging with the bayonet, when he fell mortally wounded. In this situation, observing General Bonaparte, he collected his strength, and asked him if Dego was retaken.—“The posts are ours,” replied the general. “Then,” said Causse, “*Vive la Republique!* I die content.” The affair, however, was not yet decided, and it was already two o'clock in the afternoon. Bonaparte ordered a demi-brigade to form under General Victor, whilst Adjutant-general Lasnes, rallying a demi-brigade of light infantry, threw himself on the enemy's left. These movements carried Dego; the cavalry completed the rout of the enemy, who left 600 dead and 1400 prisoners. General Rusca took the post at San-Giovanni, which commands the valley of the Bormida. General Augereau, having driven the enemy from the redoubts of the Montezemo, communicated with the valley of the Tanaro, which Serrurier's division had already occupied.

The Directory, in their dispatches to Bonaparte, expressed what they felt, in finding they had chosen him to conduct the army of Italy to victory. “To-day, General!” said they, “receive the tribute of national gratitude: merit it more

and more, and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the scene of action, has not changed his opponent; that, beaten in the north, he shall be constantly defeated by the brave army of Italy; and that, with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the republic.” General La Harpe, and the chief of brigade, Rampon, also received honorable testimonies of the regard which the Directory had of their exertions.

While the Austrians, abandoning the important post of Bochetta, were in full retreat towards Tortona, by the road leading through Acqui and Gavi, on purpose to form a junction with the Neapolitan and Pontifical troops, the Piedmontese army, entrenched at Ceva, was exposed to the most imminent danger in consequence of the vicinity of Bonaparte, who immediately advanced with the assurance of a certain victory. Nor was he disappointed; for the Generals Augereau and Serrurier having commenced an attack, April 16, the greater part of the redoubts thrown up by the enemy were immediately carried; and General Colli, being afraid lest his flank should be turned before morning, took advantage of the approaching darkness to retire to an admirable position at the confluence of the Cursaglea and the Tanaro. Being nearly surrounded by these two deep and serpentine rivers, he immediately fortified their banks with strong batteries, and waited for succours either from the court of Turin or Field-marshal Beaulieu.

In the mean time General Serrurier entered Ceva, in which was a garrison of between seven and eight hundred men. The heavy artillery had not been able to keep pace with the army in the mountains, and were not yet arrived. The Piedmontese army, driven from Ceva, took a position at the confluence of the Cursaglea. On the 20th, Serrurier attacked their right by the village of St. Michael, and, passing the bridge, compelled them, after three hours fighting, to evacuate the village; but the Tanaro not being fordable, the division destined to attack their left could harass them only by its riflemen. General Serrurier therefore retreated: the enemy's position was formidable, surrounded by two deep and impetuous rivers; they had destroyed all the bridges, and erected strong batteries on the banks. Both armies reciprocally sought to deceive each other by false manoeuvres, to conceal their real intentions.

General Massena crossed the Tanaro by means of a bridge, April 21, and occupied the village of Lezegno; Guieux and Fiorella, generals of brigade, took the bridge of the Torra. Bonaparte meant to bear down on Mendovi, and compel the enemy to change the field of battle; but General Colli, dreading the issue of an action, which must have been decisive on so extended a line, retreated. At day-break the two armies were in

BOOK 11. sight of each other, and the engagement began in the village of Vico. General Guieux bore down on the left of Mendovi, while the Generals Fiorella and Dammartin carried the redoubt which covered the enemy's centre; the Sardinian army abandoned the field of battle, and on that evening the French entered Mendovi. The enemy's loss amounted to 1800 men, of whom 1300 were prisoners.

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The enemy crossed the Sturâ, and took a position between Coni and Charasco. The French entered the town of Bena. General Serrurier on the 25th marched to La Trinite, and cannonaded the town of Fossana, the head-quarters of General Colli. General Massena advanced against Cerasco, and drove in the enemy's grand guard. Bonaparte sent General Dujard, and his own aide-camp, Marmont, to reconnoitre the place, and plant howitzers to beat down the pallasades. The enemy evacuated the town, and repassed the Sturâ. This victory was of the greatest consequence; for, besides supporting the right wing, it gave an ample supply of subsistence. The French threw bridges of boats across the Sturâ, and Fossana surrendered to Serrurier. General Augereau marched against Alba, which surrendered, and threw several bridges of boats across the Tamaro, to enable the army to pass the river.

The King of Sardinia, shut up in Turin, determined to treat for peace. General Colli, commander-in-chief of his army, addressed a letter to Bonaparte, stating, that as the king had sent plenipotentiaries to Genoa to treat for peace, under the mediation of the court of Spain, he thought the interests of humanity required that hostilities should be suspended during the dependence of the negotiation. He therefore proposed an armistice, in order to prevent the effusion of human blood. Bonaparte replied, that the Executive Directory preserved the right of treating for peace; it was therefore necessary that the plenipotentiaries of the king should repair to Paris, or wait at Genoa the arrival of those whom the French government should send thither. He further observed, that the military position of the two armies prevented every unqualified suspension of arms; and although he was convinced that his government was disposed to grant reasonable conditions of peace to his majesty, yet he could not arrest his march. There was, however, he remarked, a mean by which General Colli might attain his purpose, conformable to the true interests of his court, and which would prevent an effusion of blood; and that was to put into his possession two of the three fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, or Tortona; they could then wait the issue of negotiations, which probably might be protracted. A peace was granted to the unfortunate monarch, who, by the treaty of Cerasco, surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and

Château Dauphin, as the pledges of his faith, and relinquished Savoy and the county of Nice for ever.

Immediately after this, Bonaparte addressed his head-quarters at Cerasco, in the following manner:—

“Soldiers!—In the course of fourteen days you have gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty pieces of cannon, several strong fortresses, and conquered the richest portion of Piedmont; you have already seized 1500 prisoners, and killed and wounded more than 10,000 men.

“You have as yet, however, only fought for sterile rocks, illustrated indeed by your valor, but useless to your country. Yet you already edit the victorious armies of Holland and the Rhine; destitute of all, you have acquired every thing; you have gained battles without cannon, crossed rivers without pontoons, made forced marches without shoes, and watched all night under arms without brandy, and sometimes even without bread. Republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty are alone capable of suffering such privations as these.

“But, soldiers, notwithstanding two vanquished armies flee before you, it is needless to dissemble that you have achieved nothing, since Turin and Milan are not yet yours, and the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under the feet of your enemies.

“You were bereft even of necessities at the commencement of the campaign, and now you enjoy plenty: the magazines taken from your enemies are numerous; the heavy artillery is arrived, and your country has a right to expect important events. Will you realise her hopes? The greatest obstacles are, doubtless, overcome; but you have still battles to win, cities to take, rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage is subdued? Who would prefer to return again to the summit of the Appenines and the Alps, patiently to listen to the reproaches of a soldiery composed of slaves? No, there are none such among the conquerors of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mendovi.

“All burn to extend the glory of the French people; all are desirous to humble those haughty sovereigns, who dared to menace us with chains; all wish to dictate a glorious peace, calculated to indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices it has made; all are eager to be able, on returning to their native villages, to exclaim with pride, ‘I also belonged to the victorious army of Italy.’

“Friends! I promise you this conquest; but it is on the express condition, that you respect the people whom you are about to deliver from bondage, and avoid all thoughts of pillage, only dreamed of by those vile wretches set on by our enemies. Without this, you will not be the liberators, but the scourgers of enfranchised nations;

you will not be an honor to the French, for they will disavow you; your victories, your courage, your successes, the very blood of your brethren shed in battle will all be lost, and your honor and glory gone for ever!!!

"Nations of Italy!—The army approaches, on purpose to burst your fetters; *France is the friend of every people*; approach our standards with confidence. *Your religion, your property, and your customs, will all be respected.* We will carry on the war like generous enemies, for you have no dispute but with the tyrants who keep you in servitude."

The words in italics prove that Bonaparte, at the age of twenty-six, was a perfect master of dissimulation. The facts hereafter recorded are sufficient tests, that neither religion nor property was ever respected by him or his army.

After signing the armistice with the King of Sardinia, Bonaparte marched his army towards the Po. Massena had reached Alexandria, and seized on the magazines, which the Austrians had sold to the town. On the 6th of May the army of Italy took possession of Tortona; they found here more than one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and immense magazines. Ceva and Coni were in an equal state of defence, and liberally provisioned. Thus the war supported itself, and the successes of the French furnished them with the means of making new conquests. The stipulations of the fourth article of the armistice, induced the general of the Austrian army to believe that Bonaparte wished to cross the Po at Valentia; but Bonaparte hastened by a forced march to Castel San-Giovanni with 5000 grenadiers and 1500 horse. Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, and Adjutant-general Frontin, with 100 dragoons, reconnoitred the Po as far as Placentia, and took five boats loaded with rice, on board of which were 500 sick, and all the army medicines. On the 7th, at nine in the morning, Bonaparte reached the Po, opposite Placentia. Two squadrons of hussars, on the opposite side of the river, seemed determined to dispute the passage. The French troops got into the boats, and landed on the other side, when the enemy's cavalry retired. The divisions of the army passed the river in the course of the day. In the mean time Beaulieu, acquainted with the march of the French, was convinced of the usefulness of his entrenchments on the Tesino, and his redoubts at Pavia. On the 8th, at noon, Bonaparte heard that a division of the enemy was near; he advanced, and found them entrenched in the village of Fombio, with twenty pieces of cannon. After a spirited resistance, the Austrians retreated; and were pursued as far as the Adda.

Another body of the Imperialists reached Codogno, the head-quarters of General La Harpe, at two in the morning, and drove in the French

videttes. General La Harpe ordered a demi-brigade to advance, when the enemy were driven back and disappeared; but La Harpe was killed by a ball. General Berthier went directly to Codogno, pursued the enemy, and took Casal, with a vast quantity of baggage. The passage of the Po, which was effected May 20, was a great operation, as in many places that river could not have been passed in two months. This alarmed all the states of Italy, and the Infant Duke of Parma signed an armistice with Bonaparte, in which he engaged to pay a military contribution of 2,000,000 livres French money; to furnish 2200 draught horses and harness, and others for the officers and the cavalry; to give up twenty paintings, and lodge a quantity of wheat and oats, and furnish 2000 oxen for the French army.

Bonaparte informed the Directory of his intention of sending to Paris, as soon as possible, the finest pictures of Correggio, and among others a St. Jerome, said to be his master-piece. "I confess," observed Bonaparte, "this saint has chosen an unlucky moment to arrive at Paris; but I hope you will grant him the honors of the museum." Accordingly, the Duke of Parma, conscious of his weakness, suffered all the master-pieces of painting and sculpture, which had hitherto adorned his states, amounting to twenty pictures, to be forthwith transmitted to Paris.

No sooner had the French crossed the Po, than the potentates of Italy became eager to consult their own safety. The senate of Venice ordered Louis XVIII. to quit its territories, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany sued for favor. The King of Naples sent to Genoa to make peace, and all the sea-ports of the peninsula were shut against the English. Abundance reigned in the French camp, and the treasury of the army was filled by extorted contributions, notwithstanding the fair promises of the French general, who was well aware that his conquests could never be consolidated, until he had overcome the Austrians and seized all their Italian possessions.

The road to Milan, which was opened to the French, was not safe until the Austrians were driven from the banks of the Adda. Bonaparte had so disposed the march of his divisions, that, in less than three hours, he could unite them; but Beaulieu had placed the Adda between himself and the French, and waiting for them at the end of a bridge, 100 toises in length, he hoped to stop their progress by covering it with a numerous artillery. This bridge lay at the town of Lodi; it was at the head of it, on the side next the city, that Bonaparte was to plant, under a shower of grape-shot, two pieces of cannon, to prevent the enemy from breaking it down, whilst a column was forming to carry the pass. The French entered Lodi, May 12, and Beaulieu, with his whole army, and thirty pieces of heavy can-

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BOOK 11. non, defended the passage of the bridge. Bonaparte formed all his artillery, and the cannonade was kept up for many hours with great vivacity. The troops formed in close column with a battalion of carabineers at their head, followed by all the grenadier battalions, at charge-step, amidst reiterated acclamations of "*Vive la Republique!*" They shewed themselves at the bridge; but the Austrians kept up so tremendous a fire, that those who advanced fell by columns; they retreated, but were rallied, and the slaughter was again dreadful; a second time they retreated, but Bonaparte was immovable in his determination; again they darted forward, over the dead bodies of their comrades, and the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, Dallemagne, the chief of brigade Lasnes, and the chief of battalion Dupat, placed themselves at the head of the column, and passed the bridge; the Generals Rusca, Augereau, and Bayrand, with their divisions, passed the Adda, a few miles below Lodi, when the French began to force the bridge, and attacked the Austrians suddenly in the rear, when they thought the French only on one side of the river, and this decided the fortune of the day. The line of artillery was instantly carried, Beaulieu's order of battle broken, and the French troops spread terror and death in every direction; the hostile army was dispersed, though the Austrian cavalry strove to protect the retreat of the infantry, and charged the French. The Imperialists lost 20 pieces of cannon, and between two and three thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The brave, but unfortunate Beaulieu, with the remains of his army, took refuge under the cannon of Mantua during night, and abandoned Pizzighitone, Cremona, and all the Milanese, to the French.

Bonaparte, in his dispatches to the Directory, after stating this memorable battle, observed, that although the French had been engaged in many warm contests, none approached the terrible passage of the Bridge of Lodi; the French pursued the Austrians as far as Pizzighitone, and entered it on the 12th, after a brisk cannonade, and took about 400 prisoners. Cremona surrendered to them, and the vanguard of Bonaparte took the rout to Milan, and entered it on the 15th, having received the submission of Pavia, where they found immense magazines of the Imperial army. The conquest of Lombardy might now be regarded as complete; for, although the castle of Milan still held out, the tri-coloured flag floated from the Lake of Como, and the frontiers of the Grisons, as far as the gates of Pavia. Such rapid success, in so short a time, made some days of repose necessary to an army so much engaged. The Austrians had quitted Milan soon after the news of the battle of Lodi; and, when the French were about to enter the city, a deputation of the

inhabitants carried them the key of its gates. The court of the archduke departed, and the archduke and duchess shewed great sorrow at quitting their capital; the streets and squares, through which they passed, were crowded with people, who evinced neither joy nor sorrow, and few of the nobility attended the court in its flight. The people collected in great crowds to witness the entry of the French, and almost all wore the national cockade; the Imperial arms were taken away from most of the public buildings, and many of the nobility took the arms off their carriages. On the 14th of May, the tree of liberty was planted in the grand square; and, on the same day, General Massena entered the city with his troops. A deputation, with the archbishop, went out to meet him; upon entering, he clapped the keys, which had been given him, one against the other, in token of rejoicing.

The conqueror's entry was extremely brilliant; the nobility and gentry of the city went out to meet Bonaparte in their most splendid carriages, and returned in the procession, amidst the shouts of an immense populace; the cavalcade went to the archducal palace, where he was to lodge, with several bands of musicians, playing patriotic tunes; and, soon after his arrival, he sat down to a dinner of two hundred covers. The day was concluded by an elegant ball, where the ladies vied with each other in patriotism, by wearing the French national colours in every part of their dress. The next day, Bonaparte received visits from the citizens; and in the evening there was a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the theatre. All the chests, which contained the property of the archduke and the city, were emptied into the French coffers; and a splendid fête was given the day after, with much enthusiasm, which finished in the evening with a general illumination; the whole was terminated by sending deputations into the different towns and villages, to instruct the people in the principles of liberty and equality.

May 21, a proclamation was issued by Bonaparte to the people of Lombardy, stating, "That the French people, looking on the people of Lombardy as their brethren, had a right to expect a just return, and he therefore *should impose a contribution of 20,000,000 livres, to be raised in equal proportions by the different districts of Lombardy*: the necessities of the army require it, and it is a *small sum* for a country so fertile."

Twenty-one standards of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies had been already sent to Paris, and presented to the executive directory. These were received in a public sitting, amidst the acclamations of "*Vive la Republique!*" and, the day on which Bonaparte entered Milan, the ambassadors of the King of Sardinia signed, at Paris, the definitive treaty of peace between that

sovereign and France. The government, anxious to encourage the ardor of the troops, by publicly acknowledging their services, decreed the celebration of a *Fête des Victoires*, on the 29th of May, and it was observed at Paris. Great preparations were made in the Champ de Mars for this grand ceremony. Several ornamental statues were erected, and military ensigns festooned together in various parts of the field, added to the dignity of the place. The constituted authorities were on a mount, raised in the middle, and large bodies of cavalry and infantry were ranged round them. An immense crowd assembled; the directory advanced to the sound of music; and, after a profound silence was observed, the decree was read, and the president of the directory addressed the crowd in an appropriate speech; discharges of artillery and music continued after the ceremony to exhilarate the people, and, forming themselves into dancing parties, the day was spent in mirth and festivity.

While these feats were acted on the banks of the Seine, Bonaparte, faithful to his plan of activity, made dispositions to attack the castle of Milan; and, preparing to pursue the remains of the Austrian army, meditated an attack on the dominions of Rome and Naples.

He was so completely overpowered with vanity at the extent and rapidity of his own conquests, that in his proclamation from the city of Milan, May 22, he addressed his army in the following language of triumph:

"Soldiers! you have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the height of the Appenines; you have overthrown and dispersed all that dared to oppose your march: Milan is yours; and the republican standard is displayed throughout all Lombardy. Yes, soldiers, you have done much; but still more remains for you to do. Shall posterity reproach us with having found a Capua in Lombardy?—To re-establish the capitol; to replace there the statues of those heroes who have rendered it immortal; to arouse the Roman people, entranced in so many ages of slavery;—this shall be the fruit of your victories. It will be an epoch for the admiration of posterity!"

General Despinoy, the French commandant of Milan, observing, on the 24th, that the people were collecting in the suburbs of the city, on the side of Pavia, ordered some troops to march there, whom the rebels attempted to disarm; but the French detachment, having wounded and taken some of them, put the rest to flight. This movement took place at the same moment at Varese, Pavia, and Lodi. The tocsin was sounded in the country; the peasants assassinated the persons employed in the administration; and the garrison left at Pavia, having been surprised in their quarters, were disarmed.

Bonaparte set out from Milan on the 24th, to

repair to Lodi, leaving only at Milan sufficient troops to blockade the castle. Scarcely had he reached Lodi, when General Despinoy informed him, that, three hours after his departure, the tocsin was sounded in Lombardy; and that it was industriously circulated, that Nice was taken by the English; the army of Condé arrived by Switzerland, on the borders of the Milanese; and Beaulieu, reinforced with 60,000 men, was on his march to Milan. Every where the people were called on to arm against the French; the nobles had discharged their domestics, telling them, that equality did not allow the continuance of their services; and all the partisans of the house of Austria, the *sbirri*, and agents of the customs, appeared in the front. The inhabitants of Pavia, reinforced with five or six thousand peasants, invested the citadel, in which there were only 300 French. At Milan, the people tore down the tree of liberty, and trampled the national cockade under foot. General Despinoy, the commander, mounted his horse, whilst patrols put the populace to flight. When Bonaparte arrived at Milan, he ordered a number of hostages to be arrested, and those to be shot who were taken in arms; at the same time acquainting the archbishop, chapter, monks, and nobles, that they were responsible for the public tranquillity.

The chief of brigade, Lasnes, attacked Binasco, which seven or eight hundred armed peasants seemed determined to defend; he charged them, and, having killed about 100, dispersed the rest. Bonaparte ordered the village to be burned, which exhibited a horrible spectacle. He then sent the Archbishop of Milan to Pavia, with the following proclamation:

*"Milan, 6 Prairial, 4th year,
(25 May, 1796.)"*

"A misled multitude, destitute of the means of resistance, have been guilty of the greatest excesses in several communes, contemning the republic and the brave army triumphant over so many kings. This inconceivable frenzy merits pity; the unhappy people are led astray, only to conduct them to ruin. The general-in-chief, faithful to the principles the French nation have adopted, who do not make war on the people, earnestly wishes to leave a gate open to repentance; but those who, in twenty-four hours, shall not lay down their arms, and take anew the oath of obedience to the French republic, shall be treated as rebels, and their villages burned. May the terrible example of Binasco make them open their eyes! its fate shall be that of all the towns and villages which persist in revolt.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

Bonaparte proceeded to Pavia, which he reached at day-break, when the rebels were driven

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back. The place was filled with a multitude of people, and in a state of defence; the castle was taken, and the French troops were prisoners. The general made the artillery advance, and, after some discharges, summoned the insurgents to submit, and have recourse to French generosity; but they answered, "that while Pavia had walls, they would not surrender." General Dammartin formed the 6th battalion of grenadiers in close column, with two eight pounders in their van; and, each man having a hatchet, the gates were burst open, on which the multitude dispersed, and sought safety in caves and on house-tops, attempting, by throwing down tiles, to dispute the entry of the troops into the streets. "Thrice," said Bonaparte, "had the order to set fire to the city expired on my lips, when the garrison of the castle arrived, and hastened with cries of joy to embrace their deliverers. Their names were called over, and none were found missing; if the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, I had resolved to raise on the ruins of Pavia a column, on which these impressive words were to be inscribed, 'Here stood the city of Pavia!'" The result, however, declared, that Bonaparte had no great reason to boast of his *compassion*, for he ordered the whole municipality to be shot, and 200 hostages to be arrested, and sent immediately into France. The punishments of Bonaparte for insurrection were tremendous; the village of Binasco burnt, Milan given up to pillage for twenty-four hours, and many of its principal inhabitants put to death, and the municipality of Pavia shot, after the city had been taken, were terrible proofs of his inhumanity.

The French general-in-chief now issued a proclamation, stating, that the nobles, the priests, and the agents of Austria, had led astray the people of these delightful countries; that the French army, as *generous* as brave, would treat as brethren the peaceable natives, but that it would be terrible as the fire of heaven to rebels, and to the villages that gave them protection. He therefore declared all those villages in a state of rebellion which had not complied with his order of the 25th; and ordered the generals to march against them the troops necessary to suppress the insurgents, to set fire to them, and to shoot, on the spot, all who had arms in their hands. All priests and nobles, in the rebellious communes, were to be arrested as hostages, and sent into France; every village where the tocsin was sounded was to be instantly burnt; and the generals were responsible for the execution of the order. The villages where a single Frenchman was assassinated, were to pay three times the sum they annually paid to the archduke, until they gave up the assassin. Every man found with a musket and ammunition, was to be imme-

diately shot, by order of the general commanding the jurisdiction. Wherever concealed arms were found, the place was to pay thrice its usual revenue by way of fine; and every house, where a musket was found, was to be burnt, unless the proprietor declared to whom it belonged. All the nobles and rich persons who excited the people to revolt, were to be taken as hostages, and sent to France, and a part of their revenues confiscated.

Bonaparte, having removed his head-quarters to Brescia, made dispositions to induce Beaulieu to believe, that he meant to turn him by the head of the lake, in order to cut him off from the road to Tyrole, by way of Riva. At two in the morning, May 30, all the divisions were in motion, and marched towards Borghetta, where Bonaparte intended to cross the Mincio: they crossed that river, and engaged, when the Austrians fought with the utmost bravery, and retreated only after performing acts of the greatest intrepidity: the Austrians lost 1500 men and 500 horse in killed and prisoners; among the latter was Prince Cuto, lieutenant-general in the army of the King of Naples, and commander-in-chief of the Neapolitan cavalry. The French also took five pieces of cannon, two 12-pounders and three 6-pounders, with seven or eight waggons loaded with warlike stores. At Castlenuovo many magazines were taken, part of which, however, had been burnt. Thus the Austrians were driven out of Italy, and the French advanced posts reached the mountains of Germany.

The division of General Massena took Verona, which had been the refuge of Louis-Stanislaus, brother of Louis XVI. and of his little court of emigrants, to whom the Venetians had given a ready reception: but who, as before mentioned, had been ordered to quit the territories.

Vigorous measures were now adopted for the investment of Mantua. Accordingly, while Massena was posted at Verona, so as to intercept all succours at that side, and the garrison of Peschiera prevented the arrival of any supplies from the Tyrole, the French took possession of the suburbs of St. Georgio, and, established their head-quarters at Favorita; the cannon taken from the emperor and the king of Sardinia furnishing them with artillery sufficient for all the purposes of a blockade. Bonaparte, at the same time, addressed a proclamation to the Tyrolese, which preceded the march of his troops into the defiles of the mountains; he also took possession of the defiles of the Appenines, and seized on the fortress of Fuentes, situated on the lake of Coma.

In the mean time, new commotions took place in the Imperial fiefs, which border on the states of Genoa, Tuscany, and Piedmont; the communications of the army with the river of Genoa were menaced, the convoys attacked, and the couriers

assassinated. General Lasnes, having been dispatched to chastise the peasantry, entered the imperial fiefs with 1200 horse, arrested and shot the chiefs of the revolt, and burned their habitations. The same severity was displayed in the environs of Tortona; a proclamation was issued and strictly executed. All the seigneurs, holding imperial fiefs, were to repair in person to Tortona, there to take the oath of obedience to the republic; and if, within five days after the publication of the order, they had not done so, their goods were to be confiscated. The inhabitants were to carry, to the military agent at Tortona, within twenty-four hours after notice, the sum of the military contribution, which was to be enhanced one-tenth for each day's delay of payment. All persons, after the space of forty-eight hours, found with arms or ammunition, were to be shot. All the bells which sounded the tocsin were to be taken down from their steeples, and broken to pieces, within twenty-four hours after the proclamation; and those who neglected to do so, to be considered as rebels, and their villages burnt.

General Augereau having crossed the Po at Borgoforte, arrived at Bologna on the 19th of June, where he found 400 of the pope's soldiers, who were made prisoners. Bonaparte left Tortona on the 17th, and arrived, on the 19th, at Modena, whence he sent orders, by Adjutant-general Vignole, to the garrison of Urbino, to surrender prisoners of war; after this he continued his march to Bologna, where he arrived at midnight. The French took, in Fort Urbino, fifty pieces of cannon, in excellent condition, 500 muskets, and provisions for 600 men for two months. Fort Urbino was encircled by a wall, which covered bastions, and surrounded by ditches full of water, having a covered way newly repaired. It was commanded by a knight of Malta, with 300 men, who were taken prisoners. At Bologna the cardinal legate was taken, with all the officers of the état-major, and four standards. The cardinal legate of Ferrara was also taken prisoner, with the commandant of that fort, who was likewise a knight of Malta. In the castle of Ferrara there were 114 pieces of cannon.

After taking Bologna, a French division proceeded to Ferrara and Faenza, whose submission promised that of Romagna; a column of the French army also marched from Reggio, across the Appenines, to Pistoia, and threatened to advance to Rome by the way of Florence. This intelligence threw the court of the grand duke into the greatest alarm. Manfredini, his prime minister, was sent to Bologna in great haste, to state to the French general, that, as a passage through Tuscany had been denied the troops of Naples, it would be unjust to violate a territory the allies had respected, and with which France

was at peace. The grand duke, however, could not hinder the French entering his territories, and could only get a promise from Bonaparte, that he would not enter Florence. The French army marched rapidly towards Leghorn. Bonaparte, on reaching Pistoia, acquainted the grand duke of the circumstance by a letter, wherein he observed that the flag of the French republic was hourly insulted in the port of Leghorn, the property of the French merchants violated, and every hour marked by some attempt against the French, as contrary to the interests of the republic as to the law of nations. The executive directory had often complained to the minister of his royal highness at Paris, who had been forced to avow the impossibility his master found in checking the English, and keeping neutrality in the port of Leghorn. The directory, therefore, felt it their duty to repel force by force, and make their commerce be respected; and had ordered him to send a division of the army under his command to take possession of Leghorn; he had therefore the honour to inform his royal highness, that a division of the army would enter that city on June 28, but would conduct itself agreeable to the principles of the neutrality it was to maintain; and the flag, the garrison, and the property of his royal highness and his people, would be scrupulously respected. The general was also to assure the grand duke of the wish entertained by the French government for a continuation of the friendship which united the two states, and of its conviction, that his royal highness, witnessing the excesses committed by the English ships, and, unable to prevent them, would applaud the measures adopted by the directory.

The French general left Pistoia to join the column already at the gates of Leghorn. An English frigate, on going out of the harbour, was fired at, but without effect. A few hours before the French troops arrived, more than forty English ships, fully laden, left Leghorn. The general ordered the Chevalier Spannoch, governor of the city for the grand duke, to be arrested; he was conducted to Florence, and sent to prison by order of the grand duke.

The consul of the French republic was ordered, by Bonaparte, to put seals on all the English magazines; and he was also ordered to take similar measures as to those appertaining to the emperor, the Empress of Russia, and, in general, all the princes or subjects of states with whom the French were at war; and to employ every means necessary to discover the merchandise deposited in the houses of the different merchants at Leghorn, and take possession of them. A strong garrison, under General Vaubois, was left in Leghorn. Bonaparte, with Berthier, and a part of the état-major, passed through Florence,

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BOOK II. and was entertained by the grand duke very superbly.

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The Pope and the King of Naples having made application for an armistice, it was granted to the King of Sicily, on the easy terms of withdrawing assistance from the combined army. In addition to the towns then possessed by the republicans, the Pope was obliged to surrender the city and fortress of Ancona, on the Adriatic; to pay the sum of twenty-one millions of francs, by instalments; and to give up 100 busts, statues, vases, or pictures, according to the choice of commissioners who were to be sent to Rome.

As the court of Vienna was confounded at the alarming progress of the republican army in Italy, the chief command was given to Marshal Wurmser, an officer both brave and experienced, having seen more than sixty campaigns, and who, although in his 80th year, was exempt from the infirmities of age. Wurmser had collected in the Tyrole the wrecks of the Austrian army, and received powerful reinforcements, while Bonaparte was employed in his expedition to Leghorn and against the states of the Pope. After the engagement of Borghetta, the Imperialists retreated to the mountains, with an intent to dispute the passes of the Tyrole: they fortified their lines from the lake of Garda to the Adige with infinite labor. Massena ordered General Joubert to attack the Imperialists by the Rochetta di Champion; the French climbed up the rocks, killed 100 men, and took 200 prisoners, with 400 tents and all the baggage. During this, the chief of battalion, Recco, having carried the important post of Belona, killed 300 men, and took 70 prisoners, the Austrians abandoned their entrenchments. Such was the event of the first battle between the two armies since the new general assumed the command.

Insurrections soon after appeared in the Romagna. General Augereau ordered a body of troops to set out, with cannon and waggons amply supplied. A numerous phalanx presented themselves, and were attacked by the republican troops at two points, the one on the side of Imola, and the other on the side of Argenta. The defence was terrible: but, after an engagement of three hours, disorder took place amongst the insurgents, and part were cut to pieces, and part saved themselves by flight; the town of Lugo was surrounded, and delivered up, for three hours, to be pillaged by the troops. Every individual found in arms was put to death. The army returned with an immense booty; and Bologna exhibited one of the richest fairs that had been witnessed for many years, the plunder being exposed there for sale.

On the 16th of July the siege of Mantua was hotly pressed forward, when the garrison made a most gallant resistance. About 4000 men sallied from two of the gates, and drove in all the French advanced posts, and retreated into the city. On

the 18th, General Murat and Adjutant-general Vignole, with 2000 men, were to attack the right of the Austrian entrenched camp; while General D'Allemagne, with a strong column, attacked the left. Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, with five gun-boats, gave a false alarm to the enemy, and, by drawing their fire, enabled the Generals d'Allemagne and Murat to carry disorder into the enemy's ranks. During this, Chasseloup, chief of brigade of engineers, under a fire of grape-shot from the ramparts, directed the opening of the trenches. The batteries of St. George, Pradella, and La Favorite, began to play against the fortress. Soon after the batteries opened, several parts of the town were on fire; and the custom-house, the palace of Colloredo, and several convents, were reduced to ashes. At day-break the Austrians made a sally, under a dreadful fire from the ramparts; but the republicans, posted behind banks, and occupying every place which could protect them from the enemy's fire, waited for them in silence, and annoyed them from concealed situations; the Imperialists returned within the walls, and the French, in the following night, succeeded in completing their trenches.

General Berthier had summoned the governor to surrender; observing, that, as he was attacked on all sides, he could not long defend the town, and that an ill-judged obstinacy would entirely ruin the unfortunate city; the laws of war, therefore, prescribed to him to surrender it; but, if he should persevere in his resistance, he would be responsible for the blood thus uselessly shed, and for the destruction of the place; a conduct which would compel the French general to treat him with all the rigors of war. The Count Canto D'Irles, general commandant, answered, that the laws of honor and of duty compelled him to defend the city entrusted to his command.

On the 29th of July, Field-marshal Wurmser attacked the posts of Salo and Corona, by which the city of Mantua was covered. Hereupon the French were obliged, not only to evacuate their points on the Adige, but even to raise the blockade of Mantua, with considerable loss. This success, on the part of the Austrians, inspired them with fresh animation; and in the course of the succeeding day they seized the prodigious magazines of the French in the vicinity of Brescia, nearly cutting off their communications with the Milanese, owing to the skilful exertions of their new commander.

No sooner had these happy tidings reached the ears of Pope Pius VI, who had neither political discernment nor discretion, than his vice-legat was ordered to take possession of Ferrara, now evacuated by the French; although Chevalier Azara, the Spanish ambassador, advised him, in the most friendly manner, not to take such a step, as it was a gross violation of the armistice between

him and the French republic. The people of Ferrara seemed extremely unwilling to be again put under the papal dominion.

The victories of Wurmser placed the French armies in a very delicate situation. On the 1st of August the army advanced, while the Austrians detached a force to Castiglione, where General Valette had been left with 1800 men to defend that important post, and to keep the division of Wurmser at a distance; but Valette was completely defeated, and escaped with only half his troops to Monte-Chiaro. Bonaparte, vexed by the issue of this affair, instantly suspended General Valette. The two armies faced each other on the morning of the 3d. The hostile armies joined battle on the 5th, and fought with the most obstinate perseverance. The Imperialists, not waiting the attack of the French, surrounded the advanced guard of General Massena, near Castiglione, and took General Pigeon prisoner, with three pieces of flying artillery. The French had hopes of penetrating the Austrian line, and the latter extended it in order to surround the French; the Imperialists were thrown into disorder, and retreated to Salo; but that place being in the hands of the French, they wandered through the mountains, and many of them were taken. Meantime General Augereau took Castiglione, and during the day maintained several obstinate actions with the enemy, who fought with great bravery.

General Wurmser assembled the remains of his army, and drew up between the villages of Scanello, which supported his right, and La Chiesa, which covered his left. Bonaparte hastened in person to Lonado, to be certain of the number of troops he could detach from it; but, on arriving there, a messenger summoned the commandant at Lonado to surrender, which was completely surrounded. Bonaparte had recourse to stratagem; there were but a few hundred men at Lonado, and the place must have surrendered; he ordered the messenger to be brought before him, and his eyes uncovered. Bonaparte told him, that, if his general indulged the hope of taking the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, he had only to advance; that he ought to know that officer was at Lonado, as every one knew the republican army was at that place; and that all the officers belonging to the division should be responsible for the insult he had been guilty of toward the general-in-chief. He then told the messenger, that, if his division did not, within eight minutes, lay down their arms, he would have no mercy. The officer was confounded at seeing the general, and returned with his answer. Preparation was affected to be made for attacking the enemy, when the whole column of 4000 men, with four pieces of cannon, and three standards, laid down their arms.

The French commander, when convinced of the destruction of all the hostile corps from Corona and Salo, on the 5th of August, instead of tarrying for repose, ordered the whole army to make a retrograde movement, whilst General Serrurier's division advanced from Marcaria, in order to turn General Wurmser's left. This movement had, in some degree, the desired effect, and Wurmser extended his right wing to observe their rear. General Augereau attacked the enemy's centre, while Massena attacked the right; the cavalry, under General Beaumont, proceeded to the right, to support the light artillery and infantry. The French were victorious, and obtained 18 pieces of cannon and 120 ammunition waggons. The Austrians lost 500 men killed, 8 pieces of cannon, and 2000 prisoners.

One portion of the Austrians was driven as far as Trent, while another retired to the banks of the Brenta, on which Bonaparte resumed his former position on the Adige, and sat down once more before Mantua.

While General Satruguet conducted the operations of the siege, the main body of the French advanced against the Austrians, who had already burned part of their flotilla on the lake of Garda; and, after being driven from the camp of Mori, retired to Roveredo, where Wurmser had established a most formidable line of defence, with the centre of his army supported by the castle of Colliano, his left strengthened by a steep mountain, and his right by the Adige. Bonaparte determined on an immediate attack, apprehensive that if he suffered this opportunity to escape him, the position of the Austrians would be rendered more formidable. Accordingly the troops, though greatly fatigued, were instantly formed into columns, (August 6,) and while General Dommartin commenced the battle of Roveredo with eight pieces of artillery, Massena advanced at the head of the grenadiers, who penetrated to the entrenchments, and cut down the barriers with their hatchets. On this the Austrians gave way, and were pursued by the republicans, who immediately took possession of Trent.

General Augereau and Massena forced the Austrians to raise the siege of Peschiera, and to abandon the line of the Mincio. On the 7th, Augereau passed the Mincio at Peschiera, while General Serrurier advanced to Verona, and got there at ten at night, the very moment the division under General Massena had recovered its former position; the rear-guard of the Austrians was yet at Verona, the gates of which were shut, and the draw-bridges raised. The provveditor of the Venetian republic being summoned to open them, answered, that he could not comply within two hours; Bonaparte ordered the gates to be burst open with cannon-shot. The French seized all the stores in the place, and resumed their former po-

BOOK II. sition, while the Imperialists retreated through the Tyrole.

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The gallant Wurmser, notwithstanding the loss of 6000 of his troops, displayed equal constancy, and after abandoning the banks of the Arisio, occupied the borders of the Brenta; but being pursued by the enemy, his rear-guard was overtaken and defeated at the village of Primolano, (August 9,) after which, Bonaparte immediately passed the defiles of the mountains, and commenced an attack on the main body. The Austrians, encouraged by the presence of Wurmser, fought bravely, but unfortunately their centre was pierced by the fourth demi-brigade of the line, and the fifth demi-brigade of light infantry; while Augereau, forcing a bridge, in spite of the opposition experienced on the part of a body of grenadiers posted there, entered Bassano, August 10, nearly at the same time, but in a different quarter from Massena, who had marched through the suburbs.

The intrepid field-marshal, finding himself cut off from the main body of the army, immediately assembled some horse, which had suffered but little during the action, and with great difficulty rejoined a division of 5000 cavalry, and an equal number of infantry in the neighbourhood of Montebello. With these poor remains of his army, he proceeded with remarkable celerity, by mounting his foot-soldiers behind the dragoons, and having crossed the Molinella, and defeated General Char-ton, who attempted to oppose his progress, he at length entered Mantua, August 27, to the great joy and surprise of the garrison, who had destroyed the works of the French, and carried into the place 140 pieces of heavy artillery, which the latter had left in their trenches, with provisions for a considerable period.

To conclude a final settlement with the Pope was found to be a matter of considerable difficulty, as the conditions exacted from him were much too severe. He was desired to liberate all persons, of whatever country, who were confined for their political sentiments; to decline prosecuting any for their religious opinions; to abolish the infernal inquisition; to renounce all claim upon Avignon and the Venaissin; to advance monthly the sum of 300,000 livres (12,500*l.* sterling) during the war; to leave Ferrara and Bologna, with their legislations, at the disposal of France; to yield different specified commercial advantages; and to agree, without any reserve, to all those conditions. A meeting of cardinals was summoned by his holiness, in order to deliberate on the terms thus offered by the republicans, who declared with one voice, that they were destructive of the rights of religion and sovereignty; and they were in consequence immediately rejected.

The Emperor of Germany, in the mean time, being deeply concerned for the fate of Marshal Wurmser, and the numerous garrison shut up in

Mantua, gave orders to Field-marshal Alvinzy to collect an army on the borders of the Tyrole, descending from thence in two divisions along the Adige and Piava to Verona, where the French army had established its head-quarters. The latter division was commanded by Alvinzy in person, who, having crossed the Piava and Brenta, engaged the van of the French army, conducted by Bonaparte in person, who forced his veteran opponent to repass the Brenta, after a smart engagement. But as the Tyrole division vanquished the enemy under General Vabois, Bonaparte found it necessary to retreat, for the purpose of defending the passes of the Adige.

As the Austrian general believed that it was now impossible to prevent the junction of the two divisions, he hoped he would soon be able to raise the blockade of Mantua; but General Bonaparte, clearly perceiving the dangerous consequences of such an event, instantly determined to hazard an engagement with Alvinzy's army, which had again proceeded as far as the Adige. Having passed that river, on the 14th of November, during the night, the republican general advanced to the village of Arcole, at an early hour of the morning, as the execution of his plan could not be accomplished without forcing his passage through it. Its natural strength was very great, being situated in the midst of morasses and canals, and the bridge leading to it was defended by the utmost display of military skill. The conflict, during the whole day, was clearly in favor of the Austrians, the French having lost many of their best officers, and a very considerable number of men.

A detachment of the republicans, however, took a circuitous route, and at last carried the village by a dreadful assault in the rear, before which the Austrians had conveyed away their baggage and artillery. The way being thus fairly opened, the French began a general action on the 16th of November, at the dawn of day; the centre of the Austrian army was soon vanquished, but, as the wings were secured by the strong nature of their position, no impression of any consequence could be effected. Bridges, by order of Bonaparte, were thrown over the impracticable parts of the morass during the night, and next day the battle was renewed with tenfold obstinacy; but the flanks of the Austrian army were turned by a number of skilful manœuvres, their rear being attacked by a corps in ambuscade, which created a general confusion, and the Austrians fled on all hands, the French gaining a complete but bloody victory. Bonaparte, in his dispatches to the directory, declared, "Never was field of battle so variously disputed as that of Arcole." The battle of Arcole had continued for three days, with remarkable and persevering obstinacy on each side.

In the mean time, the left wing of the French army had been forced by General Davidowich, who seized on the important post of Rivoli, and advanced to Castello-Nuovo, within eight leagues of Mantua: but Bonaparte, taking advantage of his late victory, ordered a body of troops, under General Massena, to repass the Adige and attack the successful division, which was forced, November 22, to retire behind the Arisio; while General Alvinzy, after losing about 6000 men in killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four standards, took refuge on the other side of the Brenta, leaving Mantua to its fate, which was gallantly defended by the veteran Wurmser.

Although the expedition of Alvinzy had a very unfortunate issue, it did not dispose his holiness to agree to the terms which were offered him by the French. Prior to the battle of Arcole, General Bonaparte had sent a letter to Cardinal Mattei, written with his own hand, requesting that he would go to Rome, using every exertion to prevail with his holiness to consider the genuine nature of his situation, and the imperious necessity of consulting his true interest, declaring that peace was the anxious wish of the republic. It was not till the expiration of six weeks that the cardinal's answer was received, which stated, "that his holiness, as sovereign pontiff and depository on earth of the precepts promulgated by the Saviour of mankind, had ever been solicitous for the preservation of harmony in the great family of Christians; that he had felt the extremest sorrow in seeing France delivered up to such wild excesses, and the children of the church plunging themselves into such horrible disorders; that the gentleness with which he had treated these wanderers from the fold of Christ, was so far from having its due effect, that, blinded by the success of their arms, the French government had exacted from him the overthrow and total destruction of religion, the gospel, and the church; that his holiness, after devoutly asking counsel from God, and re-

calling to mind the example of the ancient martyrs, was decided to try the chance of war."

Various opinions prevailed on the different successes of the contending parties. When the Austrians were triumphant, it was thought that victory had abandoned the republican standards. Much agitation was produced at Cremona, Casal Maggiore, and two villages in the environs of this latter town. At Cremona, after the surprise of Brescia, it was suggested to preserve the tree of liberty, to hang on it those who had assisted in planting it. At Casal Maggiore, the commandant, as he was going to embark, was insulted. His embarkation was strongly opposed, and, in trying to escape, he rushed into the river, and there met death.—The French garrison in the citadel of Ferrara suddenly left it, having spiked their cannon, and thrown into the river what ammunition they could not carry off; tranquillity was maintained until the arrival of the vice-legate, as before mentioned, which caused as much surprise as the departure of the French troops. His entry was modest, but having replaced the Papal arms, the municipality and national guards repaired instantly to the place, where they were again pulled down, and replaced by those of the republic. On the news of the victories of the French, the vice-legate returned to Rome; and, by the armistice concluded at Bologna, that city and Ferrara were to continue in the possession of the French.

The republican writers have not failed in warmly eulogising the juvenile career of Bonaparte in this campaign; but be it recollected, that the French general had fame and fortune to seek at this period, temptations which could not have induced Marshal Wurmser to take the field, as former victories had long established his reputation. When we impartially consider the deeds of the young commander and the veteran German, the contrast will certainly appear more striking in favour of the latter.

CHAPTER VII.

Campaign in Germany.—General Kleber's Victory and Defeat.—Various Engagements.—Successes of the Republicans.—Gallantry of the Archduke Charles.—Moreau crosses the Rhine.—Freibourg carried.—Actions at Renchen, Rastadt, and Ettlingen.—Movements of the hostile Armies.—Battle of Sultzbach.—Battle of Teming.—Jourdan put to flight.—Again defeated.—Death of Marceau.—Battles at Biberach and Schliengen.—Siege and Surrender of Fort Kehl.

HOLLAND having been totally subdued by the armies of France, military operations were for a while extinguished in that quarter; but, the war

raged in other parts with increasing fury. The armies of Austria were placed under the direction of the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's

BOOK II. brother, a popular and gallant prince. The command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse was given by the Directory to Jourdan, instead of Pichegru, though the former was reckoned the worst general that the republic of France produced; having been always beaten, except at Maubeuge, where his numbers, not his talents, procured him the victory.

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On the 23d of May, the Austrian commander-in-chief informed General Jourdan that the armistice was to cease, and that hostilities would commence on the last day of that month. General Jourdan accordingly marched with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, when General Marceau repulsed the Austrians on the right bank of the Nahe, and the French general Championnet was equally successful at Nidder Diebach. General Kleber, on the same day, marched towards the Sieg, and on the 1st of June obtained a victory over the Austrians, who lost 2400 men, including wounded and prisoners.

On the 16th, the archduke pursued Lefebvre; and General Kray, with thirty-two squadrons of light horse, and ten battalions of infantry, a corps of riflemen, and a number of artillery horse, marched towards Cologne and Dusseldorf. Gen. Kleber was defeated, but passed the Sieg in the night, and continued his route to Dusseldorf, while Jourdan crossed at Neuwied with the rest of his army, the archduke having given him but little trouble during his retreat.

Marshal Wurmser, who was stationed between Frankendal and the Rehut, his front protected by a canal, and his left wing by the Rebach, was attacked by General Moreau, the leader of the army of the Rhine and the Moselle. The French passed the fortifications, with the water up to their chins, in defiance of a tremendous fire of musketry and cannon. They engaged the Austrians with impetuosity, took their front works, and made bridges for the passage of their cavalry; the Austrians were defeated, and obliged to take shelter under the cannon of Manheim. The most part of the Austrian forces having gone towards the Lower Rhine, to pursue General Jourdan, orders were sent by the Directory to General Moreau to cross the river. Such was the gallantry of the Archduke Charles, that Jourdan retreated with great difficulty, having suffered a defeat at the Lahn. Hereupon the French resumed the positions they before occupied. General Moreau, pretending preparations for an attack of a serious nature, drew off his troops with the greatest privacy, and arrived at Strasburgh by forced marches; and although the waters of the Rhine were raised to an uncommon height, in consequence of an inundation, he accomplished the passage of the river, June 24, and reduced the fortress of Kehl by a sudden assault, which was situated on the opposite bank. The French

carried all the works in the islands of the Rhine with the bayonet, and with such rapidity, that the Austrians could not destroy the bridges which kept up their communication with their different divisions, and they fell into the hands of the French.

The French army was at first put in motion with the view of besieging Mentz, but another plan was suddenly projected by Carnot: and, in pursuance of his romantic scheme, a powerful army was to penetrate into the circle of Suabia, seize on the country adjoining the lake of Constance, march through the passes of Bregentz, and, after scaling the Rhetian Alps, enter the Tyrole.

General Laroche made himself master of the mountain of Knubis, said to be the highest of the groupe called the Black Mountains, taking two standards, two pieces of cannon, and 400 prisoners. Next day Freiburg was carried by General St. Cyr with the bayonet. The march of the republican left wing was always interrupted by conflicts with the enemy; but at Ost, the Imperial general La Tour made a vigorous opposition, though without effect. On the same day, Bibrach, in the valley of Kintzig, was taken possession of by General Ferinot. Possessed of Freiburg, Gen. Moreau could act against the left wing of the archduke's army, and cut off his communication with the Prince of Condé. It also laid open to him the territory of the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the roads which led to the Austrian magazines at Villengen and Rothwiel.

On the arrival of his artillery, General Moreau attacked and carried the camp of Wilstedt. On June 28, an action took place at the village of Renchen, when the republican army succeeded, having taken a number of prisoners and a quantity of light artillery.

General Desaix had orders to engage the Austrians at Rastadt on the 4th of July. To oblige them to abandon Rastadt by turning their left, General Lecourbe attacked them between Olbach and the mountains, while General Decaen was ordered to seize, if possible, on the bridge of Kuppenheim, and dislodge them from the mountains; and, after an obstinate conflict of three hours, the republicans forced them to abandon Kuppenheim. The left side of the river was still possessed by the Austrians near Olbach; the passage was forced by the French infantry, who also attacked the wood of Nidderbichel, and after a contest of three hours, they were successful, while another demi-brigade of infantry took possession of the woods near Ottersdorff. Both wings of the Austrian army being nearly surrounded, were under the necessity of seeking shelter by repassing the Murg. The French made 1300 prisoners, but their own loss was perhaps more considerable, as the Austrians, from their position, must have acted with greater advantage.

As General Wurmser, the gallant and veteran commander in this quarter, found himself far from adequate to the task of resisting such dreadful impetuosity, he instantly applied to the archduke for assistance, who, deeply sensible of the importance of giving the French a timely check in the Brisgaw, marched to his aid in person, with a large body of troops; but, before he could reach the place, the Austrians had been vanquished in different actions, and the French had forced the passes of the Black Forest in various parts. A junction being at length effected between the archduke and Wurmser, the Austrians took a most advantageous position near Ettlingen, waiting for the attack of the French. Here a sanguinary battle was fought on the 9th of July, in which the hostile armies exhibited the most desperate valor. The French began a bombardment, when many parts of the city being suddenly in flames, the garrison agreed to surrender, and the republicans, on the next morning, entered in triumph.

The Archduke Charles was eagerly pursued by the republicans, and upon learning that the French meant to cut off his communication with General Frolich and the Prince of Condé, who were marching to Stutgard, the archduke deemed it expedient to retire to Vahingen. Moreau posted some troops at Bruchsal, to watch the motions of the enemy in Philipsburg and Mannheim. General St. Cyr, after an obstinate conflict, drove the Austrians from Stutgard. His next object was to make them abandon their posts in the rear of that town; the attack commenced at four in the afternoon with uncommon severity, against General Baillet and Prince John of Lichtenstein. The former defended himself most gallantly till evening, when, as by the republicans occupying the ground on the right flank of the Prince of Lichtenstein, the fire of their musketry crossed in their ranks, orders were sent to General Devay, then on his march, to come forward with the utmost dispatch. He arrived when the troops under the command of the Prince of Lichtenstein were in danger of being totally destroyed, and compelled the republicans to retire. The prince gallantly effected the passage of the Neckar on the 19th of July, and encamped his troops at Felbach, that he might keep up a communication with Ulm, without experiencing any important opposition.

The Archduke Charles, with a considerable part of his army, marched from Nordlingen, crossing the Eger, to guard the roads to Donawert. The republicans compelled General Hotze to abandon his position, on the 8th of August; but the attempts against General Riese were defeated. The Prince of Condé had retired to Mannheim, where his royal highness was informed of the critical situation of Wartensleben, who durst not hazard an engagement with General Jourdan, to

which the republican commander wished, if possible, to force him. General Moreau arrived on the 9th, and next day came to an engagement with the left wing of the army of General Hotze, which they fought with the utmost fury, obliging his advanced posts to give way. On the 11th the Archduke made preparations for a general attack on the republicans; his principal army was in three columns or divisions, the centre being commanded by the Prince of Furstenberg, the right wing by General Hotze, and the left by General La Tour. The centre and left were to engage the same divisions of the republican army, while the division under General Riese repulsed them in the vicinity of Laningen, continuing its route with a view to reach the rear of Moreau's station. It was settled that a strong advanced guard should manoeuvre on the left wing of the French army, to compel them to abandon the heights of Umenheim. The battle took place on the 10th, at seven in the morning, when the Austrian army repulsed the advanced guard of the republicans; but the division which proceeded to Umenheim was under the necessity of retiring. By this the right flank of General Hotze being exposed, he was obliged to fall back to Forcheim; but the Prince of Furstenberg and General La Tour were enabled to maintain the advantages they had acquired. The conflict was most desperate, and continued seventeen hours; but when the Archduke was strengthening his right wing to bring it again into action, he received intelligence that Wartensleben was obliged to retreat towards Amberg, and that a division of General Jourdan's army had reached Nurnberg, with the intention of uniting its strength with the forces under General Moreau; this made the archduke conclude, that if he should be finally defeated the consequences might be alarming. He therefore reluctantly determined to decline an attack, although General Riese had proceeded successfully to Haydenheim, by obliging the French *etat-major-general* to retreat to Konigsbron, and got possession of four leagues of country in the rear of the French army. At the approach of day the Austrians began their retreat towards Donawert.

August 13, the archduke arrived at Donawert; and having passed the Danube, he encamped his army at Rain, behind the Acha, eight miles east-south-east of Donawert.

The French general brought his troops to Dillingen and Laningen, to pass the Danube, as the Austrians had made it impracticable to cross at any other place. Meanwhile General Ferinot took the route to Bregantz, where he seized a number of mortars, one howitzer, twenty-two pieces of cannon, forty large barges, and 40,000 sacks of oats, flour, and barley. By these wonderful movements the republicans established a communication between the armies of the Sambre

BOOK II. and Meuse, the Rhine and Moselle, and the army of Italy under General Bonaparte.

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1796.

The archduke determined to march to the relief of Wartensleben, whom Jourdan had pursued almost to Ratisbon; Wartensleben, however, retreated towards Wurtzburg. On the 24th the garrison of Koenigstein surrendered by capitulation, and the French obtained an immense quantity of military stores.

The Duke of Wirtemberg and the Margrave of Baden, being deprived of their territories, dispatched ambassadors to the executive directory of France, to treat for peace, which was readily granted, on condition of their abandoning all alliances, offensive and defensive, against the republic, ceding to France whatever territories they possessed on the left side of the Rhine. The French also concluded a new treaty of friendship and alliance with his Prussian majesty, who rejoiced to behold the humiliation of the house of Austria, and whose attention was wholly engrossed with the way in which he might best convert the passing events of the war to his own advantage.

The people of Germany at first looked with a favorable eye on the French revolution, admiring the principles on which it was originally founded; but as the republican troops advanced into the empire, they began to perceive that there is no inseparable connection between principles and practice. So exorbitant were the contributions levied by the republican generals, in the principalities of Germany, for the support of their troops, that the people even lamented the loss of the milder tyranny of their own petty despots.

The army of the Rhine and Moselle took possession of Ulm and Donawert, and on the 24th of August reached the banks of the Lech, an extensive river which empties itself into the Danube, and by which the circles of Suabia and Bavaria are divided. Its passage was gallantly disputed by a large party of Austrians posted near Augsburg; but fortune still declared in favor of the French, and General Moreau having entered Bavaria in triumph, made himself master of Munich on the 27th.

The archduke having abandoned Donawert, occupied a strong position behind the Lech, where it joins the Danube, but having information that a division of the republicans under General Bernadotte was marching towards Ratisbon, while Jourdan's army was directly in front of Wartensleben's, his royal highness marched troops along the right bank of the Danube, leaving General La Tour to watch General Moreau, as he himself meant to pass the river at Ingolstadt, to act against Jourdan, while General Wartensleben was to engage him in front. He passed the Danube on the 17th of August, both at Neuburg and Ingolstadt, in which last fortress he placed a very strong garrison, not merely to protect his

own rear, but also to annoy the left flank of General Moreau, should he put in execution his intention of marching to Ratisbon and Landshut.

Lefebvre, having been ordered by General Jourdan to engage the right flank of the Austrians encamped at Sultzbach, where a large body of troops, with a powerful train of artillery, had been stationed by General Wartensleben, succeeded in forcing the Austrians to abandon the heights, after a gallant resistance. The republican centre was charged with the attack on the enemy's front before Sultzbach; and General Ney, to facilitate this object, marched with the vanguard from Herspruck towards Sultzbach, by the only road that was practicable for the conveyance of artillery. The distance was twenty-two miles, the whole road being flanked by lofty mountains, which enabled the Imperialists to do incredible mischief to the republicans. General Ney gave orders to attack the woods with the bayonet, while his right wing, to deceive the Austrians as to the ultimate point of attack, was ordered to ascend the hill. The Imperialists, under General Hohenlohe, began a heavy fire from the woods, but the French troops entering it, the Austrians, unable to resist, left them the possession of it. General Jourdan, changing his position, ordered General Colaud's division to support his vanguard, which, with the generals Ney and Grenier, enabled the right wing of the republican army to turn the left of the Austrians, and made them retreat to Sultzbach, their strongest, though only remaining position. It was wholly inaccessible in front, and the skirts of it were defended by artillery and infantry. A small plain on the left of the rock, being encircled with woods, the position of the republicans prevented their reaching it, except through a narrow defile. As it did not strike the Austrians that their left was in danger, they neglected to take possession of a hamlet, environed with trees and hedges, as well as of that part of the wood beyond the plain. General Jourdan, therefore, ordered General Ney to occupy the hamlet with light infantry, and Grenier was to get possession of the wood at the head of a brigade. The Austrians, on being made acquainted with these manœuvres, endeavored to recover the wood, but General Grenier compelled them to fall back towards the rock. The plain being held by the republicans, they commenced a heavy cannonading against the enemy. The heights on the left were at length reached by General Lefebvre, where the enemy fought with the most determined bravery. The troops by which the place was defended retreated in the night, which prevented Lefebvre from pursuing them; but as he was now master of the heights, the forces could encamp on the field of battle.

The generals Championnet and Bonneau

pressed on to Amberg, to check the progress of the Austrian troops stationed in that quarter, and came up with the enemy on the heights of Poperg. They were directly attacked, and forced to retreat to Amberg, after an obstinate engagement of twelve hours. General Wartensleben changed his head-quarters in the night towards Schwartzfeld, behind the Nab; and on the next day, the division under General Grenier marched to Amberg, and made the Austrians recross the Wils, one of the feeders of the Nab.

In the evening of August 18, the archduke was informed of General Wartensleben's being forced to abandon Amberg, and retreat across the Nab. Two days after he reached Hemmau, with his right column, which gave him the command of the road to Ratisbon, and allowed him to annoy the right flank of General Jourdan's army, which had marched towards the Nab. On the 22d, the archduke's advanced guard engaged the French under General Bernadotte, who had taken a position near the village of Teming. The republican forces were obliged by the Austrian general, Nauendorff, to retreat to Neumark, from which place he was driven the next day by the archduke; he retreated to Nurnberg, which left the right flank and the rear of General Jourdan's army totally exposed; and the military talents of Prince Charles enabled him to profit by the valor of his troops. Accordingly, he and General Wartensleben pressed upon General Jourdan on the 24th; the latter moving against the front, and the former against the flank of his army; which must have been followed by a decisive battle, had not the republican commander-in-chief been induced to retreat. General Bernadotte evacuated Nurnberg, and, in great haste, marched on towards Forchheim, while the Austrians at Lauff made it impossible for Jourdan to carry that passage. General Kleber retreated towards Pegnitz, where he received the orders of General Jourdan to march directly for Pondenstein, where he arrived at midnight. The archduke having dispatched Nauendorff by the way of Ratisbon, to co-operate with General La Tour, to threaten the left flank of Moreau, continued his pursuit of the French commander-in-chief. By the skilful movements of the archduke, Jourdan, on the 29th, found it necessary to retreat to Bamberg, where he took possession of both sides of the Rednitz. He was pursued by the archduke, but his retreat was well covered.

General Moreau sought to gain intelligence of the movements of the Austrians along the Danube; but it does not appear that he was acquainted with the sad reverses experienced by General Jourdan. General Desaix had orders to attack the enemy at Ingolstadt, on the 1st of September, and oblige them to destroy the bridge; the re-

publicans were attacked by the enemy at day-break, when General La Tour was reinforced by detachments from the prince under General Nauendorff, who, on his march, defeated the French, and forced them to take shelter in a wood. This was followed by a desperate battle, when the republicans were enabled to repulse General La Tour with great loss.

General Jourdan arrived at Schweinfurth, whither he had retreated by forced marches. Prince Charles reached Bamberg on the 31st of August, crossed the Maine on the 2d and 3d of September, and soon got possession of Wurtzburg, to which place General Jourdan used every exertion to arrive before the Austrians, and was only three leagues from it on the day it was taken possession of by General Hotze. Jourdan made a dreadful attack on the advanced guard of Gen. Hotze; but, instead of making any impression on their line, he was obliged to flee with precipitation towards Dusseldorf, with a scanty remnant of his army.

General Wartensleben was to pass the bridge at Dettolbach, and engage Jourdan's centre, while General Kray was charged with turning his left wing. The attack was begun by the troops under General Stzarray, but the republicans made him fall back, and deprived him of his first position. Wartensleben crossed the river with his cavalry, and came to action with the left wing of the French. Jourdan weakened his right wing, in order to strengthen his left, and thus enabled Stzarray to resume his former station. The left of Jourdan's army was repulsed by the Austrian cavalry, and obliged to take refuge behind the wood; his left wing was impetuously attacked by numbers superior to his own, and Jourdan again commenced a retreat, and again experienced misfortunes.

The retreat was committed to the youthful and gallant General Marceau, to be covered from the enemy, till the republicans were able to evacuate the defiles of Altenkirchen. While French chasseurs in a wood were firing upon Austrian hussars, Marceau arrived to reconnoitre the ground, with an officer and some artillery. A Tyrolean chasseur recognised his rank, and discharged a carbine at him, the contents of which passed through his body. The general descended from his horse, was taken to Altenkirchen, and carried through the columns by the grenadiers.

On the next day, September 4, Altenkirchen was occupied by the enemy's advanced guard; and when the Austrian general, Haddick, was told of the circumstance, he sent the wounded French general a guard of safety, accompanied by General Kray. Hopes of saving General Marceau were still kept up, and Prince Charles's principal surgeon exerted himself to the utmost

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in vain. In the morning the symptoms were more dangerous; the general was seized with a heaviness in his head, and expired about six o'clock. The Austrian regiments of Barco and Blankenstein, who knew him on the field of battle, disputed the honor of paying him the last offices; but they were prevented, as the French officers attending him prevailed upon Prince Charles to allow his remains to be given to his brethren in arms. The prince requested, that the Austrians might be acquainted with the moment of his interment, to join with the French in performing the last military honors; his body was interred in the fortified camp at Coblenz, under the discharge of the artillery of both armies.

The French having re-crossed the Rhine at three different places, the archduke detached a force towards Ukareth and the Sieg, taking the route towards the Maine, with the remainder of his forces, which river he crossed on the 28th of August, to commence hostilities against General Moreau, leaving a sufficient force between Mayence and Francfort. After the retreat of Jourdan, Moreau could not possibly penetrate farther into Bavaria, nor remain for any time in the places he then occupied; and Prince Charles could send larger reinforcements to General La Tour, in proportion as Jourdan retired from the Danube and the Maine. The hostile armies engaged on the 7th of September, near Mainburg; the Austrians were defeated by the centre of the republican army, and 500 of them taken prisoners. On the 11th, General Moreau commenced a retreat; he crossed the Lech, and gave orders to cut down all the bridges behind him; he then ascended along the banks of the Danube, and stationed his head-quarters at Ulm. Finding himself closely pursued by the Austrians, he united his forces in one body, and fell upon them with such fury, that he forced them to retire, and fall back by degrees towards the Rhine. A detachment from the Archduke, strengthened by troops from Mannheim and Philipsburg, attacked General Scherer on the 13th, who was stationed at Bruchsal, and obliged him to retreat to Kehl. Here the republicans were again attacked by all the forces the enemy could collect, who succeeded in getting as far as the head of the bridge over the Rhine, where they were checked by the batteries of that place, and were thrown into the utmost confusion. The works of importance remained with the republicans, who drove the Austrians from the town of Kehl by a tremendous fire. The national guards of Strasburg were ordered by General Moreau to secure Kehl, with the bridge and the forts on the isles of the Rhine, as of the utmost importance in his retreat.

October 1, General Moreau attacked General La Tour in his camp between Biberach and Buchau, and, after a long and sanguinary action, not only forced him to retire in confusion, but would probably have destroyed his army, had it not been for the emigrants, under Prince de Condé, who gallantly covered the retreat of the Austrians, and saved their baggage.

The Archduke Charles directed his march along the right bank of the Rhine, in order to cut off the retreat of General Moreau, and arrived at Radstadt on the 5th of October. To annoy the republican army in its retreat, a body of Austrians were stationed between the Necker and the Danube, as well as to cover all the passes of the Black Forest and mountains. General Moreau took the route of Stockach with the principal part of his army. All the defiles in his flank and rear were occupied by the Austrians, while the rapid movements of the archduke evinced a determination to destroy the bridges on the Rhine, prior to his arrival there.

It now remained for the republican army to force the passage of the Black Forest. The centre of the French army made a violent attack on the Austrians, stationed in the Val d'Enfer, a most terrific defile, narrowed by lofty mountains for several leagues, no more, in some places, than ten fathoms wide. The right and left wings soon cleared the defile, without any loss, and reached Fribourg on the 12th of October, taking possession of Waldkirch on the ensuing day, and ranging themselves along the heights on the right bank of the Eltz, while the convoys and baggage, under the protection of the right wing, passed by the way of the Forest towns. On finding that it was not practicable to prevent the retreat of General Moreau, La Tour proceeded to join Prince Charles near Hornberg, and the Prince de Condé and General Frolich pursued the French, while retreating through the Black Forest and mountains. The archduke, having united his forces, gave battle to the left wing and centre of the republican army. Wartensleben, with the centre division, was to force the heights behind Martinsell; and General Petrasch, with the left wing, was ordered to march to Emdingen. La Tour, who commanded the right, had a terrible opposition, being repeatedly repulsed in his attempts on Kendringen; till the archduke, with the grenadiers, made himself master of the village, October 18. Upon this occasion, General Wartensleben was dangerously wounded in the arm, while bringing the centre into action.

On the 19th the Austrians attacked Nymbourg, but without any important effect. The next day, General Moreau abandoned the Brigaw, and retired towards Huningen, where a large bridge

was established. His position was formidable; his right wing touching the Rhine, his left at Kandern, and his centre division at Schliengen, where he meant to remain for some time, if the Austrians did not make him alter his resolution. The Imperial army moved, on the 23d, in four columns: those commanded by the Prince de Condé and the Prince of Furstenberg were to manoeuvre so as to prevent the republicans from sending troops from their left; the others, under La Tour and Nauendorff, were to attack the left wing, and endeavor to turn their flank. After an obstinate conflict, October 24, which lasted till night, the French retreated to Altingen, and passed the Rhine at Huningen, on the 26th, without any opposition. Thus General Moreau returned to Strasburg, the point whence he had set out, having effected a wonderful retreat.

In the Black Forest, the mountains rise in a bold manner, and so narrow was the defile through which Moreau had to force his way, that 50 men could scarcely march abreast. He succeeded, however, in repelling the constant attacks of a superior enemy, through a hostile country 300 miles in extent; and, when we consider that he turned upon his pursuers, defeated them in several engagements, and took many prisoners, cannon, &c. without sustaining any great loss, it is no wonder that this famous retreat became the ground of jealousy and envy to the other French generals, and particularly to Bonaparte.

General Jourdan being induced to resign the command, it was given to General Bournonville, commander-in-chief of the northern army.

The Austrians made many spirited efforts to gain possession of Kehl, and the bridge of Huningen, but were still repulsed; the archduke durst not leave the Brisgaw exposed to General Moreau, and the conquest of Kehl was of the greatest importance to secure his troops while in winter-quarters.

General Desaix, who was appointed governor of Fort Kehl, made a sally at the head of a body of troops, November 22, with a view of retarding the operations of the enemy, and obtained possession of the village of Suntheim, as well as of two redoubts in its neighbourhood; but he was at length repulsed by the archduke, and obliged to retire, having received a wound in the head. The archduke resolved on a regular siege; and, opening his trenches on the 25th of November, he commenced a cannonading, which lasted fifteen

days without intermission. A second attack was made upon it, December 11, when its defence became doubly dangerous and difficult, the intercourse with Strasburg being cut off by breaking down the bridge, and rendering their boats totally useless. After finishing their second parallel, the Austrians attacked and carried the republican camp, and the battery which defended it. The French were again rallied by General Lacombe; and, that they might fight with determined valor, he destroyed the bridges to prevent their return. This had the desired effect, and hereupon the Austrians were defeated with some loss.

The artillery of the Austrians, however, was too dreadful for the republicans to withstand; they had no communication with the opposite bank, and no hope of any relief. General Desaix proposed a capitulation to the archduke, and he signed it, allowing the French twenty-four hours to carry off their artillery and stores.

After the evacuation of Fort Kehl, the republicans only possessed one post on the right bank of the Rhine; this consisted of the French position at Come, intended to cover the bridge of Huningen, which had been for some time masked by thirteen battalions and two squadrons under the Prince of Furstenburg. Being attacked suddenly, at ten o'clock at night, by the left wing of the Austrian army, which advanced in three columns, they forced the barriers of a half-moon, and entered by escalade; the French retired into the horn-work, where they were threatened with an assault. On this, General Abbattucci, placing himself at the head of a body of troops, sallied forth on the Imperialists, who were trying to make a lodgment, and forced them to retreat; but, having received a fatal wound, of which he died a few days after, General Sisce, who succeeded to the command, held out for a considerable time, but was at length obliged to surrender the post, having been allowed two days to withdraw the garrison and stores.

The long defence maintained by the garrison of Kehl diverted the attention of the Archduke Charles from the affairs of Italy, where he intended to follow Wurmser, to stop the career of Bonaparte. This gallant prince, however, by a laudable union of talents and courage, liberated Germany from the yoke of France; by which an excellent opportunity was afforded of sending succours to Italy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Natal Occurrences.—Situation of Genoa.—Seizure of Elba.—Evacuation of Corsica.—Expedition against Ireland, under Vice-admiral Bouvet.—Its Failure.—Cruise of Commodore Warren.—Captain Nelson's Achievements in the Mediterranean.—Captures.—Attempt to re-capture the Cape of Good Hope by a Dutch Squadron.—Surrender of the Dutch Fleet.—Captures in the East Indies.—Expedition to the West Indies.—Consequent Captures.—Attack on the French Batteries.—Surrender of St. Lucia.—Expedition to St. Vincent's.—Surrender of the Enemy.—Attack on the Island of Grenada.—Surrender of the French.—State of St. Domingo.

BOOK II. IN the course of this year the trade of Great Britain received considerable injury from the successes of Bonaparte, notwithstanding the superior strength and admirable disposition of her navy. Although the Toulon fleet did not dare to put to sea, for fear of encountering the English, then cruising in the neighbourhood of Genoa, Admiral Richery found means to slip out with the following small squadron:

	Guns.		Guns.
La Victoire	80	Warwick	74
Jupiter	74	Duquesne	74
Barras	74	La Révolution	74

And the three following frigates: La Felicité, L'Embuscade, and La Friponne. After having captured several prizes in the Straits, he retired to Cadiz, where he remained some months blockaded up by a few ships under the command of Admiral Mann.

Genoa, no longer able to preserve even the appearance of neutrality, was obliged to shut her ports against the enemies of France; while, in Leghorn, the property appertaining to the coalesced powers was seized upon by the consul of that nation. Fortunately, however, all the vessels and most of the merchandise appertaining to Great Britain were removed; the former consisting of twenty-three sail of square-rigged vessels and fourteen Tartans, which were carried out to sea by Captain Freemantle, of the Inconstant. As the governor was supposed to have favoured the occasion, he was immediately arrested, and sent to Florence.

Hereupon it was determined, by the Viceroy of Corsica, to seize on some commodious station on the coast of Tuscany, as an arsenal for the English fleet; and the island of Elba being deemed proper for this purpose, a small squadron accordingly sailed from Bastia, with a body of troops, under Major Duncan, July 10. Commodore Nelson having joined the convoy, a landing was effected; and the Captain, of 74 guns, placed within half-pistol shot of the grand bastion. On this, the governor consented to a capitulation; and the town of Porto Ferrajo, with

100 pieces of cannon, was immediately surrendered.

On the 20th of October, however, the British evacuated the island of Corsica. The people of this island seemed to submit with satisfaction to the dominion of his Britannic Majesty, while Jacobinical rage was at its height in France; but as soon as a regular government was established in that country, they appeared to be extremely anxious to be re-united to that republic, and abandon their new allegiance. Sir Gilbert Elliot perceiving, during a tour into the interior of the island, which he accomplished not without personal danger, that an universal fermentation prevailed, and the Corsicans were assembled in great force, after being joined by a body of French troops under General Gentili, the viceroy intimated his determination to withdraw his troops. This was not accomplished, however, at Bastia and St. Fiorenzo without some bloodshed; and several of the magazines fell into the hands of the enemy. The people of Corsica, being formed into primary assemblies, sent a deputation to the commissioners of the French republic in Italy, solemnly to renounce the title of subjects of the King of Great Britain, and renew their oaths of fidelity and constancy to the French republic.

An armament had been long preparing in Brest harbour, designed to cover a descent upon Ireland, which at that time was in a very distracted situation; but, owing to certain unavoidable causes of delay, it was not ready to put to sea till the 10th of December. It consisted of eighteen sail of the line and thirteen frigates, commanded by Vice-admiral Bouvet, having a fleet of transports under convoy with 25,000 men, at the head of whom was the celebrated General Hoche. It having been given out that the squadron was intended against Portugal, and manifestoes actually procured, drawn up in that language, for the purpose of concealing the object of its destination, Hoche employed a native of Ireland (M. Shee) to compose and print proclamations; in which he endeavoured to seduce his countrymen by fallacious promises; but the principal dependance of

during the course of the summer and autumn of the preceding year; but a considerable interval elapsed before it reached its place of destination. At length, in 1796, the fleet arrived at the island of Barbadoes; and soon after, Lieutenant-general R. Abercromby determined to commence operations. On application to the admiral on that station, a naval force was procured, for an expedition against the Dutch settlements. This consisted of the *Malabar*, *La Pique*, and *Babet* frigates, under Capt. Parr; on board of which, the *Grenada* transport, and some smaller vessels, Major-general Whyte embarked, with the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, accompanied by a detachment of artillery. On the 15th of April, after a passage of seven days, this small squadron having arrived on the coasts of Demerary and Essequibo, Governor Beaujon and the council were summoned to surrender the colony. A capitulation was immediately agreed to, April 22, and the British troops took possession of Fort William Frederick. Major-general Whyte having left Lieutenant-colonel Hislop, and a small garrison behind, proceeded to the little colony of Berbice, which also surrendered May 2.

At the very time when Demerary and Essequibo were surrendered to Great Britain, the troops destined for the attack of St. Lucia sailed from Carlisle Bay, and anchored next morning at Martinico, under protection of a squadron commanded by Admiral Sir John Laforey. That officer having resigned his command to Rear-admiral Sir Hugh Christian, the expedition sailed for the place of its destination; and Major-general Campbell, with a body of 1700 men, effected a landing at Longueville's Bay, with very little opposition, consisting chiefly of a few shot from Pigeon Island, which was kept in check by a detachment of men of war. On the 26th of April they advanced to Choc Bay, and the centre division of the army disembarked near the village of Choc; upon which, about 500 of the enemy, stationed at Angier's plantation, retired to Morne Chabot, one of the strong out-posts in the neighbourhood of Morne Fortune.

As it seemed absolutely necessary to occupy Morne Chabot before Morne Fortune was invested, the brigadier-generals, Moore and Hope, were detached that very evening to attack it on two opposite sides. The troops, consisting of seven companies of the 53d regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, 100 of Malcolm's, and 50 of Lewinstein's rangers, under General Moore, took a circuitous road; while General Hope, with 350 men of the 57th, 150 of Malcolm's, and 50 of Lewenstein's, marched by a nearer route. The complete success of the expedition depended greatly on their arrival at the same time; but, in consequence of some miscalculation, arising from the false information of the

guides, General Moore's division fell in with the enemy's advanced picquet an hour and a half sooner than was expected. The general, finding he was discovered, resolved to risk an immediate attack, without waiting the approach of the other column; and, notwithstanding the strength of the post and the paucity of the assailants, such was the gallant conduct of the troops, that the place was soon carried.

On the following day, General Moore occupied Morne Duchassaux, in the rear of Morne Fortune. A body of 300 seamen was also landed, under Captain Lane, of the *Astrée*, and Captain Ryves, of the *Bull-dog*; while Major-general Morshead, after obtaining possession of the bar of the Grand Cul de Sac, assumed an appropriate position on the south side.

In conformity to the original plan for the investment of Morne Fortune, the commander-in-chief, being determined to drive the enemy from their batteries on the base of the mountain, on the side of the Grand Cul de Sac, in order to open the bay to the ships of war, a movement for that purpose was instantly made. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, Brigadier-general Hope carried the battery called *Seche*, within a short distance of the principal works. The loss on this occasion was by no means proportionate to the importance of the service, had it not been for the death of Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm, who unfortunately received a mortal wound, after the success was complete.

In the mean time, Colonel Riddle, with a column acting on the left, seized on, and for some time retained possession of the lower battery, called *Chapuis*; but another column, under an officer who commanded during the absence of Major-general Morshead, having omitted to cross the river at Cools, the two successful divisions were obliged to retire to their former position, while the ships of war, the *Madras*, *Pelican*, and *Victorieuse*, destined to enter the harbour, returned to their anchorage. Captains Wolley and Dilkes landed soon after, with a detachment of seamen, to assist in establishing batteries on the southern side of the Grand Cul de Sac; and the latter, with great labor and perseverance, succeeded in placing two 18-pounders and two carronades on the pinnacle of the hill.

In consequence of the difficulty of access to the Morne, the commander-in-chief was obliged to employ several bodies of soldiers and sailors, to form a road capable of admitting the transport of artillery from Choc Bay. Three hundred and twenty marines were sent ashore, whose conduct during this siege was truly gallant. On the 16th of May, batteries of 18-pounders were opened, and a second and third parallel completed; but a night attack on Vigie proved unsuccessful. A lodgment, however, was soon after made by the

BOOK II. 27th regiment within 500 yards of the fort, and a sally from the works was, at the same time, repulsed by Brigadier-general Moore.

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In the course of that evening, the enemy sent out a flag; and a suspension of arms being obtained, a capitulation followed, for the island of St. Lucia and its dependencies. Accordingly, May 25, the troops, consisting of about 2000 men, were made prisoners of war, the negroes disarmed, and the whole settlement put under the protection of Great Britain.

Efficacious measures were now adopted for the security of such of the English colonies as had been invaded by the enemy. As Dominica, by the gallantry of its own militia, had defeated the French, and subdued the rebellion of such of the planters of that nation as declared in their favor, preparations were made to suppress the spirit of revolt in other islands where it had proved more successful. For this purpose two separate expeditions were concerted, and, at the same time, prepared by General Abercromby and Major-general Nicolls. That destined for St. Vincent's having sailed for Kingston Bay, June 3, and disembarked on the 7th, the troops marched in one body as far as Stubbs; all the divisions being ordered to halt in the evening opposite to their respective points of attack. Next morning the enemy's flank was turned, and two 12 and two 6-pounders, with a couple of howitzers, were advanced within 600 yards of their works. Major-general Morshead proposed to carry the redoubt by assault, but the offer was declined, until Major-general Hunter's division, and some other troops on the right, availing themselves of the profile of the hill, had effected a lodgment within a short distance of the fort. The attack soon after commenced, and the enemy retiring in succession from their first, second, and third redoubts, rallied around the New Vigie, which was their principal post. Hereupon the Charibbs, and about 200 natives, who had joined the insurgents, made their escape into the woods; but Brigadier-general Knox and Lieutenant-colonel Dickens having soon after cut off all communication with the country, the French, to the amount of 700, were obliged to surrender on the 11th of June.

Equal success attended the expedition against Grenada. A body of troops disembarked at Palmiste, near Goyave, where the enemy had their principal posts; while Brigadier-general Campbell advanced in an opposite direction, from the

windward side of the island, to attack the enemy's rear. Immediate preparations were made for the assault of two strong positions on Morne Quaquo and Foret Noire, or Aches Camp; while a small detachment of three companies of the colonial black troops, and the grenadiers of the 38th regiment, proceeded against a fortified station at the head of Beauséjour valley, June 19. By these spirited and judicious movements, the troops, nearly at the same time, obtained possession of every post occupied by the enemy in the island. Captain Jossey, who commanded the French troops, surrendered June 20; but Fedon and his followers, after having seized on about thirty whites, whom they cruelly butchered, made their escape into the woods.

In the mean time the war was carried on with various success in the island of St. Domingo, the command of which had devolved upon Lieutenant-general Williamson. That officer, on account of the extension of the British posts, was obliged to recur to a dangerous plan, by the establishment of negro battalions commanded by French royalists, and the introduction of foreign troops, such as the British legion and the Rohan and York hussars. Bodies of colonial cavalry were levied at the same time, and horses were imported from America, to remount the 14th, 18th, and 21st regiments. His successor, Major-general Forbes, found himself under the necessity of taking about 900 inhabitants of the Spanish part of St. Domingo into British pay.

A body of about 7000 men, which had arrived at the Mole in the spring, under the command of Brigadier-general Howe, after a long and disastrous passage, became a prey to the diseases of the climate; add to which, the negroes and men of color, after obtaining their freedom and franchises from the whites, acted in concert with the enemy; who, on the failure of an attempt by the English to obtain possession of Léogane, entertained the design of straitening, if not closely investing, the town of Port-au-Prince, by means of an insulated mountain in the neighbourhood of the English post of Morne Grenier, and also of opening a communication through the Cul de Sac to the north side of the island. Major-general Forbes, however, forced the garrison of Bombarde to surrender, June 8; and the mulatto general, Rigaud, was nearly at the same time obliged to raise the siege of Irois.

the commander-in-chief was on the society of United Irishmen, then formed, and who were professed admirers of French republicanism.

The season of the year rendered this expedition extremely hazardous, and it was attended with nothing but misfortunes. Some ships of war were either lost or materially damaged on its first departure; and, by means of a heavy gale, the commander-in-chief was separated from the body of the fleet, which anchored in Bantry-Bay in a very shattered condition. Waiting for some days to no purpose for the arrival of General Hoche, the only person who was in possession of the orders of government, Admiral Bouvet resolved to return to Brest, which he accomplished with difficulty, as a ship of the line and two frigates foundered at sea. The British captured one frigate, and a ship of the line was driven on the coast. The only consolation left to the French was, that their schemes were not defeated by the naval force of Britain, but by the dreadful fury of storms and tempests. Thus the daring project of invading Ireland was happily frustrated; and such appeared to be the steady patriotism of all ranks at this period, that, had the enemy effected a landing, they would have been gallantly resisted by the yeomanry, the volunteer corps, and even the peasantry.

By the indefatigable exertions of the British cruisers, the remaining commerce of France was exceedingly harrassed and diminished during this year. Sir John Borlase Warren, with only four frigates, the *Pomona*, *Artois*, *Galatea*, and *Anson*, gallantly attacked a squadron of seven sail of French vessels, consisting of one of forty-four guns, two of forty, one of thirty-two, and one of thirty, with two armed vessels. This took place not far from the *Saintes*; and, after dispersing their convoy, the English captured the *Etoile* of thirty guns.

In the Mediterranean, Captain Nelson, on board the *Agamemnon*, accompanied by the *Meleager*, *Diadem*, and *Peterell*, performed, on the 25th of April, a brilliant exploit at *Loana*, having boarded and cut out four French store-ships, by means of the boats of his squadron, under the fire of the batteries, and amidst an incessant discharge of musketry. This gallant officer also took possession, in the same manner, on the 31st of May, of several vessels laden with cotton and ordnance stores, destined for the siege of *Mantua*, in the neighbourhood of *Oneglia*, undauntedly boarding the enemy, amidst the fire of three 18-pounders stationed on shore, and a fourth mounted in a gun-boat. The same indefatigable commander, assisted by Captain Craufurd in the *Blanche*, soon after fought two stout Spanish frigates, captured the *Sabina* of forty guns, and would have carried both her and her consort into port, had they not been prevented by a superior squadron of the enemy.

On the 13th of October, Admiral Duncan blockaded the *Texel*, to prevent the sailing of the Dutch fleet, and captured a frigate and a sloop of war belonging to that nation. Captain Williams of the *Unicorn*, of thirty-two guns, and Captain Martin of the *Santa Margarita*, a ship of equal force, pursued and took two heavy frigates of forty and thirty-six guns; and also obtained possession of the *Porcupine*, of thirty, twenty-six of which were 18 pounders, after a chase of eight hours, and a gallant action of forty-five minutes.

Captain Bowen, of the *Terpsichore*, of thirty-two guns, also distinguished himself by the capture of the *Mâhonesa*, a Spanish frigate of thirty-four guns, near *Gibraltar*. He soon after forced the *Vestale*, a French ship, which carried the same number of guns as his own, to strike: she escaped, however, the next morning into *Cadiz*, under jury-masts, and was in vain demanded.

Captain Trollope certainly fought one of the most gallant actions during the war, in the *Glatton* of fifty-four guns, which was formerly an *Indiaman*, and at this time carried carronades of a large calibre. This brave commander having, on the 16th of July, fallen in with six frigates, accompanied by a brig and a cutter, off *Helvoet*, undismayed by either the number or the force of the enemy, bore down upon and came up with them late in the evening, and, notwithstanding he was surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at once on the lee-quarter, the weather-bow, and the stern, so incessant and severe was the fire of his battery, that his adversaries thought proper to retire.

During this year the navy of Great Britain did not lose a single ship of any force, while, on the contrary, upwards of seventy sail of armed vessels belonging to the enemy were either detained or captured; among which were five line-of-battle ships, nine of forty-four guns, and three of forty.

The re-conquest of the Cape of Good Hope had been undertaken by the Dutch early in this year, but the attempt proved in the end abortive. A squadron was fitted out under Rear-admiral Lucas, who was also to command a small body of troops, which he carried along with him. The following is a list thereof:—

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
<i>Dordrecht</i>	Rear-adm. Lucas ..	66	370
<i>Revolution</i>	Capt. Rhnebende ..	66	400
<i>Adm. Tromp</i> ..	Capt. Valkenburg ..	54	280
<i>Castor</i>	Capt. Clarisse	44	240
<i>Braave</i>	Capt. Zoetmans	40	234
<i>Bellona</i>	Capt. Valk	28	130
<i>Serene</i>	Capt. De Cerf	26	130
<i>Havik</i>	Capt. Bezemer	18	76
<i>Maria</i> , (store-ship)			112

Total 342 1972

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Lieutenant-colonel Henri embarked with the rank of adjutant-general, and M. Grandecourt, a French officer, acted as commandant of the artillery, the whole of which appears to have consisted of only four field-pieces; but as many of the ships' guns were of brass, they might easily have been landed and rendered fit for service.— In addition to this force, a small fleet was promised on the part of France, whose interest it obviously was, that this settlement should be restored to the Dutch.

Admiral Lucas's squadron sailed from the Texel in the month of March; and, as it was dangerous to pass through the English Channel, he shaped his course by the eastern coast of Scotland and the Orkneys, preferring a circuitous passage to a direct one. By these means the voyage was rendered extremely tedious, and the armament exposed to storms and disease; which not only diminished his men, but produced a discovery of his design. Admiral Pringle, who was then cruising in the North Sea with an inferior force, perceived the intention of the Dutch, and immediately returned to port, communicating the intelligence to the Admiralty. Unluckily for the Dutch, Captain Charles Brisbane, in the *Moselle*, descried the squadron some time after, and quickly altered his course for the purpose of giving timely notice to the commander-in-chief. This officer, for his conduct on this occasion, was made a post-captain.

If Admiral Lucas had reached the Cape after a short voyage, he would have met with only a single ship on that station, as Vice-admiral Elphinstone was then in the East Indies; and several men of war, the *Tremendous*, of 74, *Trident*, of 64, *Jupiter*, of 50, &c. arrived but a few days after himself. His tardy movements gave sufficient time for collecting a formidable fleet, which immediately proceeded on a cruise, for the express purpose of intercepting him.

On the 2d of August, General Craig having received intelligence that nine ships had anchored in Saldanah Bay, no less than five different vessels were dispatched in quest of the English admiral; while the commander-in-chief, leaving Major-general Doyle with about 4000 troops in the Cape Town and neighbourhood, proceeded through a country never before explored by an army, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with an advanced guard, consisting of the light infantry, a body of Hottentots, and a few horse.— As these troops were descending towards the shore, they perceived the British fleet, which, after putting into False Bay for intelligence, had sailed during a violent gale, and was now advancing with a fair wind, directly for the mouth of the harbour. This squadron, under Sir G. Keith Elphinstone, K. B. consisted of the following ships:

Ships' Names.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Monarch	Vice-adm. Sir G. K. Elphinstone	74	612
Tremendous	Rear-adm. T. Pringle	74	590
America	Commod. J. Blankett	64	491
Stately	Capt. Belly Douglas	64	491
Ruby	Capt. John Waller	64	491
Sceptre	Capt. W. Ephengton	64	491
Trident	Capt. E. O. Osborne	64	491
Jupiter	Capt. Geo. Lossack	50	343
Crescent	Capt. Edward Buller	36	264
Sphinx	Capt. And. Todd	24	155
Moselle	Capt. C. Brisbane	16	121
Rattlesnake	Capt. Edward Ramage	16	121
Echo	Capt. J. Turner	16	121
Hope sloop	Capt. Thomas Alexander.		

About sun-set, the British fleet appeared off the bay; and the *Crescent*, which had been ordered a-head for information, gave notice by signal, that two sail of the line, three frigates, and other ships were moored there. The English squadron soon after dropped anchor within cannon-shot, when the admiral, fully aware of the enemy's inferiority, instead of commencing an immediate attack, transmitted a written summons to the Dutch commander; and, on receiving a positive assurance, that no damage should be done in the mean time to any of the vessels, hostilities were suspended until the morning. At the stipulated period, an officer repaired on board the flag-ship, and Rear-admiral Lucas capitulated for the surrender of the armament, which was accordingly effected, without firing a single gun, on the 17th of August. On his return to Holland, the Dutch admiral was imprisoned in the Hague, and died during the course of his trial.

At the beginning of the year, the remaining settlements of Holland in the East Indies were, without any difficulty, captured. Admiral Sir G. Keith Elphinstone having dispatched a small detachment of the king's, and eight of the East India Company's ships and vessels, under Capt. A. H. Gardner, with a body of troops commanded by Colonel James Stuart, the fort of Negombo surrendered Feb. 5, and Colombo capitulated on the 14th.

On the 15th of February, the island of Amboyna, and on the 8th of March that of Banda, with their several dependencies, were taken by Admiral Rainier, who found a considerable sum of money in the public treasury, and a large quantity of nutmegs, cloves, and mace, in the magazines.

The mortality that had occurred among the British troops in the West Indies, rendered a new army absolutely necessary in that quarter. A formidable expedition was accordingly prepared

CHAPTER IX.

Renewal of the Campaign in Italy.—The Austrian Commander reinforced.—Corona stormed.—Bonaparte's Measures.—St. Michael carried.—Obstinate Engagement at Rivoli.—The Austrians defeated.—General Provera forced to surrender.—Retreat of Alvinzy.—War with the Pope.—Letters on the Occasion.—The Austrians again take the field under the Archduke Charles.—Battles of Cainin and Lavis.—Capture of Gradisca.—Various Actions.—Peace of Leoben.

THE campaign in Italy, under General Bonaparte, terminated more favorably for the French than that in Germany, under the generals Jourdan and Moreau. Nothing but disasters had attended the Imperial commanders in their endeavors to defend the Italian possessions of the emperor; yet the power of the house of Austria was very conspicuous, from the rapid manner in which their losses were repaired; and the exterminated armies were almost instantly supplied by others. New levies were made through the hereditary states, after the battle of Arcole; and General Alvinzy received prodigious reinforcements with such expedition, that he found himself enabled once more to take the field with a numerous army. After passing the Brenta, and carrying the important post of Corona by assault, he forced General Joubert to fall back on Rivoli.

As soon as Bonaparte, who had been for some time at Bologna, became acquainted with this military irruption, he instantly ordered the column he had assembled to set out by a forced march to reinforce General Augereau's division, and oppose the enemy's enterprises on the Lower Adige. He himself set out for the blockade of Mantua, and after giving the necessary orders, proceeded from thence to Verona, where he arrived at the moment the Imperialists attacked in force the advanced guard of Massena's division, posted at St. Michael. The contest was severe, but in two hours the Austrians were repulsed.

In the mean time, the village of San Martino was repeatedly seized and retaken by both armies, and the event of the action still remained doubtful; when General Joubert, whose horse had been killed under him, rallying some battalions of infantry, which had given way, overtook the Austrians in the neighbourhood of Rivoli, while Berthier, making a charge with the cavalry, obliged them to retreat to the heights of Corona.

The Imperialists threw a bridge across the river at Anguiari, by which their advanced guard passed; and on the same day Bonaparte learned that General Joubert was forced to evacuate La Corona, to assume a position in front of Rivoli. The general had intelligence that the enemy commenced a lively cannonade on the Adige, be-

tween Ronco and Porto-Legnago. The forces in front of General Joubert left no doubt as to the intentions of the Austrians. It was evident that Alvinzy wished to penetrate by Rivoli with his principal forces, and in this direction to reach Mantua. Bonaparte formed his resolution, and put in motion a part of the division of General Massena. He ordered the troops under General Rey, at Desanzano, to advance in different columns to Rivoli, and set out in person, with all his état-majors, for that place, which he reached at midnight. General Bonaparte having assumed the command, directed Joubert to resume the position in front of the plateau of Rivoli, and particularly the post of San-Marco, which had been evacuated. This was the only point by which the enemy could advance their cavalry and artillery, between the Adige and the lake of Garda.

The commander-in-chief spent the night in viewing the ground, and the position of the Imperialists, who occupied a formidable line, nearly 20,000 strong, their right at Caprino, and their left behind San-Marco. Alvinzy had formed his plan of attack, when he hoped to surround General Joubert's division. This he now strove to execute, without a suspicion of the arrival of the French general in person, or of the reinforcements. The order to retake the small posts in front of the plateau of Rivoli, occasioned a fire of musketry between the advanced posts; but the re-capture of San-Marco by the French, at five in the morning, brought on a general battle, January 14, which gave uneasiness to Alvinzy, as it retarded his plan of attack. In this engagement, however, consummate skill and bravery were displayed on both sides.

One of the Austrian columns proceeded to the plateau of Rivoli, with an intent to carry it, and in this direction threatened to turn the right and centre. Bonaparte ordered General Leclerc to charge the Imperialists, if they carried the plateau; a detachment of dragoons was to flank the Austrian infantry, who attacked the French centre. Joubert sent some battalions from the heights of San-Marco, who threw themselves on the plateau, and the Imperialists were driven into the valley of the Adige, leaving a great number

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of dead, and part of their artillery. The Austrian column, which had been on its march to turn the French, and cut off their retreat, formed behind Rivoli, and covered all the heights between the Adige and the lake of Garda, so that the French line was completely turned. The Austrians, confident of success, advanced with fury to carry the entrenchments of Rivoli, but were repulsed in three different attacks; meanwhile, Bonaparte had planted four pieces of light artillery, that cannonaded the right of the Austrian line. The troops, under Generals Brune and Mounier, advanced in three columns, and attacked the right wing of the Austrian line. In an instant the whole Austrian column, consisting of 4000 men, were taken prisoners.

Bonaparte, having no intelligence of General Augereau, thought his communication with Verona might be intercepted. The Imperialists still had Corona; Joubert was to attack that place, and he directed the troops which Joubert could spare to proceed towards Verona and Castel Nuovo, and set out for the latter place, where he learned that the Austrian column, of 10,000 men, under General Provera, had crossed the Adige under the fire of a numerous artillery at Anguieri; and that General Guieux, who guarded the Adige in that quarter, was obliged to retire to Ronco. Having arrived at Villa Franca, he ordered four demi-brigades to advance from that place; and concluding that Augereau, if not defeated, was following General Provera, he proceeded to Roverbella, where he arrived with his reinforcements. General Provera, at the head of 10,000 men, had marched to the relief of Mantua, expecting the powerful co-operation of General Wurmser, who was apprised of the design.

Bonaparte hastened to St. Anthony, and gave orders to attack General Provera. This general, unable to make himself master of St. George by main force, and having no intelligence of Alvinzy's army, could not indulge a hope of engaging the French with advantage, when acting with a powerful sally of the garrison of Mantua. Bonaparte labored to prevent this, and surround the column of Provera. General Serrurier, with 1500 men, proceeded to La Favourita, whilst General Victor attacked and turned General Provera's troops; and General Miolis, who occupied St. George, made a sally so fortunately, that Provera found himself and his column completely surrounded; on which this gallant general, and the remainder of his column, surrendered at discretion.

While one wing of Alvinzy's army was thus forced to capitulate, the general himself was obliged to make a precipitate retreat. The division of General Augereau proceeded to Padua, and advanced to Citadella, from whence the Austrians fled at its approach. General Mas-

sena, who had left Vicenza to drive the Austrians from Bassano, learned, on the 26th of January, that they had evacuated that place in the night, and proceeded to Carpenedolo and Crespo; he therefore directed General Menard to file along the right bank of the Brenta to Carpenedolo, and ordered another party, with two pieces of artillery, to proceed to this village by the left bank of the Brenta; these troops came up with the Imperialists near Carpenedolo, when an action took place on the bridge; but the latter were forced to retreat, leaving 200 dead and 900 prisoners. General Joubert marched after the Austrians, who fled into the Tyrole, where he encountered their rear guard; and, at Avio, after a slight action, took 300 prisoners.

The Imperialists retired to Mori and Torbola, their right covered by the lake, and their left by the Adige. General Murat embarked with 200 men, and landed his troops at Torbola. General Vial, with the light infantry, after a severe march through the snow, turned the position of the Austrians, and obliged 450 men and twelve officers to surrender. General Joubert entered Roveredo; and the Austrians, having fortified the pass of Calliano, famous by the victory which the French gained there on entering the Tyrole, seemed to dispute their entrance into Trent. General Beliard strove to turn the right of the Austrians, while General Vial routed them, and arrived at Trent, where he found 2000 sick and wounded the Austrians had left behind them in their flight; several magazines were also taken at this place. General Massena ordered two demi-brigades to advance, and attack the castle of La Scala, but its defenders fled on the approach of the French, and left a part of their baggage behind them.

The gallant but unfortunate Wurmser had often sallied, but had always been overcome; yet his valor gained him the admiration of the enemy he fought with; the siege which he sustained is said to have cost the emperor 22,000 and the French 24,000 men, and at last was abandoned through the pressure of famine and disease. On the 2d of February a conference was held between Generals Wurmser and Serrurier, to settle the articles of capitulation, when it appeared that the hospitals were crowded with sick, and all the horses were devoured by that part of the garrison who had survived the dreadful conflicts without, and the horrors within, the walls.

The citadel was taken possession of on the 3d: the Austrians marched out with the honors of war, but became prisoners. General Wurmser was exempted with his whole suite, the general officers, the état-major, and whoever else the brave veteran thought proper to nominate. He was allowed 100 cavalry, six pieces of cannon

and their waggons, and 500 persons of his own choosing; and the 700 men who accompanied him were not to act in a hostile manner against the French republic for three months.

General Bonaparte, who knew the value of a compliment in season, would not let this opportunity slip of paying his court to the army; he therefore addressed them in a proclamation, in which he detailed their exploits—told them that they had proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy engagements—had taken more than 100,000 prisoners, 500 field-pieces, and 2000 large cannon; that the countries they took had paid the army, and that they besides had sent home thirty millions. He added, that the kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope and the Duke of Parma, were now leagued with them; that the emperor alone was opposed to them, and that they were to seek for peace in the states of Austria; and concluded by telling them to remember that they were carrying *liberty to the brave Hungarians*.

From the recent measures adopted by the court of Rome, it appeared manifest, that the pope was determined on his own destruction. Not confining himself to a strict neutrality in relation to the belligerent powers, he exhibited an invincible hatred against the French republic, with which it was impossible for his feeble arm to contend. Cardinal Busca, secretary to his holiness, was informed by the first minister of the Grand-duke of Tuscany, Count Manfredini, that General Bonaparte did not wish to co-operate in the destruction of the papal see; but the pope, confiding in his own resources, and proud of being an ally of the emperor, despised the indirect overtures of the republican commander, and had made great preparations to assist General Alvinzy before the battle of Arcole, which, with the defeat at Rivoli, left his holiness at the mercy of his enemies.

General Bonaparte wrote to Cardinal Matthei, saying, that, as the court of Rome wished for war, she should have it; that to destroy the temporal power of the pope he had only to wish it. He told him to advise his holiness—the French government allowed him to receive proposals of peace, and all might be settled. The cardinal, in answer, said, that his holiness had always sought to maintain peace, and had suffered much from his wishes; that the success of his army in Italy had misled the French government; that they required of the pope to sacrifice his conscience, by the destruction of all that was the basis of religion and morality; that the court of Rome must prepare for war—his army was formidable but not invincible; that they wished also for peace, and would be happy to make one in the great affair of pacification.

On the 5th of January, 1797, Bonaparte re-

called the French minister from Rome, and wrote the following letter; BOOK II.

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“The influence of foreigners at Rome will be its ruin: the words of peace which I charged you to carry to his holiness, were stifled by men to whom the glory of Rome is nothing. You are witness how much I desired to avoid the horrors of war; but the letter which I send you, and of which I have the original, will convince you of the perfidy, blindness, and obstinacy of the court of Rome. Whatever may happen, I intreat you to assure his holiness, that he may remain at Rome without any inquietude; as the first minister of religion, *he shall find protection for himself and the Church*. My great care shall be to introduce no change in the religion which is established. BONAPARTE.”

General Bonaparte published a manifesto on the 1st of February, declaring, that his holiness had violated the armistice, and charging him with having entered into hostile negotiations with the court of Vienna; with having put his troops in motion under the command of Austrian officers. The papal army was entrenched on the banks of the Senio, where General Victor, on the 3d of the same month, attacked them with his division, when the encounter became sharp, but of short duration. They were incapable of sustaining the shock of the bayonets, being driven from their entrenchments with the loss of 1500 men and fourteen pieces of cannon, whilst the loss sustained by the republicans did not exceed forty men in killed and wounded. General Bonaparte, leading the army in person, marched to Faenza, the gates of which were shut against him, but which he carried by assault. Romagna, the Duchy of Urbino, the towns of Cesana, Forlì, and Ravenna, and the whole *marche* of Ancona, surrendered to the French in the course of a few days.

A large magazine of arms and ammunition was found in Ancona, comprehending a train of artillery which the emperor had sent to the pope. A division of the French army likewise marched to Loreto, from which the greater part of the treasure had been removed before. What remained of that collection of wealth, which superstition had accumulated, was seized without any scruple, as well as the mysteries of the holy chapel, the *sancta casa*, &c. Even the celebrated image of the Virgin was packed up in a case, with the relics of her wardrobe and furniture, consisting of rags of coarse woollen cloth, earthen spoons, &c. and transmitted as trophies to the executive directory. Though these were mere trumpery, yet, as they belonged to the church which Bonaparte had *promised to protect*, the plunder of them cannot be vindicated.

General Colli, who had been posted in the vi-

BOOK II. cinity of Ancona with the pope's army, precipi-
tately retreated as the republican army advanced;
CHAP. IX. and no where daring to make a stand, the French
1797. marched, without molestation, through Macerata
to Tolentino, but a few day's march from the papal
metropolis, when Bonaparte received a letter, in
the hand-writing of his holiness, to the following
purport:

POPE PIUS VI. TO GENERAL BONAPARTE.

"Dear son, health and apostolic benediction !

"Desiring to terminate amicably our differences with the French republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you, as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Matthei, who is perfectly known to you, and M. Galeppi; and two seculars, the Duke Louis Braschi, our nephew, and the Marquis Camillo Massimo; who are invested with our full powers to concert, promise, and subscribe such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in a special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. Assured of the sentiments of good-will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and presenting you with the paternal apostolic benediction. "Pius, P. P. VI."

Given at St. Peter, in Rome, the 12th February, 1797, the 22d year of our pontificate.

BONAPARTE, General-in-chief of the Army of Italy, to his Holiness the Pope.

*Head-quarters at Tolentino,
1 Ventose, 5th year.*

"MOST HOLY FATHER !

"I ought to thank your holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

"The peace between the French republic and your holiness is just signed. I felicitate myself on being able to contribute to your personal safety.

"I entreat your holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided exclusively by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory engenders.

"Europe knows the pacific inclinations and the virtue of your holiness. The French republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

"I send my aid-de camp, chief of brigade, to express to your holiness the perfect esteem and veneration which I have for your person, and to

entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, the respect and veneration, with which I have the honor to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

BONAPARTE."

The peace between the republic and the pope was ratified by the latter, and confirmed by the French government. It settled, that there should be peace, amity, and good-will between the republic and his holiness; and that the latter revoked all consent, by writing or promise, given to the coalition against the republic, and to every treaty of alliance, offensive or defensive, with any power or state whatever. It was agreed, that ships of war or corsairs of the powers armed against the republic, should not enter, during the present war, into the ports or roads of the ecclesiastical state. The republic should enjoy, as before the war, all the prerogatives which France had at Rome. The pope renounced all rights to the territory of Avignon, the Comtat-Venaissin and its dependencies, and gave the republic all his rights to the territories known by the names of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; he engaged to pay to the treasurer of the French army, before the 5th of March, the sum of 15,000,000 of livres Tournois, 10,000,000 in specie, and five in diamonds and other precious articles, out of the sum of about 16,000,000 still remaining due on the 9th article of the armistice, signed at Bologna on the 21st of June last, and to furnish to the army 800 cavalry horses equipped, 800 draft horses, besides oxen, buffaloes, and other produce of the territory of the church. The article of the treaty of armistice, concerning the manuscripts and objects of the arts, was to be completed with all promptitude. The French army was to evacuate the whole of the territory left to the pope, when the articles relating to the payments should be accomplished. His holiness agreed to disavow, by his minister at Paris, the assassination of Basseville, secretary of legation, and to pay the sum of 300,000 livres to those who suffered by that deed. He engaged to set at liberty those in confinement for their political opinions. The general in chief was to suffer his holiness's troops, who were prisoners of war, to return home; and it was agreed, that sundry articles of minor consideration were to be obligatory for ever on his holiness and his successors.

The peace between his holiness and the republic had but just been ratified, when Bonaparte's attention was recalled to the north of Italy, where the Austrians were again assembled in great force. General Alvinzy was dismissed from the command of the army, and succeeded by the Archduke Charles, and the court of Vienna still hoped that the deliverer of the empire and vanquisher of Jourdan would dissolve the charm by which

victory appeared to be attached to the arms of Bonaparte.

The French occupied the right side of the Piava, since the defeat of the brave but unfortunate Alvinzy. The Austrians collecting from all quarters, gradually formed on the opposite shore; and, previous to this, some skirmishes took place between the advanced posts, when Bonaparte returned from his victory over the pope, a conquest too trifling to add any thing to the martial fame of such a warrior. The divisions commanded by Generals Massena and Serrurier having passed the Piava, after a number of petty encounters, the Archduke thought proper to fall back on Belluno, February 24, and continued to retreat till he again crossed the Tagliamento, the banks of which were so fortified by the Austrians, from the mountains to the Adriatic, that the farther progress of the French army was extremely perilous. Even Bonaparte himself here deemed it necessary to make a pause, and to deliberate before he ventured to pass this terrific barrier of the Austrian dominions.

All necessary preparations being made, General Bonaparte resolved to make one of the boldest efforts of the Italian war, as he depended on the co-operation of General Joubert, and took advantage of the shallowness of the waters of the Tagliamento, the torrents from the Glaciers and Upper Alps being still arrested by the frost. General Duphoz was the first who threw himself into the river, at the head of a brigade of light infantry, being supported by Bernadotte and Murat; and, on gaining the opposite shore, the whole army formed in defiance of fierce charges which they had to encounter from the Austrian cavalry. The infantry of the Austrians made a very feeble opposition, as what they had witnessed filled them with astonishment, and completely disconcerted them.

The village Cainin, which then constituted the head-quarters of the Archduke, was vigorously assaulted, March 16, when he was forced to retire precipitately under cover of the night, continuing his march till he reached the gorges of the mountains by which the territory of Venice is bounded; leaving to the mercy of the victor the towns of Palma, Novova, Udina, all the Venetian territory, and a part of his artillery.

The expectations which Bonaparte had formed of the co-operation of Joubert were not disappointed. That young and brave officer had received instructions to penetrate to Carinthia through the Tyrole, ascending the Adige, the course of which river he was to follow to Brixen; after which he was to continue his route to the source of the Drave. He accordingly penetrated to the banks of the Arisio, where he engaged the Austrians; and, after a long and desperate battle at Lavis, March 21, during which he took about

3000 prisoners, he obtained possession of the bridge of Neumark, with the intention of cutting off the enemy's retreat towards Bolsana. A second battle, equally unfortunate, was fought at Tumes; but he met with opposition in his march from General Laudohn, (son to the celebrated marshal of that name,) who contrived, for some time, to arrest the progress of the invaders, at a pass of the Eisach, March 24; but, at length, the light infantry scaled a precipice, whence they rolled immense masses of rock on the opposing column, and their centre being pierced, and one of their flanks turned nearly at the same time, the whole of the artillery, which consisted of eight pieces, with 1500 soldiers, fell into the power of the republicans. After this, the invaders took possession of Brixen, where the Austrians had extensive magazines.

Another division, under the command of General Massena, likewise crossing the Tagliamento near its source, continued its march among the mountains, the nature of the country making it extremely difficult, to the sources of the Drave.

General Serrurier advanced to Gradisca, filing along the heights that command the town. To prevent the imperialists from finding out this manœuvre, General Bernadotte made the riflemen attack their entrenchments; but the French soldiers advanced to the walls of Gradisca, where they were received by a very heavy discharge of musketry and grape-shot. General Serrurier having gained the heights which commanded Gradisca, cut off every means of retreat to the garrison, who were also convinced of the inutility of defence. General Bernadotte summoned the Austrian commandant to surrender in ten minutes. He observed, that the governor had defended the town like a brave man, and gained the esteem of all military men by his conduct, and concluded by informing him, that the grenadiers and chasseurs demanded loudly the assault. The governor agreed to a capitulation, by which it was settled, that in a quarter of an hour after signing it the garrison should march out with all the honors of war, the officers keeping their swords, and to return home, on condition of not serving until exchanged. Three thousand prisoners, the flower of the army of the Archduke Charles, ten pieces of cannon, and eight standards, fell into the hands of the French. The taking of Gradisca had advantages of which the French general hastened to profit, and he issued a proclamation to the people of the province of Goritz, to prepare them for the expedition designed across their territory.

On the 21st of March the French entered Goritz, the Austrian army having retreated with such haste that they abandoned 1500 sick, and all their magazines, which were taken possession of by the French. In these magazines were 680

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General Guieux fell in with the imperialists entrenched at Pufero, took two pieces of cannon and 100 prisoners, pursuing the rest into the defiles of Caporetto, as far as the Austrian La Chinse, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead. General Massena approached Tarvis with his division; and Bonaparte hoped that the 2000 men, whom General Guieux had pushed before him, would fall into this general's hands. The general of division, Dugua, entered Trieste on the night of the 23d. The French likewise got hold of the celebrated mines of Ydria, where they found much substance, and carried it off in waggons.

On gaining the top of the prodigious mountains which hang over the town of Tarvis in terrific grandeur, Massena was attacked, March 26, by an Austrian division from Clagenfurt, which had come to assist the division that was surrounded; but, after a hard conflict, he put them to the rout, taking a vast number of prisoners, among whom were three generals. Meanwhile General Guieux drove the column he had defeated at Pufero as far as Austrian La Chinse, a post well entrenched, but which was carried by assault. General Kables, in person, defended La Chinse with 500 grenadiers. The hostile column, on finding La Chinse taken, fell into the middle of the division of General Massena, who made the whole of them prisoners. Thirty pieces of cannon, 400 waggons, 5000 men, and four generals, fell into the hands of the French. The division of Massena now occupied the defiles of the Noric Alps. The battle of Tarvis was fought on a height which commands a view of Germany and Dalmatia. In many places to which the French line extended the snow was three feet deep; and the cavalry charging on the ice suffered many accidents.

General Joubert was still detained among the Tyrolean Alps; but, having given over his pursuit of Laudohn, he passed the top of the mountains that divide the Tyrole from the duchy of Carinthia, and, marching along the Drave, joined Bonaparte and Massena at Clagenfurt; from which place the Archduke Charles had retreated on the near approach of the republican army. The French were now masters of all the Austrian territory on the Italian side of the Alps; and of the Tyrole, the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, and Istria, on the German side.

Bonaparte published a proclamation to the inhabitants of Carinthia, stating, that the French army did not enter their country to conquer it, or to make any change in their religion, manners, or customs; they were the friends of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany.

During this campaign, Prince Charles lost

nearly 20,000 men taken prisoners, and was now driven from the Venetian territories; from the Higher and Lower Carniola, Carinthia, the district of Trieste, and the whole of the Tyrolese. Near Villach the French found a magazine of cast iron, cartridges, and powder, and mines of lead, steel, iron, and copper; and near Clagenfurt they found manufactories of arms and cloth.

On the 31st of March, Bonaparte addressed the following insinuating letter to the Archduke:

"The General-in-chief of the army of Italy to His Royal Highness Prince Charles.

"11th *Germinal*, 5th year of the Republic.

"M. General-in-chief,

"Brave soldiers make war, but desire peace. Has not the war lasted six years? Have we not committed evils enough against suffering humanity? Europe, who had taken up arms against the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains, and yet blood is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is announced under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still fall a sacrifice in the prosecution of the contest. At some period we must come to an understanding, since time will bring all things to a conclusion, and extinguish the most inveterate resentments.

"The executive directory of the French republic communicated to his imperial majesty its inclination to terminate a conflict which desolates the two countries. These pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Is there no hope then of accommodation? Is it essential to the interests or gratifying to the passions of a nation, far removed from the theatre of war, that we should continue to murder each other? Are not you, who are so nearly allied to the throne, and who are above all the despicable passions which generally influence ministers and governments, ambitious to merit the appellations of *the benefactor of the human race and the saviour of the German empire*? Do not imagine, gallant general, that I wish to insinuate that you cannot save your country by force of arms; but, on the supposition that the chances of war were even to become favorable, Germany will not suffer less on that account. With respect to myself, if the overture which I have now the honor to make to you could be the means of sparing the life of a single man, I should prize more highly the civic crown, to which my interference would entitle me, than the melancholy glory which would result from the most brilliant military exploits.

"I beg of you to believe me to be, general-in-chief, with sentiments of the most profound respect and esteem, &c.

(Signed)

"BONAPARTE."

The following is the Archduke's manly reply to Bonaparte:

"From my head-quarters, 2d April, 1797.

"M. General,

"Though I make war, and obey the dictates of honor and duty, yet I desire, as well as yourself, peace, for the happiness of the people, and the interests of humanity.

"As, nevertheless, in the post with which I am entrusted, it does not belong to me to scrutinize or to terminate the quarrels of the belligerent powers; and, as I am not furnished, on the part of his imperial majesty, with any power to treat, you will see that it is natural, M. General, that I should not enter into any negotiation with you on that subject, but wait for superior orders, relative to an object of such high importance, and which is not fundamentally a part of my duty. But, whatever may be the future chance of the war, or the hopes of peace, I intreat you to be persuaded, M. General, of my distinguished esteem and consideration.

"CHARLES, Field-marshal."

The division of General Massena, forming an advanced guard, encountered the imperialists in the defiles between Treisach and Neumark, April 2; their rear-guard was pursued by the French so rapidly, that the Archduke was compelled to bring back from his line of battle eight battalions of grenadiers, those who had taken Kehl, and who were now the hope of the Austrian army. The combat, which was between the flower of the imperialists and the veteran troops of the army of Italy, was one of the most furious that had happened during the war. The imperialists had a grand position, crowded with cannon; but it protracted, for a short time, the defeat of their rear-guard; their grenadiers were totally routed, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead, and from five to six hundred prisoners. The Austrians defiled during the night, and the French entered Neumark on the 6th, their head-quarters having advanced the same day to Treisach. Here they found 4000 quintals of flour, and a quantity of brandy and oats; they found also about the same quantity of stores at Neumark.

While the French troops were on their march to Treisach, the Archduke, by an aid-de-camp, requested a suspension of arms for four hours; this was inadmissible; as in four hours he would have joined General Spork, to prevent which Bonaparte had hastened his march both night and day.

On Bonaparte's approach to Vienna, violent commotions took place. Many withdrew themselves from the horrors of a siege, and left the town; and though a number appeared ready to

rally round the monarch, and unite to defend the country, he could not be much encouraged by an attachment which had been already so fatal to the noble volunteers of Vienna, who had faced the army of Italy to meet with death or surrender prisoners. In vain was Prince Charles at the head of the imperial armies; he had been still more unfortunate than his predecessors, and every thing expected from his talents had deceived their ultimate hopes.

Bonaparte had obtained very recent information, that the hardy Tyrolese peasantry had risen in a mass, and that General Laudohn had recovered Botsen and Brixen, from which the French troops, that were left for the defence of the Tyrole, had been driven with considerable loss. The army under Bonaparte still possessed its native spirit and courage, but was greatly diminished in point of numbers, destitute of such heavy artillery as sieges required, and incapable of retaining the numerous provinces it had already subdued. Bonaparte felt that he was in the midst of an enemy's country; and if he advanced, the peasantry of Carinthia and Carniola might follow the example of the Tyrolese. His communication with France, and even with Italy, must be given up. He had no well-grounded hope of assistance from any quarter whatever, and the army under his command, reduced as it certainly must have been by this time, was inadequate to the mighty task of subjugating the Austrian empire. Even admitting that he should have been so successful as to gain possession of Vienna, defended as it was by the lofty hills of Styria, and the army commanded by the gallant, the beloved Archduke, still he had before him an almost boundless length of territory; and after fighting long, without gaining any permanent advantage, he might finally have found it extremely difficult to retrace his steps to his native country.

The French general changed his head-quarters to Judenburg, and prepared for decisive measures; but Lieutenant-general the Count de Bellegarde, and Major-general Morveltdt wrote to him, and stated, that his imperial majesty wished to concur in terminating a war that desolated the two nations. From the overture made by the French general to Prince Charles, the emperor had deputed them to know the general's proposals on a matter of such importance. Persuaded of the desire and intentions of the two powers to end this disastrous war, his royal highness desired a suspension of arms for ten days, to facilitate the attainment of so desirable an object.

Bonaparte, in his reply to this application, stated, "that, viewing the position of the two armies, a suspension of arms was disadvantageous to the French; but if it opened a road to peace, so beneficial to the two nations, he would consent without hesitation to their request. The French

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republic had often evinced to his majesty her wish to put an end to this contest; she was still the same, and he did not doubt, from the conference he had with them, that peace would be at length re-established between the republic and his majesty."

Such, however, was Bonaparte's critical situation, that the application, no doubt, was joyfully received. It behoved him, indeed, to conceal his joy; as he had vauntingly informed the directory, "that he hoped, at the head of 20,000 grenadiers, to plant, in a few days, the standard of the French republic in the capital of his imperial majesty."

The condition of the armistice entered into by the French general and the Archduke on the 7th of April, provided, that there should be a suspension of arms between the French and imperial armies, calculating from the evening of the 7th to that of the 13th. By the second article, the French were to retain the following line:—The advanced posts of the right wing to keep possession of the position they then occupied between Fiume and Trieste, and this line to be extended

as far as Rastadt and Lientz. It was also stipulated, that the suspension of arms should extend to the Tyrole; and that the generals commanding the troops in that quarter should regulate together the posts they were severally to occupy. Hostilities were not to take place in the Tyrole until twenty-four hours after the general-in-chief should have resolved on it, and in any case not within twenty-four hours after the generals commanding the French and imperial troops in the Tyrole should be informed of the circumstance.

A suspension of arms for nine days accordingly took place; and, within forty-eight hours after the expiration of that term, a pacification was agreed to and signed at the castle of Eckenwald, in Styria, April 18. In this contract, since known by the name of the treaty of Leoben, it was stipulated, that his imperial majesty should renounce, for himself and his successors, all right and title to the Austrian Netherlands, and acknowledge the Cisalpine republic; the Rhine was to be the common boundary between the two nations, and the navigation of that river was fully conceded to the French.

CHAPTER X.

Campaign in Germany.—Hoche and Moreau cross the Rhine.—A Suspension of Arms.—Disputes with Venice.—Bonaparte's Menaces, and Manifesto.—The French enter Venice.—Treaty of Campo Formio.—Attack on Genoa.—The Ligurian Republic.

It having been determined by the directory to make a new irruption into Germany, the French, two days before the signature of the preliminary articles of the peace of Leoben, resolved to cross the Rhine, and assail the hereditary dominions of the emperor on the side of Bavaria; while Bonaparte, in case of a new rupture, might advance to the walls of Vienna.

General Hoche was appointed to command the army of the Sambre and Meuse, in the place of Jourdan, who, in consequence of his ill success, was no longer a favorite with the directory. He accordingly repaired to head-quarters, and having cantoned his troops in such a manner as to be able to make a sudden movement, on receiving a courier from Paris, he dispatched a flag to the head-quarters of the enemy, informing General Werneck, that the armistice between the advanced posts was to cease on the 16th of April; a similar notice was given by General Moreau to the Austrian commander on the Upper Rhine. General Kray, who commanded the left wing of the Austrian army, on the idea that a convention was agreed on in Carinthia, requested permission to

send an officer with powers to conclude an armistice. Hoche demanded the evacuation of the Lahn, and the cession of Ehrenbreitstein; but the imperial general thinking that the situation of the two armies did not authorise this, refused his assent.

The Austrian left occupied a position in front of the bridge of Neuwied, having its right supported by the village of Hotterdorf, and its left resting on Bendorf. The strength of the entrenchments presented a very formidable aspect, and did honor to the veteran abilities of General Kray. The imperialists began the action with a lively cannonade, but the French infantry carried the village and the line of redoubts with fixed bayonets. The cavalry decided the battle, and the imperialists, thrown into disorder, were forced to retreat, leaving all the cannon of their batteries, several field-pieces, and ammunition-waggons, besides the principal part of their baggage, three or four standards, and 4000 prisoners.

The Austrians had drawn a reinforcement of twenty or thirty thousand men from the Rhine, and sent them to Italy. This weakened the Swa-

bian line, and assisted General Moreau, who effected the passage of the river by a coup de main. In the night of the nineteenth, a body of troops crossed to the right bank in boats, succeeded in re-establishing the bridges, by which the rest of the army passed the river, and commenced offensive operations. Several engagements took place during the day, but the imperialists were defeated, and pursued to Offenbourg; and in the evening the republican flag waved on the bastions of that Kehl, which a French garrison, the year before, defended against the Austrian army. The Austrians sustained a great loss; five French generals were wounded; and, from the resistance made by the imperialists, the loss of the republican army was also very considerable. The villages of Lients and Hobine were seized by another column of the French, while a third marched towards the banks of the Kentzie, and before night the Austrians, attacked on all sides with the bayonets, had dispersed in different directions.

After pursuing the discomfited imperialists during eight days, the French army of the Rhine and Moselle at length found themselves among the mountains of the Brisgau; and while the left wing, commanded by General St. Cyr, took possession of Helmbingen and Lichtenau, the centre, under General Vandamme, penetrated into the adjoining valley, and the right approached Fribourg. Field-marshal Latours, unable to stop the progress of the republicans, retired to the borders of the Danube; and at this time Moreau received a courier from Bonaparte, announcing the treaty of Leoben. Similar intelligence arrived at the head-quarters of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, at the critical time when General Werneck, unable to contend with superior numbers, had abandoned Frankfort to the French.

The respective commanders immediately agreed to a suspension of arms; the Mayne and the Nedda were to be considered as the line of separation between the Austrians and the French; the navigation of the Rhine and the Moselle was declared to be free; and it was stipulated, that the generals, Hoche and Moreau, should preserve all their conquests until a final adjustment should take place.

Peace, however, was not Bonaparte's wish; for he was still anxious to keep the revolutionary spirit alive. He began to complain of the Venetian government favoring the Austrians, and acting treacherously towards his troops. "What!" said he, in a letter to the Doge, "do you think I will tamely suffer the massacres excited by the Venetian government? The blood of our brethren in arms shall be avenged; and there is not a French battalion, charged with this mission, which does not feel three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you;—the republic of Venice has returned the blackest perfidy for the gene-

rous treatment she has received from France." BOOK II.
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He informed his serenity, that if he did not instantly adopt measures to arrest and deliver up, within twenty-four hours, the persons who, it was said, had assassinated some French soldiers, war was declared. Though the French general endeavoured to write like a Christian, the sequel will show that he did not act like one.

The senate published a proclamation relative to these complaints; their conduct, they said, had always been, and still was so perfectly friendly towards the belligerent powers, that they did not think it necessary to pay any attention to the evil-disposed persons who questioned their sincerity; but as these enemies of the republic had spread the vilest slanders against the sincerity of the Venetian government, the senate declared, that their friendship with France was not in the least altered; the senate, therefore, had no doubt but the French nation would repose that confidence in the republic of Venice which it had merited by its irreproachable conduct.

Bonaparte prepared to put his menaces into execution; and he accordingly published the following manifesto against Venice.

"Head-quarters, Palma Nova,
"14 Florial, May 3.

"Whilst the French were engaged in the defiles of Styria, and left far behind them Italy and the principal establishments of the army, where only a small number of battalions remained, this was the conduct of the government of Venice:

1. "They profited of passion-week, to arm 40,000 peasantry; and uniting these with ten regiments of Slavonians, organised them into different corps, and sent them to different points, to intercept all kinds of communication between the French army and the places in its rear.

2. "Extraordinary commissaries, ammunition of all kinds, and a great quantity of cannon, were sent from Venice, to complete the organization of different corps.

3. "All persons in the Terra Firma, who had received us favorably, were arrested; benefits and the confidence of the government were conferred upon all those who possessed a furious hatred to the French name, and especially the fifteen conspirators of Verona, whom the proveditori Paoli had arrested three months ago, as having premeditated the massacre of the French.

4. "In the squares, coffee-houses, and other public places of Venice, all Frenchmen were insulted, mal-treated, and called by the names of jacobins, regicides, atheists. The French were ordered to leave Venice; and, a short time afterwards, they were prohibited from entering it.

5. "The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, were ordered to take up arms to second the different corps of the army, and to begin the

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new Sicilian vespers. It belongs, said the Venetian officers, to the lion of St. Mark to verify the proverb—"that Italy is the tomb of the French."

6. "The priests in the pulpit preached up the crusade; and the priests in the state of Venice never speak any thing but the will of the government. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, anonymous letters, were printed in the different towns, and began to agitate the minds of all: in a state where the liberty of the press is not permitted, in a government as much feared as it is secretly detested, printers publish, and authors write, nothing but what the senate pleases.

7. "All smiled at first at the perfidious project of the government. The French blood flowed on every side. On all the roads, our convoys, our couriers, and every thing for the army, were intercepted.

8. "At Padua a chief of battalion, and two other Frenchmen were arrested. At Castiglione de Mori our soldiers were disarmed and assassinated. On all the great roads from Mantua to Legnano, and from Cassano to Verona, we had more than two hundred men assassinated.

9. "Two French battalions, wishing to join the army, met at Chiassi with a division of the Venetian troops, which attempted to oppose their passage; an obstinate conflict took place, our brave soldiers cut a way for themselves, by putting these perfidious enemies to the rout.

10. "At Valeggio there was another battle; at Dessengaro a third. The French every where were the weakest in numbers; but they know well that the number of the enemy's battalions is never counted, when they are composed only of assassins.

11. "At the second feast in Easter, on the ringing of the bell, all the French were assassinated at Verona. Neither the sick in the hospitals were respected, nor those who, in a state of convalescence, were walking in the streets; they were thrown into the Adige, where they died, pierced with a thousand wounds from stilettoes. More than 400 were assassinated.

12. "For a week the Venetian army besieged the three castles of Verona. The cannon which were placed in the battle were carried at the point of the bayonet. This town was set on fire, and the moveable column that arrived in the interim, put these cowards to complete rout, by taking 3000 of the enemy prisoners, among whom were several Venetian generals.

13. "The house of the French consul to Zante was burnt in Dalmatia.

14. "A Venetian ship of war took an Austrian convoy under its protection, and fired several shot at the corvette *La Brune*.

15. "The *Liberateur d'Italie*, a vessel of the republic, with only three or four small pieces of

cannon, and a crew of forty men, was sunk in the very port of Venice, and by order of the senate. The young and intrepid Haugiers, lieutenant and commander of the said ship, as soon as he saw himself attacked by the fire of the fort and the admiral's galley, being from both not more than pistol-shot, ordered his crew to go below. He alone got upon the deck, in the midst of a storm of grape-shot; and endeavoured by his speeches to disarm the fury of his assassins; but he fell dead. His crew threw themselves into the sea, and were pursued by six challops, with troops on board, in the pay of Venice, who cut to pieces several that sought for safety in the water. One of the masters, with several wounds, and bleeding in every part, had the good fortune to reach the shore, near the castle of the port; but the commandant himself cut off his hand with an axe.

"On account of the above-mentioned grievances, authorised by the twenty-second title, article 328, of the constitution of the republic; and in consequence of the urgency of affairs, the general-in-chief requires the French minister to the republic of Venice in Lombardy, and the Venetian Terra Firma, to quit it in twenty-four hours; directs the generals of division to treat as enemies the troops of the republic of Venice; and to pull down, in the towns of Terra Firma, the lion of St. Mark. Every one will receive, in the orders of the day to-morrow, a particular instruction respecting ulterior operations.

"BONAPARTE."

Such was the contumelious language of Bonaparte, in a manifesto which requires a short digression for the sake of a few observations. Instead of being the weakest in numbers, the French frequently obtained their victories by the superiority of their forces: the assassination complained of was insignificant when compared to that which had been practised by the French, and which he so often allowed and ordered; and the *liberty* of the press, which he required, was to *confine* it entirely to the adulation of himself and of the republican government.

Twenty-five thousand Frenchmen, already encamped within sight of Venice, were prepared to carry the threats of their general into execution. Augereau entered the city, May 12, and seized on the arsenal and forts; demanding at the same time the three inquisitors, and ten principal members of the senate, accused of having instigated their countrymen to the assassination of the French. The Veronese were punished with the greatest severity; several thousands of armed peasantry, who contested the progress of the French divisions, were, for their patriotism, cut to pieces or dispersed. A body of Slavonians, who had joined them, retired to a large building or post where were deposited all their powder-waggons

and ammunition. This was soon blown into the air, and 500 Slavonians literally annihilated! The French detachment reached Verona, which immediately surrendered.

The Venetian government was now humble and abject: it was resolved that the government should suspend all its functions, and that the republic should accept a provisional government from France. It was also decreed, that the magistrates of whom the French complained should be delivered up to be punished. A body of French troops took possession of the city, when a municipality was modelled, and every thing formed on the democratic regime. The liberty of the press (as it was styled) was established, by putting the press under severe restrictions; the catholic religion was unaltered, and persons and property unmolested; but the ships of war, and the stores in the arsenal, were taken possession of in the name of the French republic.

For similar reasons, Genoa was attacked. It was indeed impossible that that country, considering its vicinity to France, and the presence of the republican army, could escape a spirit of innovation which had alarmed all Europe. The French government pretended, that it did not punish the Genoese nobility for the aid they afforded the imperial army when in their neighbourhood, and their attention to the partisans of Austria. The people of Genoa had imbibed the principles of democratical liberty, and tumults had arisen between them and the adherents of the old government. This imbecile government, unable to stem the torrent, sent deputies to Bonaparte at Montebello, where a convention was concluded on the 6th of June.

The government of the Genoese republic acknowledged the sovereignty to reside in the body of the citizens of its territory. The legislative power was entrusted to two representative councils, and the executive delegated to a senate of ten members, to be nominated by the councils. Municipalities were established in the communes and districts, on the model of France, and a committee was charged with framing a constitution, and all the laws of the republic, with the reserve of doing nothing contrary to the catholic religion. The provisional government was to extinguish faction, grant a general amnesty, and unite the people in rallying round the public liberty. France agreed to give protection, and even the assistance of her armies, to the Genoese republic, to facilitate, if necessary, the execution of these articles, and maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic. This new-modelled constitution was called the Ligurian republic.

The negotiations did not proceed with the activity characterising Bonaparte's measures; but he was busily employed in consolidating the new republics which his victories had founded in Italy. The Bolognese, Ferrarese, Modenese, and Romagna, were incorporated with Lombardy, and the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics completely organized.

When Bonaparte had effected his grand designs, he left Italy, and returned to Paris, November 20. Many, however, of the Italians, and not a few of the French, were disgusted at the fate of Venice; as the people, instead of being liberated from their chains, were doomed to wear more heavy ones, and, by an exchange of masters, to endure a more grievous servitude.

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CHAPTER XI.

Naval History.—Battle off Cape St. Vincent, by Sir John Jervis.—Battle off Camperdown, by Admiral Duncan.—Bombardments of Cadiz.—Expeditions against the Colonies of France and Spain.—Capture of Trinidad.—Attempts to carry Teneriffe.—War in Domingo.—Descent in Wales.

DURING this year, the fleets of Great Britain rode paramount, as usual, in every sea. Sir John Jervis, (afterwards Lord St. Vincent,) and Admiral Duncan, (afterwards Viscount Duncan,) obtained two brilliant victories; while Admiral Lord Bridport not only guarded the mouth of the channel, but completely shut up the port of Brest.

Sir John Jervis, who had for some time blockaded Cadiz, received intelligence from Captain

Foote, of the Niger, stationed off Carthagena, that the fleet under Admiral Don Joseph De Cordova was at sea. He immediately sailed in quest of it, and at the dawn of the succeeding day, (February 13,) the Spanish fleet was descried; but as the weather happened to be extremely hazy, it was not until 10 o'clock that the frigate made the signal for twenty-five sail of the line.

The British squadron consisted of no more than the following fifteen ships:—

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<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
1. Victory -----	{ Sir John Jervis, K. B. } First Capt. R. Calder, } Second Capt. G. Grey, }	100
2. Britannia -----	{ Vice-ad. Thompson, } Capt. T. Foley, }	100
3. Barfleur -----	{ Vice-adm. Hon. W. } Waldegrave ----- }	98
4. Prince George -----	{ Rear-ad. W. Parker, } Capt. J. Irvin ----- }	98
5. Blenheim -----	Capt. T. Frederick -----	90
6. Namur -----	Capt. J. H. Whitshed, -----	90
7. Captain -----	{ Commod. H. Nelson, } Capt. R. W. Miller, }	74
8. Irresistible -----	Capt. G. Martin -----	74
9. Egmont -----	Capt. J. Sutton -----	74
10. Culloden -----	Capt. T. Trowbridge -----	74
11. Orion -----	Capt. Sir J. Saumarez -----	74
12. Colossus -----	Capt. G. Murray -----	74
13. Excellent -----	Capt. C. Collingwood -----	74
14. Goliath -----	Capt. Sir C. Knowles, Bt. -----	74
15. Diadem -----	Capt. G. H. Towry -----	64

Frigates, &c.

1. Lively -----	{ Captain Lord Vis- } count Garlies ----- }	32
2. La Minerve -----	Capt. G. Cockburn -----	40
3. Niger -----	Capt. E. J. Foote -----	32
4. Southampton -----	Capt. J. Macnamara -----	32
5. La Bonne Citoyenne -----	Capt. C. Lindsay -----	18
6. Raven -----	Capt. W. Prowse -----	18
7. Fox -----	Lieut. W. Gibson -----	12

Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, the veteran commander was resolved not to decline an action; and, sailing down in a close and compact order, he contrived to begin the engagement before the Spanish admiral was able to complete his line of battle, as a number of the ships had been separated from the main body.

During the critical moment of the enemy's disorder, the English, by carrying a press of sail, suddenly passed through the Spanish fleet; after which they tacked in so judicious a manner, as to cut off all that portion which had fallen to leeward. About 11 o'clock the signal was made from the Victory for close fight. The van, led by the Culloden, accordingly commenced the fight, the other ships engaging as they came up; and, after a partial cannonade, which continued for a considerable time, two ships of 112 guns, one of 84, and one of 74, were captured.

According to the admiral's letter, the Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, as already observed; previous, however, to the transmission of his dispatches, the names of twenty-two had been obtained: viz.,

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
1. Conception	112
2. Conde de Regia	112
3. Salvador del Mundo	112
4. San Josef	112
5. San Nicolas	84
6. Oriente	74
7. Glorioso	74
8. Atlante	74
9. Conquistador	74
10. Soberano	74
11. Firme	74
12. Pelazo	74
13. San Genaro	74
14. San Idelphonso	74
15. San Juan Nepomucino	74
16. San Francisco de Paula	74
17. San Ysidoro	74
18. San Antonio	74
19. San Paulo	74
20. San Firmin	74
21. Neptuna	74
22. Bahama	74
23. (Name unknown)	74
24. (Name unknown)	74

According to subsequent and more correct accounts, the Spanish fleet consisted of one ship, called

	<i>Guns.</i>
El Santissima Trinidad, Adm. Don Cordova	136
Six of	112
Two of	84
Eighteen of	74
Twelve frigates of	34

Total 27 sail of the line.

Of these were taken,

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
1. Salvador del Mundo	112
2. San Josef	112
3. San Nicolas	84
4. San Ysidoro	74

In consequence of this brilliant victory, the British admiral acquired the appropriate title of Lord St. Vincent, with a pension of 3000*l.* per annum; Vice-admiral Thompson and Rear-admiral Parker were created baronets; Commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; and Captain R. Calder was knighted. The loss of the English, on this occasion, was trifling; only one seaman happened to be killed on board the ship carrying his flag; and although Commodore Nelson distinguished himself greatly, by boarding the San Nicolas and San Josef in succession, he lost only one officer, twenty seamen, and three soldiers. The Spanish admiral lost se-

veral officers, particularly Don Francisco Xavier Winthysen, and a great number of men: although assailed by no less than three men of war, Don Cordova made a bold resistance, and at length succeeded in escaping to Cadiz, with the remainder of his squadron. As soon as the intelligence of this victory arrived, great rejoicings took place throughout the nation, and the fleet was honored with the thanks of both houses of parliament.

Another naval victory, still more important, in respect to its consequences, was obtained in the month of October. The French, having a large army and a powerful party in Holland, determined to fit out an expedition against Ireland, which, in revenge for the succours afforded to the royalists on the coast of Brittany, was either to be wholly separated from the government of England, or at least subjected to all the miseries of a civil war: and, such was the distracted state of that nation, that great hopes were entertained, by the invading army, of their standards being readily joined by many inhabitants of consequence. The Dutch fleet, prepared for this purpose, was put under the command of Admiral De Winter, who was supposed to be well acquainted with naval affairs, and consisted of the following ships:

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
1. Vryheid . . .	Admiral De Winter . . .	74
2. States-General . . .	Rear-admiral Story . . .	74
3. Brutus . . .		74
4. Jupiter . . .	Vice-admiral Reyntier . . .	74
5. Haerlem . . .		68
6. Cerberus . . .		68
7. Devries . . .		68
8. Leyden . . .		68
9. Gelykheid . . .		68
10. Wassenaer . . .		64
11. Hercules . . .		64
12. Delft . . .		56
13. Alkmaar . . .		56
14. Beschermers . . .		54
15. Batavia . . .		54
16. Munnikkendan . . .		44
17. Mars . . .		44
18. Ambuscade . . .		32
19. Minerva . . .		24
20. Waaksaamheid . . .		26
21. Daptme . . .		18
22. Atlanta . . .		18
23. Ajax . . .		18
24. Galathee . . .		16
25. Haasje . . .		6

A body of troops embarked on board this fleet, under the command of Lieutenant-general Daendels, of whom frequent mention has been made before; and the directory plumed themselves with the hope of deriving great success from their romantic project.

On the first intelligence of these preparations the board of admiralty immediately sent a powerful squadron to the North Sea, in order to intercept the enemy; and Admiral Duncan, an officer of much experience, and well acquainted with the coast, was selected as commander for this purpose. The British fleet consisted of the following ships:

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
1. Venerable . . .	{ Admiral Duncan . . .	74
	{ Capt. W. G. Fairfax . . .	
2. Monarch . . .	{ Vice-admiral Onslow . . .	74
	{ Capt. E. O'Brien . . .	
3. Montague . . .	Capt. J. Knight . . .	74
4. Russel . . .	— H. Trollope . . .	74
5. Powerful . . .	— W. O'Brien Drury . . .	74
6. Triumph . . .	— W. H. Essington . . .	74
7. Bedford . . .	— Sir T. Byard . . .	74
8. Director . . .	— W. Bligh . . .	64
9. Veteran . . .	— G. Gregory . . .	64
10. Monmouth . . .	— J. Walker . . .	64
11. Agincourt . . .	— J. Williamson . . .	64
12. Ardent . . .	— R. R. Burgess . . .	64
13. Lancaster . . .	— J. Wells . . .	64
14. Bellicieux . . .	— J. Ingles . . .	64
15. Isis . . .	— W. Mitchell . . .	50

Frigates, &c.

1. Beaulieu . . .	Capt. Fayerman . . .	40
2. Circe . . .	— P. Halkett . . .	28
3. Martin . . .	— Hon. C. Paget . . .	16

Admiral Duncan, who had blockaded the Texel the greater part of the summer, had assumed such a station as enabled him to discover all the motions of the enemy. No event of any importance took place at this time, in consequence of repeated procrastination; and the English admiral was obliged to quit his station, and repair to Yarmouth to refit. As soon as the news of his departure reached Amsterdam, the Dutch government, which, perhaps on account of the advanced season, had ordered the troops to be disembarked, issued peremptory orders for the fleet to put to sea.

Capt. Trollope, with a small squadron, having been left to watch the enemy, on the 9th of October a signal was made to Admiral Duncan, off Yarmouth Roads, that the enemy's fleet was at sea. The British fleet got under sail with astonishing rapidity. Captain Trollope's small squadron was perceived, on the morning of the 11th, with signals flying, to intimate that an enemy's fleet was to leeward.

Admiral Duncan gave the signal for engaging, and was obeyed with the utmost alacrity, Vice-admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bearing down upon the rear of the enemy. Before one o'clock the battle commenced, when the British fleet broke the line of the enemy, and made it imprac-

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ticable for them to reach the Texel, the land being about seven miles distant. Although all the masts of De Winter's ships went by the board, he only struck his colors when overpowered by numbers: it is said by some, that not an officer was left upon the quarter-deck of the Dutch flag-ship, but the admiral himself, the whole of them being either killed or wounded; and others accuse his officers of desertion. The Vice-admiral's ship lost all her masts about the same time, and accordingly struck to Admiral Onslow's division. Before three o'clock more of the enemy's fleet surrendered; but as Admiral Duncan found himself no more than five miles off the land, he was wholly employed in getting the disabled ships off the shore, and could not ascertain the number of prizes; and, as the wind blew strong on the land, the fleet was scattered, and some of the Dutch ships that had struck were enabled to effect their escape. The vessels which the enemy lost were the *Vryheid*, *Jupiter*, *Haerlem*, *Devries*, *Gelykheid*, *Wasenaer*, *Hercules*, *Delft*, *Alkmaar*, *Munnikendaan*, and *Ambuscade*; the *Delft* foundered in sight of the British coast, and a frigate also was lost.

A more sanguinary battle was never fought; for in nine ships of Admiral Duncan's fleet, the killed and wounded exceeded 700, and the loss of the cold, but intrepid Dutch, must have been very severe. The flag-ships of the enemy lost not less than 250 men each; and not a single ship among the prizes lost less than 100 men. The battle was fought so near the shore that thousands of spectators beheld the whole of it, without having it in their power to give the smallest relief.

Great and laudable was the gallantry of Admiral Duncan, but the most commendable part of his conduct was, his getting between the enemy and the land. This was a manœuvre which none who were before him had ever attempted, in circumstances so evidently critical. When he returned home he was created Baron Duncan, of Lundie, in the county of Perth, and Viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, from the place on the coast of Holland off which his lordship gained the memorable victory: Vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet; and Captains Trollope and Fairfax were knighted. This glorious victory occasioned a general illumination throughout the kingdom: his majesty went in state to St. Paul's cathedral; the procession was attended by three waggons bearing flags that had been taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, during the war, and these were severally borne to the altar by a flag-officer, who had been present when they were taken. A number of officers and seamen attended, and all ranks felt the obligation they were under to the brave defenders of their country.

In the course of the summer, Cadiz was twice bombarded by the fleet under Lord St. Vincent.

The first bombardment took place June 23. This enterprise was conducted by the intrepid Nelson, and the *Thunderer* bomb, stationed during the night under his management, within 2500 yards of the walls. Hereupon the Spaniards sent out a great number of mortar and gun-boats, and launches; but they were attacked, dispersed, and obliged to return. A remarkable combat took place on this occasion between Don Miguel Tyra-son, who led this armament, and Rear-admiral Nelson; the former laid the admiral's boat alongside, and the Spanish barge remained in this position until eighteen out of twenty-six of Tyra-son's crew were killed, and he himself and the remainder wounded. The British commander was not exempt from danger, for Captain Freemantle, who had accompanied him, was hurt, and his coxswain, (Sykes,) received a shot while defending the rear-admiral's person, during an engagement in which six Englishmen were killed and about two hundred wounded.

On the 5th of July a second bombardment took place, which produced considerable effect on the town, and must, in some degree, have annoyed the shipping, as ten sail of the line, among which were the flag-ships of the Admirals Mazzaredo and Gravina, were obliged to warp out of the range of the shells. Another operation of a similar kind was meditated soon after, but prevented by the weather.

This year was also remarkable for the reduction of Trinidad, taken by the British troops under Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who meditated the invasion of this large island soon after the surrender of St. Lucia. The troops intended for this expedition were embarked at Martinico, under the protection of a small squadron, consisting of the *Prince of Wales*, the flag-ship; the *Bellona*, *Vengeance*, *Scipio*, *Favorite*, *Zephyr*, *Terror* bomb, and some transports, commanded by Rear-admiral Henry Harvey. Having steered between Cariacou and Grenada, the armament sailed towards the gulph of Pavia, and on passing through the great Bocas channel, February 16, discovered a Spanish squadron at anchor in Shagaramus-bay, under cover of the island of Gaspargrande, which was well fortified. This squadron consisted of four ships of the line and a frigate; viz.

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
1. San Vincenta	Rear-adm. Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodoca Captain John Gerónimo Mendoza	84
2. Gallasdo	Don Gabriel Sorando	74
3. Arrogante	Don Raphael Benasa	74
4. San Damaso	Don Josef Jordan	74
5. Santa Cecilia	Don Manuel Utresabe	36

The English commander anchored in order of battle, within random shot of the enemy's ships and batteries, to prevent the flight of the former during the night, which was now fast approaching; but, early in the morning of February 17, the squadron was discovered on fire, and all of them, except the San Damaso, were consumed to ashes. The 74-gun ship, which luckily escaped the conflagration, was towed out by the boats of the fleet.

This fortunate circumstance induced the general to hasten the attack of the town; and the troops having been landed about the distance of three miles from it, under the direction of Captain Woolley, of the royal navy, covered by the Favorite sloop, advanced against the port D'Espagne, which, together with two forts, was seized upon with little or no opposition, a lieutenant being the only person wounded. In the course of the following morning, February 18, the governor, Don Josef Maria Chacon, agreed to a capitulation, by which he delivered up the island to Great Britain, and surrendered himself and troops prisoners of war. On his return to Spain, the governor was disgraced, but the admiral experienced great attention from the court. The latter, on being asked by Admiral Harvey why he had burnt the greater part of the squadron, replied, that he had received instructions from his court to that purpose, and that a Spanish commander had been formerly put to death for neglect of duty in a similar situation.

Articles of Capitulation,

For the surrender of the island of Trinidad, between his excellency Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's land forces; his excellency Henry Harvey, Esq. rear-admiral of the red, and commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's ships and vessels of war; and his excellency Don Josef Maria Chacon, knight of the order of Calatrava, brigadier of the royal navy, governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Trinidad and its dependencies, inspector-general of the troops of its garrison, &c. &c.

Article I. The officers and troops of his catholic majesty and his allies, in the island of Trinidad, are to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and are to deliver up the territory, forts, buildings, arms, ammunition, money, effects, plans, and stores, with exact inventories thereof, belonging to his catholic majesty; and they are hereby transferred to his Britannic majesty, in the same manner and possession as has been held heretofore by his said catholic majesty.

II. The troops of his catholic majesty are to march out with the honors of war, and to lay down their arms at the distance of 306 paces

from the forts they occupy, at five o'clock this evening, the 18th of February.

III. All the officers and troops aforesaid of his catholic majesty, are allowed to keep their private effects, and the officers are allowed to wear their swords.

IV. Admiral Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodoca being on shore in the island, after having burnt and abandoned his ships, he, with the officers and men belonging to the squadron under his command, are included in this capitulation, under the same terms as are granted to his catholic majesty's troops.

V. As soon as ships can be conveniently provided for the purpose, the prisoners are to be conveyed to Old Spain; they remaining prisoners of war until exchanged by a cartel between the two nations, or until the peace, it being clearly understood, that they shall not serve against Great Britain or her allies until exchanged.

VI. There being some officers among his catholic majesty's troops, whose private affairs require their presence at different places on the continent of America, such officers are permitted to go upon their parole to the said places, for six months, more or less; after which period, they are to return to Europe; but as the number receiving this indulgence must be limited, his excellency Don Chacon will previously deliver to the British commanders a list of their names, rank, and the places to which they are going.

VII. The officers of the royal administration, upon the delivery of the stores with which they are charged, to such officers as may be appointed by the British commanders, will receive receipts, according to the custom in like cases, from the officers so appointed to receive the stores.

VIII. All the private property of the inhabitants, as well Spaniards as such as may have been naturalized, is preserved to them.

IX. All public records are to be preserved in such courts and offices as they are now in, and all contracts or purchases between individuals, which have been done according to the laws of Spain, are to be held binding and valid by the British government.

X. The Spanish officers of administration who are possessed of landed property in Trinidad, are allowed to remain in the island, they taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty; and they are further allowed, should they please, to sell or dispose of their property, and to retire elsewhere.

XI. The free exercise of their religion is allowed to the inhabitants.

XII. The free colored people, who have been acknowledged as such by the laws of Spain, shall be protected in their liberty, persons, and property, like other inhabitants, they taking the oath

BOOK II. of allegiance, and demeaning themselves as becomes good and peaceable subjects of his Britannic majesty.

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XIII. The sailors and soldiers of his catholic majesty are, from the time of their laying down their arms, to be fed by the British government, leaving the expence to be regulated by the cartel between the two nations.

XIV. The sick of the Spanish troops will be taken care of, but to be attended by, and to be under the inspection of, their own surgeons.

XV. All the inhabitants of Trinidad shall, within thirty days from the date hereof, take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, to demean themselves quietly and faithfully to his government, upon pain, in case of non-compliance, of being sent away from the island.

Done at Port D'Espagne, in the island of Trinidad, the 18th day of February, 1797.

RALPH ABERCROMBIE.

HENRY HARVEY.

JOSEF MARIA CHACON.

The other expeditions were far from being successful; and, in the opinion of many, the acquisition of Trinidad was no compensation for their failure, which must, however, be ascribed to the want of sufficient information and an adequate force. Conceiving that the large and valuable island of Porto Rico might be easily wrested from the dominion of Spain, Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Admiral Harvey determined to make the attempt. The squadron, which found no small difficulty in procuring pilots and guides, sailed from Martinico, and, after a short passage, anchored off Congrejos Point. Although the whole of the north side is bounded by a reef, a narrow channel was at length discovered about three leagues to the eastward of the town; through this the Beaver and Fury sloops, with other vessels of small draught, passed into a bay, on the shore of which the English troops effected a landing, on the 17th of April. After experiencing a slight opposition from about 100 of the enemy, who were concealed in the bushes, the detachment advanced in the afternoon of the same day, and seized a post extremely favorable to a small force, the two flanks being protected, one by the sea and the other by a lagoon. The artillery was then brought up, and the necessary preparations were made for an attack on the town, which is situated upon a small island. It was, however, soon discovered that, as the Moro castle commanded the passage into the harbour, the enemy could keep open a free communication with the southern and western parts of the settlement; and, as they were in possession of a number of gun-boats, they might greatly annoy the left flank of the invaders. Several other obstacles also

presented themselves; for although the place might be assaulted with some probability of success on the eastern side, which, notwithstanding, was defended by the castle and lines of St. Christopher, yet it was first necessary for the English to force their way across the lagoon; and as the bridge, which connected the island with the main, was destroyed, and the pass defended by armed vessels and redoubts, the attempt was deemed hazardous, more especially as the Spaniards, from the number of their cannon, could open a fire far superior to that of the besiegers. The scheme was therefore relinquished, and the troops were embarked during the night of April 30, with the greatest order and regularity. The general, however, lost about 200 men in the attempt; and it was found necessary to abandon some iron guns, mortars, and howitzers; but, as these were considered unserviceable, four brass field-pieces, captured from the enemy, and which were transported on board the fleet, made ample compensation for them.

Another expedition, which took place in a different quarter, notwithstanding the gallantry of the parties, was likely to be attended with greater disasters than those which had happened. The commander-in-chief of the squadron stationed off Cadiz, having received intelligence that one of the Spanish islands on the coast of Africa was vulnerable, resolved on fitting out a squadron against Teneriffe. The distinguished Nelson was accordingly detached with the Theseus, Culloden, Zealous, Seahorse, Emerald, Terpsichore, and Fox cutter; the Leander soon after followed.

On the arrival of this armament, July 15, a body of men, including 1000 mariners, was landed under the direction of Captain Trowbridge, of the Culloden, assisted by the Captains Hood, Thompson, Freemantle, Bowen, Miller, and Waller, who volunteered their services on this occasion.

After a long and vigorous resistance, the English obtained possession of Santa Cruz, and then prepared to attack the neighbouring fort. The strength of this place not having been previously ascertained, an unexpected degree of opposition ensued; and, this being followed by ineffectual attempts to carry the batteries by assault, during the night of July 24, an immediate retreat became necessary. This, however, was rendered impracticable, by an unfortunate event; for, on repairing to the beach, the English found that the violence of the surf had destroyed the chief part of their boats.

All the force of the island having been assembled by the governor, the Spaniards came down in such numbers, that the English were obliged to take to their vessels in the best manner they

could. The governor summoned them to surrender, but the British commander gallantly refused to capitulate; and the former is reported, not only to have entertained his unwelcome guests, but to have furnished them with the means of repairing on board their respective ships. The loss unfortunately sustained upon this occasion was great; 44 privates were killed, 105 wounded, 97 drowned, and 5 unaccounted for.

Rear-admiral Nelson lost his right arm by a cannon ball, and Captain Bowen, with his first lieutenant, and the whole of the boat's crew, went to the bottom, a shell falling into the boat while they were rowing to the shore. Captain Thompson, of the *Leander*, Captain Freemantle, of the *Sea-horse*, a lieutenant, and a midshipman, were wounded.

An alternate series of good and bad fortune attended the campaigns in St. Domingo; the English on one hand, and the negroes and mulattoes on the other, contending for superiority with an unexampled degree of animosity. The British ministry had been for some time in search of an officer, calculated by professional knowledge to defend the acquisitions in St. Domingo, and honest enough to restrain speculation and abuses. Such a man was at length found in General Simeoe, who landed under great disadvantages; as he had brought no reinforcement with him, and as the English name was becoming unpopular. He, however, found means to foil Toussaint before St. Mark, to re-capture Miraballais, to storm the forts of Le Boutilliere and St. Laurent, and to prevent Rigaud, a mulatto chief of notoriety, from obtaining possession of Irois.

This general, after a residence of five months, returned, and proposed to subjugate the whole island, provided he obtained a sufficient supply of men; but the negroes in arms were so numerous, and the expences required for such an undertaking so enormous, that the ministers prudently relinquished the project.

The negroes and *gens de couleur* were in actual possession of all the power and all the property of the island, and the former tyranny of the planters, so justly complained of, was now more inhumanly exercised by the slave, who, set loose at once from all restraint, felt a savage thirst for vengeance, which he gratified without control. Such was the fate of this fine country, once one of the principal sources of the wealth of France, but which *precipitate humanity*, mistaking the means for the end, and *avaricious cruelty*, opposing every alleviation of human misery, had nearly succeeded in bringing to utter ruin.

Toussaint de l'Ouverture, the French general of the negro race, (of whom we shall have occasion hereafter to speak,) was a man of great talents, and a principal leader in the revolts: his dependence upon the French government was manifestly little more than nominal, and he was sus-

pected of harbouring lofty and aspiring views of establishing himself in the permanent possession of the island.

There can be no doubt, but that St. Domingo was intended by the court of London to constitute a part, at least, of the *indemnity* which was so much insisted upon at the commencement of the war. Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, who commanded the first expedition to this country, (see Book I. Chap. V.) in the proclamation published by him on his arrival (October 8, 1793) declared "that it was by persuasion, rather than by force, that he would conquer; that his majesty will only have *subjects* worthy of his protection, and of the favors and advantages which the British government secures to them. His majesty," added this commander, "is willing to preserve to you all your rights: I accordingly declare to you, in his royal name, that, *as soon as peace shall be established*, you will have a colonial assembly to regulate, establish, and enable you to exercise, those rights."

The attempts of reducing this island cost many lives: we are informed by Mr. Bryan Edwards, in his "History of the West Indies," (vol. iii.) that the number left alive, and fit for service, at the end of the year 1797, was not more than 3000 men. About 12,000 land forces and 500 seamen had, in the space of three years, fallen a sacrifice to that pestilential climate.

Much had been said, and in very pompous language, respecting an invasion of Britain by France; yet the first seeming attempt was such as to excite ridicule rather than terror. The coast of Devonshire was thrown into alarm on the 22d of February, by the appearance of three frigates, which entered the small harbour of Ilfracombe, scuttled some merchant ships, and attempted to destroy some other vessels. From this they soon departed, standing across the Channel towards Pembroke. They were found to consist of two frigates and two smaller vessels, steering from the British channel to turn St. David's Head, from whence they steered towards Fishguard, and came to an anchor in a small bay, where they hoisted French colors, and put out their boats.

Having effected a debarkation on the morning of the 23d, near Fishguard, numbers of them travelled the country in search of provisions, plundering the houses they found abandoned, but offering little molestation to the inhabitants who remained in their dwellings. The number of men who had landed were about 1500. The gentlemen in the neighbourhood made great exertions to repel this formidable invasion, and before night they had collected about 700 men, consisting of militia, fencibles, or yeomen cavalry, who were joined by a number of peasants armed with scithes and pitchforks. Lord Cawdor assumed the command of these troops; but, on

BOOK II. approaching the enemy, he received the following letter.

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Cardigan Bay, 5th of Ventose, 5th year of the Republic.

SIR,

"The circumstances, under which the body of French troops commanded by me were landed at this place, render it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage.

"The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender.

"If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same by the bearer; and, in the mean time, hostilities shall cease.

"Health and respect. "TATE,

"Chef de Brigade."

"To the officer commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops."

A capitulation having been agreed to, about noon on the ensuing day they laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves as prisoners of war.

When the frigates had completed the debarkation, they sailed for the coast of France, but were captured, on the 9th of the ensuing month, by the St. Fiorenzo and Nymphé frigates. They proved to be La Resistance of 48 guns, and La Constance of 24. The men landed were thought by some to be insurgents from La Vendée, whose principles made it dangerous to place confidence in them. Others supposed them to be galley-slaves, and criminals collected from the prisons of Brest, and landed by way of insult, as if the French government meant to billet them on the enemy.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.

State of France and of Great Britain.—Anxiety of the English for Peace.—His British Majesty insulted.—Failure of Lord Malmesbury's Negotiations.—Mutinies on board the Channel Fleet and North Sea Fleet.—Petition from the City of Westminster to His Majesty for the Dismission of his Ministers.—Arrogance of the French Government.—Another unsuccessful Negotiation.—His Majesty's Declaration on the Continuance of the War.

DURING some of the military and naval operations recorded in our preceding book, certain events occurred, both in France and in England, which demand the reader's attention. It has been the practice of late historians, and even of some of the present day, to give the pith of their narratives in *notes*, which, being reckoned extraneous matter, are generally, if not always, overlooked by ordinary readers. We shall, however, devote a chapter to those occurrences, which could not have been united with the former without breaking the chain, and grossly deviating from the scene of action.

Although, on the first establishment of the new constitution of France, the persons who composed the executive government seemed inclined to favor the faction of the Jacobins, conceiving it expedient to adopt measures of severity with respect to those concerned in the insurrection of Vendemaire, who were regarded as adverse to the Jacobins, it was soon apparent that the bulk of this dangerous faction would never peaceably acquiesce in the present, nor indeed any permanent order of things. The greater part of the Jacobins, who had been placed in offices immediately under government, were gradually dismissed; the police and municipality of Paris, where they possessed a decided superiority, underwent a severe examination; the military force of that great city was reformed; and the alarm excited by these different measures was at length wrought up to purposes of vengeance, when their assemblies were dispersed by order of government, and their places of meeting shut up. For the space of six weeks, confused rumours prevailed of a projected insurrection of the Jacobins. On the evening of the 9th of May, 1796, considerable bodies of cavalry were sta-

tioned in the vicinity of the Luxemburg and the Thuilleries, by order of the directory; and the Pont Neuf was strongly guarded. On the morning of the 10th, the guard of the directory and the legislative bodies were tripled, the streets were patrolled, and the gardens of the Luxemburg were shut. On the same day the council of five hundred received a message from the executive directory, informing them that a horrible conspiracy was prepared to burst forth the following morning at break of day; that the design of the conspirators was to murder the executive directory, the members of the two councils, the constituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up the city to pillage and massacre; and that the leading conspirators were actually seized. Among these persons were Drouet, remarkable as the man who had arrested the king in his flight to Varennes; Laignelot, an ex-deputy of the national convention, and a member of the infamous committee of public safety; Charles Ricard; and Babeuf, (styling himself Gracchus Babeuf,) once the associate of Marat, of infamous memory, who had fallen under the virtuous dagger of a modern Judith; Rossignol, ex-general of La Vendée; Amar, a notorious Terrorist, &c. were also of the number; but Vadier, Robert Lindet, and Pache, effected their escape. Judging from the papers transmitted by the directory to the council, none of the various conspiracies which had convulsed the republic was more daring than the present, or had been more completely organized; a national convention, committees of general and public safety, and a municipality of Paris, were to be immediately formed, and to administer in a revolutionary manner till the establishment of the constitution of 1793. No doubt the aim of the directory was to make the present conspiracy

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The affairs of finance at this period very much engaged the attention of the French government. So much depreciated was the credit of the *assignats*, that this paper was become entirely useless. An order was of course made to dispose of the remainder of the national domains at a low value, for which a new paper, called *mandats*, was to be received as money; but this also fell to a greater degree of depreciation than the assignats. A forced loan was the next measure to which they had recourse, but this was very unproductive; and the hopes of the British minister were again cherished by the loud complaints of the directory, respecting the impoverished state of the public revenue.

The great expences and severe hardships which the war with France occasioned, induced many in Great Britain to wish for peace, and consequently to deprecate the measures of government. The city of London presented the following petition to parliament.

"Your petitioners conceive, that none of the ends proposed by the present war either have been, or appear likely to be obtained, although it has been carried on at an unprecedented expence to this country. Your petitioners, from their present view of public measures, presume humbly, but firmly, to express to this honorable house, their decided conviction, that the principle upon which the war appears now to be carried on, neither is nor can be essential to the prosperity, the liberty, or the glory of the British empire. Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that this honorable house, disclaiming all right of interfering in the internal concerns of France, will be pleased to take such measures as they in their wisdom shall think proper, for the purpose of promoting a speedy peace."

This example of London was followed by York, Norwich, and some other cities; but they were not so general as to be productive of any effect; and the friends of administration found

means to procure a number of counter petitions, which fully relied on the wisdom of government to treat for the restoration of peace at the most proper period.

The next British parliament was summoned to assemble on the 29th of October, 1795, which was during the mournful period that every article of consumption was extravagantly high-priced; and the idea prevailed universally among the lower classes of the community, that ministers would never listen to any rational terms of peace, which created and cherished a spirit of discontent; and, without the blessings of peace, they had small hopes of enjoying those of plenty. At the usual hour on the day appointed, his majesty went from the palace of St. James's to the parliament-house. An immense concourse of people met in the Park, whether from accident or design it is difficult to determine, but they very soon discovered symptoms of bad humour and dissatisfaction. As his majesty's coach passed along the Mall, the multitude vehemently exclaimed, "Peace! Peace! Bread! No Pitt! No war!" After this, stones were thrown at the carriage of the sovereign as it went past the Horse-guards, and through the streets of Westminster; and from a house in Margaret-street a bullet was discharged, conjectured to be from an air-gun, as it was not attended with any noise, while something made its way with great velocity through the glass of the coach.

When the king returned from the house of peers, no additional force was ordered for his protection; and the multitude repeated their audacious attacks. His majesty having gone into his private carriage, to join the royal family at the palace of the queen, a part of the mob nearly demolished the state-coach on its return to the Mews, while the rest even attempted to stop the king's private coach, and force open the doors. The sovereign, at this last attack, appeared to have been deprived of his characteristic firmness, and fell a prey to consternation and amazement. A party of the life-guards arrived at this critical juncture, by whose exertions the multitude were dispersed, and the king reached the house of her majesty, not without both difficulty and danger.

Immediately after these daring outrages, a proclamation was issued, which offered a reward of a thousand pounds, to be given on the conviction of any person concerned in the assault; yet it is most astonishing, that not an individual could ever be found who was proved to have had any hand in this disgraceful transaction. A journeyman printer, indeed, of the name of Kidd Wake, together with some others, were found guilty of hissing and disturbing his majesty's peace, and were punished with just severity. This business being disposed of, his majesty's speech was taken

into consideration, in which he declared, "That it was a great satisfaction to him to reflect, that, notwithstanding the many events unfavorable to the common cause, the prospect resulting from the general situation of affairs had in many important respects been materially improved in the course of the present year. That the distraction and anarchy which had so long prevailed in France had now led to a crisis, of which it was as yet impossible to see the issue. Should this crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and afford a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a disposition to negotiate for a general peace, on just and suitable terms, would not fail to be met on his part with an earnest desire to give it the speediest effect." At the conclusion of his speech, the king mentioned the anxiety and uneasiness he felt at the extremely high price of grain, recommending it to the parliament to adopt such measures as might be the means of alleviating the present distress.

Mr. Fox moved an amendment to the address; and, after enumerating the different disasters of the campaign, and experimentally stating that the French were capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other countries, "prayed his majesty that such terms of peace should be offered to the French republic as should be consistent with the honor of the crown, and with the security and interests of the people." This amendment was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who considered the finances of France as in a state absolutely undone, since 720,000,000 of assignats were then in circulation. They were not in a condition for carrying on war during another campaign, which led him to think that the situation of things was very much improved. He extolled the new constitution of France, when contrasted with those forms which preceded it; and allowed that every objection to the form and principles of that government, considered as obstacles to negotiation, would be entirely at an end: but he contended that the manifestation of any premature desire for peace, would, in present circumstances, be the most fatal event that could possibly happen. The Duke of Bedford proposed an amendment to the address in the house of Peers, similar to Mr. Fox in the lower house; but both of them were negatived by great majorities.

A number of expedients were pointed out in the early part of the session, in order to alleviate the distresses of the poor, by diminishing the price of bread-corn. Bills were brought in for changing the existing laws respecting the assize of bread; to prevent the manufacture of starch from wheat, distillation from any articles of grain, &c.—In so far as these laws had any operation, they were admitted to be beneficial.

On the 8th of December, Mr. Pitt delivered a message from his majesty to the house of commons, making mention of "the establishment of such a form of government in France as appeared capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, and expressive of his readiness to meet any negotiation on the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace. Next day, Mr. Pitt moved an address in reply, which gave rise to a debate, when an amendment was proposed by Mr. Sheridan, denying that any change in the French government could affect the principle of negotiation, and requesting that the treaty might be entered on immediately. The amendment was declared to be "perfectly consistent with the spirit of the message, which admitted that Great Britain might now safely treat. Where, then, could be the objection to declare that she *would* treat with France? It was a vulgar, and indeed the most vulgar of opinions, to suppose that it was disadvantageous to a power at war to be the first to offer terms of peace. The experience of history proved the reverse. Were peace now offered on reasonable terms, it would not be possible for the French government to refuse their assent." Mr. Pitt, however, insisted that he should be left unfettered, and the amendment was of course negatived without a division.

As the British government seemed to adopt no measures towards a pacification, Mr. Grey moved, on the 15th of February, 1796, for an address to his majesty, beseeching him to communicate to the executive government of France, his willingness to meet any disposition to negotiate, with an ardent desire to give it the speediest effect. If ministers intended to prove themselves sincere in their desire for peace, they should make direct proposals, and acknowledge the republic without reserve. It might perhaps be said, that this was humiliating to such as were in the habit of employing the language of disdain; but ministers ought to learn humility from misfortune, and submit to an alternative which had been rendered unavoidable from their own folly. Mr. Pitt recommended *confidence in ministers*, and said, that if it was improper to confide in such a manner, it would be proper to apply to his majesty to have them removed. After putting the question, the motion of Mr. Grey was negatived by a great majority.

The Earl of Guildford in the house of peers, and Mr. Fox in the house of commons, moved an address to his majesty on the 10th of May, which declared, "That the duty incumbent upon parliament no longer permitted them to dissemble their deliberate opinion, that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which this country is now subjected, have arisen from the misconduct of the king's ministers, and are likely to subsist and increase as long as the same principles which have hitherto guided these ministers, shall continue to prevail in the councils

BOOK III. of Great Britain.—It is painful to us to remind your majesty of the situation of your dominions at the beginning of the war, and of the high degree of prosperity to which the skill and industry of your majesty's subjects had, under the safeguard of a free constitution, raised the British empire, since it can only fill your mind with the melancholy recollection of prosperity abused, and of opportunities of securing permanent advantages wantonly rejected. Nor shall we presume to wound your majesty's benevolence, by dwelling on the fortunate consequences which might have arisen from the mediation of Great Britain between the powers then at war, which might have insured the permanence of our prosperity, while it preserved all Europe from the calamities which it has since endured,—a mediation which the kingdom was so well fitted to carry on with vigor and dignity, by its power, its character, and the nature of its government, happily removed at an equal distance from the contending extremes of licentiousness and tyranny.—From this neutral and impartial system of policy your majesty's ministers were induced to depart by certain measures of the French government, of which they complained as injurious and hostile to this country. With what justice those complaints were made, we are not now called upon to determine, since it cannot be pretended that the measures of France were of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of adjustment by negotiation; and it is impossible to deny that the power which shuts up the channel of accommodation must be the real aggressor in war. To reject negotiation is to determine on hostilities; and, whatever may have been the nature of the points at question between us and France, we cannot but pronounce the refusal of such an authorised communication with that country, as might have terminated the dispute, to be the true and immediate cause of the rupture which followed.

"Nor can we forbear to remark, that the pretences under which your majesty's ministers then haughtily refused such authorised communications, have been sufficiently exposed by their own conduct in since submitting to a similar intercourse with the same government.

"The misguided policy which thus rendered the war inevitable, appears to have actuated your majesty's ministers in their determination to continue it at all hazards. At the same time we cannot but observe, that the obstinacy with which they have adhered to their desperate system, is not more remarkable than their versatility in the pretexts upon which they have justified it. At one period the strength, at another the weakness of the enemy, have been urged as motives for continuing the war; the success as well as the defeats of the allies have contributed only to prolong the contest; and hope and despair have equally

served to involve us still deeper in the horrors of war, and to entail upon us an endless train of calamities.

"After the original professed objects had been obtained by the expulsion of the French armies from the territories of Holland and the Austrian Netherlands, we find your majesty's ministers, influenced either by arrogance or by infatuated ambition and the vain hope of conquests, which, if realized, could never compensate to the nation for the blood and treasure by which they must be obtained, rejecting, unheard, the overtures made by the executive council of France, at a period when circumstances were so eminently favorable to your majesty and your allies, that there is every reason to suppose, that a negotiation, commenced at such a juncture, must have terminated in an honorable and advantageous peace; to the prospects arising from such an opportunity, they preferred a blind and obstinate perseverance in a war which could scarce have any remaining object, but the unjustifiable purpose of imposing upon France a government disapproved of by the inhabitants of that country; and such was the infatuation of these ministers, that, far from being able to frame a wise and comprehensive system of policy, they even rejected the few advantages that belonged to their unfortunate scheme. The general existence of a design to interpose in the internal government, was too manifest not to rouse into actual hostility the national zeal of that people; but their particular projects were too equivocal to attract the confidence, or procure the co-operation of those Frenchmen who were disaffected to the government of their country. The nature of these plans was too clear not to provoke formidable enemies, but their extent was too ambiguous to conciliate useful friends.

"We beg leave farther to represent to your majesty, that, at subsequent periods, your ministers have suffered the most favorable opportunities to escape of obtaining an honorable and advantageous pacification. They did not avail themselves, as it was their duty to have done, of the unbroken strength of the general confederacy which had been formed against France, for the purpose of giving effect to overtures for negotiation. They saw the secession of several powerful states from that confederacy; they suffered it to dissolve without an effort for the attainment of a general pacification. They loaded their country with the odium of having engaged in a combination, charged with the most questionable and unjustifiable views, without availing themselves of that combination for procuring favorable conditions of peace. That, from this fatal neglect, the progress of hostilities has only served to establish the evils which might certainly have been avoided by negotiation, but which are now confirmed by the events of the war. We have felt, that the un-

justifiable and impracticable attempt to establish royalty in France by force, has only proved fatal to its unfortunate supporters. We have seen with regret the subjugation of Holland, and the aggrandizement of the French republic; and we have to lament the alteration in the state of Europe, not only from the successes of the French, but from the formidable acquisitions of some of the allied powers on the side of Poland,—acquisitions alarming from their magnitude, but still more so from the manner in which they have been made: thus fatally learning that the war hastened alone to establish the very evils for the prevention of which it was avowedly undertaken.

“On a review of so many instances of gross and flagrant misconduct, proceeding from the same pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obstinacy to the same mischievous ends, we deem ourselves bound, in duty to your majesty and to our constituents, to declare that we see no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a system radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our present calamities.

“Unless your majesty’s ministers shall, from a real conviction of past errors, appear inclined to regulate their conduct upon such a system, we can neither give any credit to the sincerity of their professions of a wish for peace, nor repose any confidence in them for conducting a negotiation to a prosperous issue. Odious as they are to an enemy, who will still believe them secretly to cherish those unprincipled and chimerical projects which they have been compelled in public to disavow, contemptible in the eyes of all Europe from the display of insincerity which has marked their conduct, our only hopes rest on your majesty’s royal wisdom and unquestioned affection for your people; that you will be graciously pleased to adopt maxims of policy more suitable to the circumstances of the times, than those by which your majesty’s ministers appeared to have been governed, and to direct your servants to take measures which, by differing essentially, as well in their tendency as in the principles upon which they are founded, from those which have hitherto marked their conduct, may give this country some reasonable hope, at no very distant period, of the establishment of a peace suitable to the interests of Great Britain, and likely to preserve the tranquillity of Europe.”

This address gave rise to much interesting debate in both houses of parliament. At length the English ministry condescended to enter into a negotiation, and two unsuccessful attempts were made during the spring and winter; the first by means of Mr. Wickham, ambassador to the Helvetic states, and the next through the medium of Lord Malmesbury, who repaired to Paris ex-

pressly for that purpose. On the 24th of October, his lordship presented a memorial, stating, “that in the opinion of his Britannic majesty, the principle of compensation would best serve as a basis for the definitive arrangements of peace. Great Britain, from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France, from which, on the contrary, she has taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of value almost incalculable. But, on the other hand, France has made, on the continent of Europe, conquests to which his majesty can be the less indifferent, as the most important interests of his people, and the most sacred engagements of his crown, are essentially implicated therein. The magnanimity of the king, his inviolable good faith, and his desire to restore repose to so many nations, induced him to consider this situation of affairs as affording the means of procuring for all the belligerent powers just and equitable terms of peace, and such as are calculated to ensure for the time to come the general tranquillity. It is on this footing, then, that he purposes to negotiate, by offering to make compensation to France, by proportionable restitutions, for those arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just demands of the king’s allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.”

The executive directory, through the medium of M. de la Croix, the minister for foreign affairs, returned the following answer, which was extremely embarrassing. They said, “that if Lord Malmesbury would have agreed to treat separately, as he was formally authorised by the tenor of his credentials, the negotiation might have been considerably abridged; that the necessity of balancing with the interests of the two powers, those of the allies of Great Britain, multiplies the combinations, increases the difficulties, tends to the formation of a congress, the forms of which, it is known, are always tardy, and requires the accession of powers which hitherto have displayed no desire of accommodation, and have not given to Lord Malmesbury himself, according to his own declaration, any power to stipulate for them. Nevertheless, the executive directory, animated with an ardent desire of putting a stop to the scourge of war, and to prove that they will not reject any means of reconciliation, declares, that, as soon as Lord Malmesbury shall exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs sufficient powers from the allies of Great Britain, for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their names, the executive directory will hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which shall be submitted to them; and

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BOOK III. that the difficulties shall be removed, as far as
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The directory seem to have imagined, that the court of London did not seriously intend to accede to the basis of pacification which M. Barthelemy had stated to Mr. Wickham; and in their reply to the memorial of Lord Malmesbury, they plainly indicated their suspicions, "that the British government had a double object in view;—to prevent by general propositions the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by throwing an odium upon the republic;" and they declared without any mental reservation, "that they could not but perceive, that the proposition of Lord Malmesbury is nothing more than a renewal, under more amicable forms, of the former proposal of Mr. Wickham."

Lord Malmesbury transmitted a second note on the 12th of November to the directory, in which, conformably to the orders he had received during the interval, his lordship protested, "that, with regard to the offensive and injurious insinuations contained in that paper, the king had deemed it far beneath his dignity to permit an answer to be made to them on his part in any manner whatsoever. As to the difficulty stated by the directory, it is justly said, that there could be no question but of a negotiation, which shall combine the interests and pretensions of all the powers who make a common cause with the king in the present war. In the course of such a negotiation, the intervention, or, at least, the participation, of these powers will doubtless become absolutely necessary; but it appears, that the waiting for a formal and definitive authority on the part of the allies of the king, before Great Britain and France begin to discuss even provisionally the principles of the negotiation, would be to create a very useless delay." The same day, M. de la Croix, in a note to Lord Malmesbury, declared himself "charged by the executive directory to invite him to point out, without the smallest delay, and expressly, the objects of reciprocal compensation which he had to propose." To this Lord Malmesbury made answer, "that, before the formal acceptance of this principle, or the proposal on the part of the executive directory of some other principle, which might equally serve as the basis of a negotiation for a general peace, he could not be authorised to designate the objects of reciprocal compensation."

After some sharp but fruitless altercation, M. de la Croix informed Lord Malmesbury on the 27th of November, "that the proposal, contained in his note of the 12th of November, involved in it an acknowledgement of the principle of compensation; and that principle being now formally re-

cognized, he was again invited to give a speedy and categorical answer to the proposal." But it now appeared, that Lord Malmesbury came totally unfurnished with any plan or *projet* of peace. To the astonishment of the directory, the ambassador, who had been expressly required to bring with him full powers to conclude a peace definitively with the republic, was obliged again to consult his court, and the negotiation was totally at a stand till the 17th of December, when Lord Malmesbury stated, in a formal and confidential memorial, the terms agreeably to which it was conceived that a treaty might be concluded on the basis of mutual compensation.

These terms imported, 1st, that France should restore all her conquests made in any of the dominions of the emperor or in Italy, and that Great Britain should render back all her acquisitions gained from that power in the East and West Indies. The second article of the *projet* nevertheless stipulated for "the re-establishment of peace between the Germanic empire and France, by a suitable arrangement, conformable to the respective interests and general safety of Europe." The *projet* proceeded to state, that if, in addition to the entire restitution of the French colonies by Great Britain, his majesty were to waive the right given him, by the express stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, of opposing the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo to France, his majesty would then demand, in return for this concession, a compensation which might secure, at least in some degree, the maintenance of the balance of the respective possessions in that part of the world." It was added, that "restitutions of any kind in favor of Holland, unless France would on her part reinstate that republic in all respects in the same political situation in which it stood before the war," as Lord Malmesbury expressly declared, in a second memorial delivered at the same time, "could be admitted in so far only as they shall be compensated by arrangements calculated to contribute to the security of the Austrian Netherlands."

Lord Malmesbury had a long conference with M. de la Croix on the subject of these memorials, of which his lordship transmitted a minute account to the court of St. James's. The following are the most important particulars. The French minister said, "that the plan of pacification proposed appeared to him to be liable to insurmountable objections, as requiring much more than it conceded, and, in the event, not leaving France in a situation of proportional greatness to the other powers of Europe. He said, the act of their constitution made it impossible for the republic to do what was required. The Austrian Netherlands were annexed to it; they could not be disposed of without throwing the nation into all the confu-

sion which must follow a convocation of the primary assemblies; and that he was surprised at the demand, since he had in some of the late conversations fully explained the nature of their constitution." In return to this, Lord Malmesbury strongly urged, that there existed a *droit public* in Europe, paramount to any *droit public* they might think proper to establish within their own dominions; and that an obligation, at least equally binding, and equally public, existed between the king and the emperor, obliging them not to lay down their arms without the restitution of all the territories belonging to either before the war; that, in case of necessity, arising from losses and misfortunes, the power of cession must inhere in the executive government; and if in that case, it equally existed in all others.

As M. de la Croix was rather perplexed in his attempts to refute this reasoning, he changed his ground, and affirmed, "that, from the relative situation of the adjacent countries, the present government of France would be reprehensible in the extreme, and deserve impeachment, if they ever suffered the Netherlands to be separated from their dominions; that Russia, Austria, and Prussia, by the partition of Poland, had increased their power to a most formidable degree; that England, by its conquests, and by the activity and judgement with which it governed its colonies, had redoubled its strength. Your Indian empire alone," said M. de la Croix, vehemently, "has enabled you to subsidize all the powers of Europe against us, and your monopoly of trade has put you in possession of a fund of inexhaustible wealth." He farther declared, "that Belgium, by belonging to France, would remove what had been the source of all wars for two centuries past; and the Rhine, being the natural boundary of France, would ensure the tranquillity of Europe for two centuries to come." He at last intimated, "that an equivalent might be found for the emperor in the secularization of the three ecclesiastical electorates, and several bishoprics in Germany and Italy." He spoke of appointing new electors, and named the Stadtholder, and the Dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswick as proper persons to replace the three ecclesiastical electors. Lord Malmesbury maintained, that such ideas were totally incompatible with the principle laid down by the emperor and king, as the basis of the peace; intimating, at the same time, that if France agreed to the proposals made on all the other points, it would not be impossible that some increase of territory might be ceded to her on the Germanic side of her frontiers; and that this, in addition to the duchy of Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, would be a great acquisition of strength and power. M. de la Croix here again reverted to the constitution, and said, that these countries were already annexed to France. Lord

Malmesbury replied, "that it was impossible, in the negotiation which they were beginning, for the other powers to take it up from any period but that which immediately preceded the war; and that any acquisition or diminution of territory which had taken place among the belligerent powers, since it first broke out, must necessarily become subject-matter for negotiation, and be balanced against each other in the final arrangements of a general peace."—"You then persist," said M. de la Croix, "in applying this principle to Belgium?" His lordship answered, "most certainly; and I should not deal fairly with you if I hesitated to declare, in the outset of our negotiation, that on this point you must entertain no expectation that his majesty will relax, or ever consent to see the Netherlands remain a part of France:" to which M. de la Croix made answer, that "he saw no prospect, in this case, of their ideas ever meeting, and he despaired of the success of the negotiation."

During this time, Mr. Burke, who was no longer a member of the house of commons, but had retired with a pension of 4000*l.* a year, published his "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace." Falling into a lingering illness, he died, July 8, 1797, whose biography we shall, in a distant book, unite with that of Mr. Fox. Much about the same time, the King of Sweden came of age, and that extraordinary woman, the Empress of Russia, paid the debt of nature.

The new parliament of Great Britain was assembled at a season of the year uncommonly early, viz. the 6th of October, 1796. The speech from the throne gave great satisfaction, as it afforded the prospect of returning peace. "I have omitted no endeavours," said the king, "for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe, and to secure for the future the general tranquillity. The steps which I have taken for this purpose have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, the issue of which must either produce the desirable end of a just, honorable, and solid peace, for us and for our allies, or must prove beyond dispute to what cause alone the prolongation of the calamities of war must be ascribed. The fortune of the war on the continent has been various, and the progress of the French armies threatened, at one period, the utmost danger to all Europe; but, from the honorable and dignified perseverance of my ally the emperor, and from the intrepidity, discipline, and invincible spirit of the Austrian forces, under the auspicious conduct of the Archduke Charles, such a turn has lately been given to the course of the war, as may inspire a well-grounded confidence that the final result of the campaign will prove more disastrous to the enemy than its commencement and progress for a time were favorable to their hopes."

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Evident symptoms of disaffection appeared on board the Channel fleet, in the month of February, 1797; and Lord Howe, the seaman's friend, received some anonymous letters, the composition of which was by no means despicable. To his lordship the seamen stated their grievances, and requested his interest in obtaining redress. Their complaint had chiefly a reference to the indifferent quality of their provisions, and their very short allowance, although the expenditure of the public money, by the navy and victualling offices, was truly enormous. These just complaints were unhappily neglected; in consequence of which, when the fleet returned to port on the 31st of March, the sailors of all the ships corresponded by letter, and unanimously agreed never to weigh anchor again till their grievances were redressed.

Lord Bridport, on the 14th of April, made the signal for putting to sea, not being suspicious of a mutiny, when the sailors on board his own ship ran up the shrouds, and gave three cheers, which the crews of the other ships instantly returned.—Each ship then appointed delegates to represent the whole fleet, who held their meetings in the admiral's cabin; and having drawn up petitions, expressive of their grievances, these were presented to the admirals then on the spot. They sought only an increase of wages and the establishment of some regulations respecting their provisions; and they expressed a hope that a favorable answer would be given to their petitions before they received orders again to put to sea, unless the enemy should be understood to be at sea likewise. On the 17th of the month all the men were publicly sworn to be true to the cause in which they had embarked.

On the following day, a committee of the admiralty, with Earl Spencer at their head, arrived at Portsmouth, making several propositions, for the purpose of reducing the men to obedience.—They next went on board the Queen Charlotte, holding a conference with the delegates from the fleet, who hesitated not to declare, that no arrangement would be final which had not the sanction of the king and parliament, guaranteed by a proclamation for a general pardon. The admiral returned to his ship on the 23d of the month, hoisted his flag again, and, having delivered a short address to the crew, he assured them that he had in his possession a redress of all their grievances, with his majesty's pardon for the whole of the offenders. These offers were accepted after some deliberation, and the whole returned with cheerfulness to the performance of their duty. But unpardonable folly on the part of those in power having neglected to bring this business in time before parliament, the spirit of mutiny became again apparent; and when, on the 7th of May, Lord Bridport once more made

the signal for putting to sea, every ship at St. Helen's refused to obey him. Admiral Colpoys, who employed his efforts to restore discipline and subordination, was put under arrest; and in a skirmish, which took place between the seamen and marines, several lives were lost.

When the news of this alarming disobedience reached the metropolis, Mr. Pitt moved, on the 8th of May, for the sum of 372,000*l.* as an increase of pay and allowance of provision for nine months, calculated from the 1st of April, and begged that the motion might pass the house by a silent vote, to avoid every species of misrepresentation. To this Mr. Fox said, "that it was by silence and the want of discussion the mischief had happened. If, when it was first known that the seamen were dissatisfied, the house had been considered as entitled to the confidence of ministers, and the business had been properly discussed, the events of Easter would not have taken place. But the delay which had intervened seemed purposely meant to give scope for misrepresentation." After a very angry debate, the resolution was fortunately, though not quickly, carried.

Lord Howe was immediately sent to Portsmouth with the pleasing intelligence, carrying along with him the act of parliament, and his majesty's plenary pardon for all those who should return to their duty without farther delay. This celebrated commander was received with every demonstration of affection and applause; the officers received their former commands, the flag of mutiny and disaffection was instantly struck, and the fleet went to sea, for the purpose of engaging the enemy.

Although this mutiny was thus happily suppressed, the example was unfortunately followed by the North Sea fleet, of eleven sail of the line, then lying at the Nore, the commander of which was Admiral Buckner. These mutineers, copying the example of those at Portsmouth, made choice of delegates from every ship, and a man of the name of Parker became their president. Having confined their principal officers, or sent them on shore, they transmitted certain conditions to the admiralty, declaring that they would not return to obedience if they were not unconditionally complied with. Many of them were totally different from those which were insisted on at Portsmouth, and wholly inconsistent with the discipline of the navy. A red flag was hoisted by the mutineers on board the Sandwich, the flag-ship of the admiral, on the 23d of May, and dropped down to the Great Nore, when the mutiny arose to a most alarming height, and a deputation of the lords of the admiralty, headed by Earl Spencer, went to Sheerness, making a tender of the same terms which had been gratefully accepted by the fleet at Portsmouth. These de-

legates, however, insisted that their terms should be complied with unconditionally before they would submit to have any intercourse whatever with the committee from the admiralty; in consequence of which the lords departed, but not till they maintained, with great firmness, "that the seamen were to expect no concessions whatever, further than what had been already made by the legislature."

In order to obtain their demands, the mutineers attempted to block up the Thames, thus putting an entire stop to the London trade; and, from the ships which were detained by them, they procured water and provisions for themselves. Government now adopted measures for enforcing submission, by strictly prohibiting all intercourse with the shore; by constructing batteries, with furnaces for red-hot balls; by preparing gun-boats; and by removing all the buoys from the mouth of the Thames, by which the mutineers were very much perplexed. The council of delegates seemed rather inclined to relent, in consequence of such terrific preparations; and Lord Northesk, who commanded the Monmouth, being released from his confinement, was trusted with a message by Parker to the king, wherever he might be, which contained the *ultimatum* of their resolutions. His lordship went along with Earl Spencer into the presence of his majesty, and delivered the message, after which a privy-council was held, when the requisitions of the mutineers were again positively refused. These discovered evident symptoms of apprehension when the determination of government was made known to them; and several of the ships struck the red flag on the 10th of June, and hoisted the union; but no overtures were made them. Three ships separated from the fleet on the 13th, which overwhelmed the remainder with despair; and they formed the resolution of submitting to the king's mercy. Parker was arrested, by an order from Admiral Buckner, and immediately brought to trial before a court-martial of captains in the navy, and executed on board the Sandwich in the course of a few days. Wallace, another of the mutineers, when apprehended by the soldiers, shot himself dead upon the spot with heroic desperation, which, from such a man as Parker, might have been more reasonably expected. Numbers were capitally convicted during the sitting of the court-martial, some of whom were publicly executed; and a general pardon was at last granted, from the benefit of which, however, many were excluded.

Several popular meetings were held during the spring of 1797, the object of which was to petition his majesty for the dismissal of his ministers. The petition from the city of Westminster attracted no small degree of notice, and was as follows:—

"We humbly represent to your majesty, that in the hands of these ministers nothing has succeeded. Instead of restoring monarchy in France, they have been compelled to recognize the republic there established, and to offer proposals of peace to it. Instead of dismembering their territories, they have suffered it to add to them the Netherlands, Holland, and great part of Italy and Germany: and even a part of these kingdoms, which the fleets of that republic have insulted, has only been preserved from the calamities of an invasion by the accidents of the seasons."

"In their negotiations for peace they have been equally unsuccessful. It was to be expected. When they asked for peace they were abject, but not sincere; they acknowledged their impotence, but not their errors. They discovered the most hostile dispositions towards France, at the very time they proved their utter inability to contend with her."

"When they wanted to obtain our consent to the war, they assured us it was necessary for the safety of our commerce. At this moment most of the ports of Europe are shut against us; goods, to an immense amount, are lying upon the hands of our merchants, and the manufacturing poor are starving by thousands."

"They assured us the war was necessary for the preservation of property and public credit. They have rendered every man's property subject to an order of the privy-council, and the Bank of England has stopped payment."

"They assured us that the war was necessary for the preservation of the constitution. They have destroyed its best part, which is its liberty, by oppressive restrictions upon the right of petitioning, and upon the freedom of the press; by prosecuting innocent men under false pretences; by sending money to foreign princes without the consent of parliament; while, by erecting barracks throughout the kingdom, they gave us reason to suspect their intention of finally subjecting the people to military despotism."

"They assured us that the war was necessary for the preservation of the unity of our empire. But they have so conducted, and are still conducting, themselves in Ireland, as to alienate the affections of that brave, loyal, but oppressed and persecuted nation, and to expose the most flourishing of its provinces to all the horrors of lawless military violence."

"These are no common errors; they are great crimes, and of these crimes, before God and our country, we accuse your ministers.—They have tarnished the national honor and glory; they have oppressed the poor with almost intolerable burdens; they have poisoned the intercourse of private life; they have given a fatal blow to public credit; they have divided the empire, and they have subverted the constitution."

BOOK III

CHAP. I.

1796-7.

By such petitions were the opposition members in both houses of parliament encouraged to bring forward motions of a similar nature and tendency. The Earl of Suffolk, on the 27th of March, took notice of the alarming situation of the country, and animadverted on the character of Mr. Pitt, whom he branded as in all respects incapable but in the mean arts of deluding: and declared, "that he considered it as a duty which he owed to himself, his king, and his country, to move, that an address might be presented to his majesty, humbly requesting him to dismiss from his councils his minister, the first lord of the treasury, whose pernicious measures had deprived him of the confidence of the country." Lord Grenville vindicated the character of Mr. Pitt, and said, "the failure of any of whose measures, he was certain, could be justly attributed only to those errors to which human nature was at all times liable, to those accidents which no human wisdom could prevent, or to those dispensations of Providence which no human power could control;" and he complained that the charges against him were not substantiated by proofs.

The victories which the French had obtained were occasionally made the themes of exultation by the directory. Citizen Marmont, aid-de-camp of General Bonaparte, conveyed to Paris twenty-two standards taken from the Imperialists; he was presented to the directory by the minister of war, in presence of a crowd of citizens, whom the ceremony had attracted. Marmont then addressed the directory by observing, that the twenty-two standards he presented were taken in fourteen days. The victories of the army of Italy were a sure pledge of its affection for the republic; it knew how to defend the laws and how to obey them, as well as to combat external enemies. "Deign," added he, "to consider it as one of the firmest columns of liberty; and believe, that while the soldiers composing it exist, the government will have intrepid defenders." Reyellière Lepaux, president of the directory, made an impressive reply, and presented him with a pair of pistols.

In a sitting at Bologna, called by the French, it was decided, that the senate, as well as its individual members, should receive and give only the title of *Citizen*. On the 16th of October, 1796, the tree of liberty was planted in the grand square, amidst the joyous acclamations of *Viva la République Française*, and a grand illumination took place. Some persons, however, occasioned a tumult, during which there were several excesses; but Bonaparte, having arrived, published a proclamation, in which he stated, that the constitution and the national guard would forthwith be organised. He declared himself the enemy of tyrants, but above all, the sworn foe of villains, plunderers,

and anarchists; and that he was determined to order those to be shot who violated social order.

The standards taken at Arcole arrived, and were received by the Executive Directory in a public sitting. The minister of war presented Lamarois, chief of battalion, and aid-de-camp of General Bonaparte; who, after a long harangue, filled with encomiums on his commander, and his brothers in arms, was answered in the same style. "Return," said the president, "to those brave warriors, tell them the marble of the Pantheon awaits their names, and that they are already engraven on the hearts of all true Frenchmen."

Enraged at the victory obtained over Admiral De Winter by Viscount Camperdown, the Executive Directory decreed, October 26, 1797, that there should be assembled, without delay, an army, to be called the Army of England, and to be under the command of Citizen General Bonaparte. On the same day, the directory issued a proclamation to the French people, to the following purport.

"It is at London that the calamities of Europe are fabricated; it is there that we must put an end to them. Crown at length your exploits by an invasion of the island, whither your ancestors carried slavery, under William the Conqueror, and bring back thither the genius of liberty, which must land there at the same moment with the French. A lawless enemy has repelled, in fact, all the overtures which could only tend to pacification. You know this enemy; your indignation fixes on and points him out by name—it is the cabinet of St. James's—it is the most corrupting, and the most corrupted, of the governments of Europe,—it is the English government. The great nation will avenge the universe; and for that purpose, Frenchmen! more means than one present themselves to you; the most worthy, and the quickest, is a descent upon England. Thus let the Army of England go and dictate terms of peace in London! Go, gallant republicans! second the unanimous wish of the nation; go, and restore the liberty of the seas. And since the British government looks at this present moment with a ferocious smile on the calamities which have befallen the continent, and glories in its wealth, force it to pay its quota towards the expenses of the war. What a resplendent glory is held forth to the Army of England! it is sufficient to point it out."

In an address to General Bonaparte, the president of the directory made these observations. "Peace restores order; but, above all, it will procure us the inexpressible advantage of being able to consolidate the republican government, and to enable you to give a blow to the insolence of England, to the conquest of which you are called. Go then, Citizen General! crown so glo-

rious a life by a conquest which the Great Nation owes to its insulted dignity. Let the conquerors of the Rhine, the Po, and the Tiber, follow your steps, the ocean will be proud of conveying them. He is an untamed slave who blushes at his chains; he invokes by his roarings the vengeance of the earth on the tyrant that oppresses his waves. He will combat on your side; the elements themselves submit to the man who is free. Pompey did not disdain to crush the pirates; go ye, greater than that Roman! and chain up that gigantic buccaneer, who tyrannizes over the sea; go, and punish in London outrages which have been too long unpunished."

A deputation of the merchants of Paris addressed the directory in a style of gasconade quite in unison with the bombastic professions of that government. This deputation was introduced by the minister of finance, who in his speech told the directory, "that the traders of Paris came to request the legislative body to open a loan, of which the premium should be hypothetized upon our victories. The loan may be called an English loan." The address of the deputation concluded with these words:—

"Citizen directors! the merchants of Paris, of whom we believe ourselves to be the organ, are anxious that you should transmit to the executive body a message, to invite them to open a loan, which will assure a sure and ready means to effectuate a descent upon England. This loan may be mortgaged upon an indirect imposition."

In a message, communicating this offer to the council of five hundred, the president, Barras, observed, that the fund of 40,000,000, to be raised in this manner, would be "secured on the success of the grand operation which the directory is now preparing." And, in the council, Jean de Brie observed, that the standard of victory would soon "proceed to punish Albion for its long catalogue of crimes against humanity."

Such was the arrogance of France at this period, and such her enmity against England, that she seized every opportunity of indulging her rancour.

In the course of the summer of 1797, a third attempt was made, by the British ministry, to negotiate with the French directory, and Lord Malmesbury was again nominated ambassador; but neither this, nor a similar negotiation on the part of Portugal, proved successful. The King of Great Britain was therefore pleased to publish a declaration, dated from Westminster, October 25, in which he detailed "his benevolent endeavours to restore to his people the blessings of a secure and honorable peace." After enumerating the obstacles constantly interposed by those who directed the councils of France, it stated, that "his minister had repaired to the Continent, furnished with the most ample powers, and instructed to

communicate at once an explicit and detailed proposal and plan of peace, reduced into the shape of a regular treaty; just and moderate in its principles, embracing all the interests concerned, and extending to every object connected with the restoration of public tranquillity. To this proceeding, open and liberal beyond example, the conduct of his majesty's enemies opposed the most striking contrast; no counter-project has ever yet been received, and no statement of the extent and nature of the conditions on which they would conclude any peace with these kingdoms could be obtained. The points which, in pursuance of this system, the enemy proposed for separate discussion, in their first conferences with his majesty's ministers, were at once frivolous and offensive; none of them productive of any solid advantage to France, but all calculated to raise new obstacles in the way of peace. And to these demands were soon added another, in its form unprecedented, in its substance extravagant, and such as could originate only in the most determined and inveterate hostility. The principle of mutual compensation, before expressly admitted by common consent as the just and equitable basis of negotiation, was now disclaimed; every idea of moderation or reason, every appearance of justice was disregarded; and a concession was required from his majesty's plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indispensable condition, which must at once have superseded all the objects, and precluded all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions so large a portion of her conquests, and affecting to have deprived herself, by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating these valuable additions of territory, did not scruple to demand from his majesty the absolute and unconditional surrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valor of his fleets and armies, had conquered in the present war, either from France or her allies. She required, that the power of Great Britain should be confined within its former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almost unparalleled in history. She insisted that, in proportion to the increase of danger, the means of resistance should be diminished; and that his majesty should give up, without compensation, and into the hands of his enemies, the necessary defences of his possessions, and the future safeguards of his empire. Nor even was this demand brought forward as constituting the terms of peace, but the price of negotiation; as the condition on which alone his majesty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were still reserved, and to what greater sacrifices these unprecedented concessions of honor and safety were to lead."

After enumerating the outrages and insults

BOOK III. committed in respect to the king's plenipotentiary, towards the conclusion of the conferences, the declaration thus concludes :

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" To France, to Europe, and to the world, it must be manifest, that the French government (while they persist in their present sentiments) leave his majesty without an alternative, unless he were prepared to surrender and sacrifice to the undisguised ambition of his enemies, the honor of his crown, and the safety of his dominions. It must be manifest, that, instead of showing, on their part, any inclination to meet his majesty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms, they have never brought themselves to state any terms (however exorbitant) on which they were ready to conclude peace. They have asked, as a preliminary, (and in a form the most arrogant and offensive,) concessions which the comparative situation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any stage of negotiation; which were directly contrary to their own repeated professions; and which, nevertheless, they peremptorily requested to be complied with in the very outset, reserving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating, from time to time, fresh demands, increasing in proportion to every new concession.

" On the other hand, the terms proposed by his majesty have been stated in the most clear, open, and unequivocal manner. The discussion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been, on his majesty's part, repeatedly called for, and as often promised by the French plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negotiation is not therefore to be ascribed to any pretensions, however inadmissible, urged as the price of peace; nor to any ultimate difference on terms however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the contest, and to persevere, at all hazards, in their hostile designs against the prosperity and safety of these kingdoms.

" While this determination continues to prevail, his majesty's earnest wishes and endeavors to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless. But his sentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may show a disposition and spirit in any degree corresponding to his own. And he renews, even now, and before all

Europe, the solemn determination, that, in spite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been strengthened and confirmed by that fresh success which, by the blessing of Providence, has recently attended his arms, (alluding to Admiral Duncan's victory,) he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be closed) to conclude peace on the same moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before proposed: the rejection of such terms must now, more than ever, demonstrate the implacable animosity and insatiable ambition of those with whom he has to contend, and to them alone must the future consequences of the prolongation of the war be ascribed.

" If such unhappily is the spirit by which they are still actuated, his majesty can neither hesitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the sentiments and determination of his people. He will not be wanting to them, and he is confident they will not be wanting to themselves. He has an anxious but a sacred and indispensable duty to fulfil; he will discharge it with resolution, constancy, and firmness. Deeply as he must regret the continuance of a war, so destructive in its progress, and so burthensome even in its success, he knows the character of the brave people whose interests and honor are entrusted to him. These are the first objects of his life to maintain; and he is convinced, that neither the resources nor the spirit of his kingdom will be found inadequate to this arduous contest, or unequal to the importance or value of the objects which are at stake. He trusts, that the favor of Providence, by which they have always hitherto been supported against all their enemies, will be still extended to them; and that, under this protection, his faithful subjects, by a resolute and vigorous application of the means which they possess, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to resist, with just indignation, the assumed superiority of the enemy, against whom they have fought with the courage, success, and glory of their ancestors, and who aims at nothing less than to destroy, at once, whatever has contributed to the prosperity and greatness of the British empire—all the channels of its industry, and all the sources of its power; its security from abroad, its tranquillity at home, and, above all, that constitution, on which alone depends the undisturbed enjoyment of its religion, laws, and liberties."

CHAPTER X.

Captivity of Sir Sidney Smith.—Rancor of the French Government.—Ill-treatment of English Prisoners.—Curious and interesting Anecdotes of Sir Sidney, and his wonderful Escape.

NOTHING can more evince the malevolence of the French government towards the English nation at this period, than the ungenerous detention of Sir Sidney Smith, who was taken prisoner. This British officer, being stationed off Havre de Grace, went with the boats of his squadron on a reconnoitering expedition, and on the 18th of April captured a French lugger privateer, which, by the strong setting of the tide into the harbour, was driven above the forts. In this situation he remained the whole night, and at the dawn of day the French discovering the French lugger in tow of the English boats, an alarm was instantly given, and another lugger of superior force was warped out against the prize. This vessel he engaged for a considerable time, but her metal was so much heavier, as to render all resistance unavailing, and he had the mortification to be obliged to surrender with nineteen of his companions. The Diamond was meanwhile prevented from affording any assistance to her brave commander, by the dead calm which prevailed during the whole of the unfortunate transaction. The officers immediately sent a flag of truce to enquire whether Sir Sidney was wounded, and to request that he might be treated with kindness. The governor replied, that Sir Sidney was well, and that he should experience the utmost humanity and attention.

This promise, however, the French government was very far from ratifying. The mischief to their marine, of which he had been the instrument at Toulon, and his subsequent activity in annoying their coast, had rendered Sir Sidney particularly obnoxious to the rulers of France, who obstinately refused to exchange their prisoner.

They set up a pretence that Sir Sidney could not be considered as an ordinary prisoner of war, and should not be admitted into the ordinary exchanges. No doubt remained with the directory but that this was an act of injustice, and they therefore directly apprehended, that the English government would take revenge, by ill-treating the French prisoners in their country. The anxious eye of the directory was constantly upon the motions of the English administration; their agent was ordered to look out, and, as he did not complain, he was suspected of neglecting his duty.

M. Chareté, the French agent, had constant access to his unfortunate countrymen, and received every information as often as he wished; he

was in general satisfied; and no ground of complaint arose that the government did not correct to his satisfaction. It was, however, discovered, that at Falmouth the contractor had supplied the prisoners with bread inferior to the price government paid; a circumstance that buoyed up the reputation of M. Chareté, by giving him a tale to send over to his government, of which the directory made the most ungenerous use. When the conduct of the contractor was represented, he was punished, and means taken to prevent a repetition of the same fraud; yet the directory trumpeted the story forth in their gazettes and placards, to justify the wretched manner in which they had treated the English prisoners, even before they had any such excuse to make. A Frenchman, on arriving at Nantes from an English prison, saw it stuck against the walls, that the French prisoners were fed upon dead dogs and cats, and were sometimes brought out, in great numbers, and shot to amuse the people; he declared that it was false, and that he was treated with extreme kindness; but he was told to be silent, and not dare to contradict the government.

As the French sent an agent to look over their prisoners in England, so the British government appointed Mr. Swinburne, agent, to attend to their prisoners in France; but Mr. Swinburne was not allowed access to the prisons, nor to receive any information concerning them directly, but such as the French commissaries thought proper to give.

A committee having been appointed by the English government, several persons were examined as to their treatment while prisoners in France; it appeared that little attention was paid to the comfort of those unfortunate people held in France, that their places of confinement were small, crowded, and filthy, and their allowances poor and scanty, while every article was cheap and plentiful near where they were confined. On their marches from where they were taken to the places appointed for their residence, while they were detained, they were obliged to support the soldiers, who conducted them, out of their scanty pittance, and at night were lodged in a church on wet straw, and when their release was ordered, they were marched back, paying their own expenses. When this was reported to the marine minister at Brest, by some English officers, he said, he believed all they told him, but that it was

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CHAP. II.

1797.

BOOK III. not in his power to remedy it, or he would ; and
 CHAP. II. he desired them to apply to the French commissary
 1797. in London, for the difference of the deficiency
 in what they ought to have received. Not only
 were the provisions curtailed for those who were
 ill, but even for those who were lame.

The French commissary for prisoners was examined before a committee held in London, as to the state in which he saw the different prisons in England, and he gave the highest credit to the government for the allowances they made to support the prisoners, and said, that whatever faults there were, they doubtless arose with the contractors ; at some places, he did see articles supplied not by any means equal to the price that government paid for them ; but that, on stating this to the transport-board, under whose care the prisoners were, every attention was paid to his remonstrances. It appeared, however, from the minutes of the committee, that Monsieur Chareté had written to the directory that the prison at Norman Cross was crowded to excess, and many irregularities occurred. This, however, he denied to the committee ; and it appeared, from the evidence of the medical officers who attended, and two French medical men who also assisted, that this was not the case. A great deal of cruelty and jealousy existed relative to the prisoners of war in France, which was the occasion of many unpleasant circumstances between the two nations ; but the committee resolved there was no fault to be found with those in England.

The directory well knew, that a general exchange of prisoners would free the English government from all blame ; and it was unjustly insisted upon, that the British should give up all claim to the number of prisoners that they had a right to demand in exchange for Frenchmen liberated on parole, amounting to 7019, and also give up 4000 more, above what they expected to receive any exchange for, before they could change Sir Sidney Smith for an officer of equal rank.

When Sir Sidney was taken at sea, he was accompanied by his secretary and M. de Tr——, a French gentleman, who had emigrated from his country, and who, it had been agreed, was to pass for Sir Sidney's servant, in the hope of saving his life in that disguise. Nor were their expectations frustrated ; for John, as he was called, was lucky enough to escape all suspicion.

On Sir Sidney's arrival in France, he was treated at first with unexampled rigor, and was told that he ought to be tried under a military commission, and shot as a spy. The government, however, gave orders for his removal to Paris, where he was sent to the Abbaye, and, together with his two companions in misfortune, was kept a close prisoner.

Meanwhile, the means of escape were the constant objects on which they employed their minds.

The window of their prison was toward the street, and from this circumstance they derived a hope sooner or later to effect their object.

One day, our British hero observed that a lady, who lived in an upper apartment on the opposite side of the street, seemed frequently to look towards that part of the prison where he was confined. As often as he observed her he played some tender air upon his flute, by which, and by imitating every motion that she made, he at length succeeded in fixing her attention upon him, and had the happiness of remarking, that she occasionally observed him with a glass. One morning when he saw that she was looking attentively upon him in this manner, he tore a blank leaf from an old mass-book, which was lying in his cell, and with the soot of the chimney contrived, by his finger, to describe upon it, in a large character, the letter A, which he held to the window, to be viewed by this fair sympathizing observer. After gazing upon it some little time, she nodded, to shew that she understood what it meant. Sir Sidney then touched the top of the first bar of the grating of his window, which he wished her to consider as the representative of the letter A, the second B, and so on, until he had formed from the top of the bars a corresponding number of letters ; and by touching the middle and bottom parts of them, upon a line with each other, he easily, after having inculcated the first impression of his wishes, completed a telegraphic alphabet. The process of communication was, from its nature, very slow ; but Sir Sidney had the happiness of observing, upon forming the first word, that this excellent being, who beamed before him like a guardian angel, seemed completely to comprehend it, which she expressed by an assenting movement of the head.

Frequently obliged to desist from this tacit and tedious intercourse, from the dread of exciting the curiosity of the gaolers or his fellow-prisoners, who were permitted to walk before his window, Sir Sidney occupied several days in communicating to his unknown friend his name and quality, and imploring her to procure some unknown royalist of consequence and address, sufficient for the undertaking, to effect his escape ; in the achievement of which he assured her, upon his word of honor, that, whatever cost might be incurred, would be amply reimbursed, and that the bounty and gratitude of his country would nobly remunerate those who had the talent and bravery to accomplish it. By the same means he enabled her to draw confidential and accredited bills for considerable sums of money, for the promotion of the scheme, which she applied with perfect integrity.

Other ladies endeavoured to assist our hero, with whom, under borrowed names, he used to correspond, theirs being taken from the ancient

mythology; so that he had now a direct communication with Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio.

At length Sir Sidney Smith was removed to the Temple, where his three muses soon contrived means of intelligence, and every day offered him new schemes of effecting his escape. At first he eagerly accepted them all, though reflection soon destroyed the hopes to which the love of liberty had given birth. He was resolved not to leave his secretary in prison, and still less poor John, whose safety was more dear to him than his own emancipation.

In the Temple, John was allowed to enjoy a considerable degree of liberty. He was lightly dressed as an English jockey, and knew how to assume the manners that correspond with that character. Every one was fond of John, who drank and fraternized with the turnkeys, and made love to the keeper's daughter, who was persuaded he would marry her; and, as the little English jockey was not supposed to have received a very brilliant education, he had learned, by means of study, sufficiently to mutilate his native tongue. John appeared very attentive and eager in Sir Sidney's service, and always spoke to his master in a very respectful manner. Sir Sidney scolded him from time to time *with much gravity*; and he played his part so well, that our hero frequently found himself forgetting his friend, and seriously giving orders to the valet. At length, John's wife, Madame de Tr——, a very interesting lady, arrived at Paris, and made the most uncommon exertion to liberate them from their captivity. She dared not come, however, to the Temple, for fear of discovery; but from a neighbouring house she daily beheld her husband, who, as he walked to and fro, enjoyed alike, in secret, the pleasure of contemplating the friend of his bosom. Madame de Tr—— now communicated a plan for delivering them from prison to a sensible and courageous young man of her acquaintance, who immediately acceded to it without hesitation. This Frenchman, who was sincerely attached to his country, said to Madame de Tr——, "I will serve Sir Sidney Smith with pleasure, because I believe the English government intend to restore Louis XVIII. to the throne; but, if the commodore is to fight against France, and not for the King of France, heaven forbid that I should assist him."

Ch. L'Oiseau (for that was the name this young friend assumed) was connected with the agents of the king, then confined in the Temple, and with whom he was always contriving means of escape. It was intended they should all get off together. M. la Vilheurnois, being condemned only to a year's imprisonment, was resolved not to quit his present situation; but his brother and Duverne de Presle were to follow their example. Every thing was prepared for the execution of their pro-

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ject. The means proposed by Ch. L'Oiseau appeared practicable, and they resolved to adopt them. A hole, twelve feet long, was to be made in a cellar adjoining to the prison, and the apartments to which the cellar belonged were at their disposal. Mademoiselle D——, rejecting every prudential consideration, generously came to reside there for a week, and, being young, the other lodgers attributed to her alone the frequent visits of Ch. L'Oiseau. Thus every thing seemed to favor their wishes. No one in the house in question seemed to have any suspicions; and the amiable little child Mademoiselle D—— had with her, and who was only seven years old, was so far from betraying their secret, that she, always beat a little drum and made a noise while the work was going on in the cellar.

Meanwhile L'Oiseau had continued his labors a considerable time without any appearance of day-light, and he was apprehensive he had attempted the opening considerably too low. It was necessary, therefore, that the wall should be sounded; and for this purpose a mason was required. Madame de Tr—— recommended one, and Ch. L'Oiseau undertook to bring him, and to detain him in the cellar till they had escaped, which was to take place that very day. The worthy mason perceived the object was to save some of the victims of misfortune, and came without hesitation. He only said, "If I am arrested, take care of my poor children."

A dreadful misfortune now frustrated all their hopes! Though the wall was sounded with the greatest precaution, the last stone fell out, and rolled into the garden of the Temple. The sentinel perceived it—the alarm was given—the guard arrived—and all was discovered. Fortunately, however, their friends had time to make their escape, and none of them were known. They had, indeed, taken their measures with the greatest care; and when the commissioners of the Bureau Central came to examine the cellar and apartment, they found only a few pieces of furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood and hay, and the hats with tri-colored cockades, provided for their flight, as those they wore were black.

This first attempt, though extremely well conducted, having failed, Sir Sidney wrote to Madame de Tr——, both to console her and their young friend, who was miserable at having foundered just as he was going into port. They were so far, however, from suffering themselves to be discouraged, that they still continued to form new schemes for their deliverance. The keeper perceived it, and Sir Sidney was frequently so open as to acknowledge the fact. "Commodore," said he, "your friends are desirous of liberating you, and they only discharge their duty. I also am doing mine, in watching you still more nar-

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rowly." Though this keeper was a man of unparalleled severity, yet he never departed from the rules of civility and politeness. He treated all the prisoners with kindness, and even piqued himself on his generosity. Various proposals were made to him, but he rejected them all, watched them the more closely, and preserved the profoundest silence.

One day, when our hero dined with him, he perceived that Sir Sidney fixed his attention on a window then partly open, and which looked into the street. Sir Sidney saw his uneasiness, and it amused him: however, to put an end to it, he said to him, laughing, "I know what you are thinking of, but fear not. It is now three o'clock. I will make a truce with you till midnight; and I give you my word of honor, that, till that time, even were the doors open, I would not escape. When that hour is past, my promise is at an end, and we are enemies again."—"Sir," replied he, "your word is a safer bond than my bars and bolts: till midnight, therefore, I am perfectly easy." When they rose from the table, the keeper took him aside, and, speaking with warmth, said, "Commodore, the Boulevard is not far. If you are inclined to take the air there, I will conduct you." Sir Sidney's astonishment was extreme; nor could he conceive how this man, who appeared so severe, and so steady, should thus suddenly make him such a proposal. He accepted it, however, and in the evening they went out.

From that time forward this confidence always continued. Whenever Sir Sidney was desirous to enjoy perfect liberty, he offered him a *suspension of arms* till a certain hour. This his generous enemy never refused: but when the armistice was at an end his vigilance was unbounded. Every post was examined; and if the government ordered that Sir Sidney Smith should be kept close, the order was enforced with the greatest care. Thus our hero was again free to contrive and prepare for his escape, and the keeper to treat him with the utmost rigor. This man had a very accurate idea of the obligations of honor. He often said to Sir Sidney, "Were you even under sentence of death, I would permit you to go out on your parole, because I should be certain of your return. Many very honest prisoners, and I myself among the rest, would not return in the like case; but an officer, and especially an officer of distinction, holds his honor dearer than his life. I know it to be a fact, commodore; and therefore I should be less uneasy, if you desired the gates to be always open." The keeper was right. While Sir Sidney enjoyed his liberty, he endeavoured even to lose sight of the idea of his escape; and he would have been averse to employ for that object means that had occurred to his imagination during his hours of liberty. One day he

received a letter containing matter of the greatest importance, which he had the strongest desire to read; but as its contents related to his intended deliverance, he asked to return to his room, and break off the truce. The keeper, however, refused, saying, with a laugh, that he wanted to take some sleep. Accordingly he lay down, and Sir Sidney postponed the perusal of his letter till the evening. Meanwhile no opportunity of flight offered; on the contrary, the directory ordered him to be treated with rigor. The keeper punctually obeyed all the orders he received; and he who the preceding evening had granted Sir Sidney the greatest liberty, now doubled his guard, in order to exercise a more perfect vigilance.

Among the prisoners was a man condemned for certain political offences to ten years confinement, and whom all the other prisoners suspected of the detestable capacity of a spy upon his companions. Their suspicions, indeed, appeared to have some foundation, and Sir Sidney felt the greater anxiety on account of his friend John. He was, however, fortunate enough soon after to obtain his liberty. An exchange of prisoners being about to take place, Sir Sidney applied to have his servant included in the cartel; and though this request might easily have been refused, fortunately no difficulty arose, and it was granted. When the day of his departure arrived, this kind and affectionate friend could scarcely be prevailed upon to leave Sir Sidney; till at length he yielded to his most earnest entreaties. They parted with tears in their eyes, which to our hero were the tears of pleasure, because his friend was leaving a situation of the greatest danger. The amiable jockey was regretted by every one: the turnkeys drank a good journey to him; nor could the girl he had courted help weeping for his departure; whilst her mother, who thought John a very good youth, hoped she should one day call him her son-in-law. Sir Sidney was soon informed of his arrival in London; and this circumstance rendered his confinement less painful.

On the 4th of September, 1797, (18th Fructidor) the rigor of Sir Sidney's confinement was still further increased. The keeper, whose name was Lasne, was displaced; our hero was again kept close prisoner; and, together with his liberty, lost the hopes of a peace, which he thought approaching. At this time a proposal was made to Sir Sidney for his escape, which he adopted as his last resource. The plan was to have forged orders drawn up for his removal to another prison, and thus to carry him off. A French gentleman, M. de Phelipeaux, a man of equal intrepidity and generosity, offered to execute this enterprize. The order then being accurately imitated, and, by means of a bribe, the real stamp of the minister's signature procured, nothing remained but to find men bold enough to put this plan into execution.

Phelipeaux and Ch. L'Oiseau would have eagerly undertaken it; but both being known, and even notorious at the temple, it was absolutely necessary to employ others. Messrs. B—— and L——, therefore, both men of tried courage, accepted the office with pleasure and alacrity. With this order, then, they came to the temple; Mr. B—— in the dress of an adjutant, and Mr. L—— as an officer. The keeper having perused the order, and attentively examined the minister's signature, went into another room, leaving Sir Sidney's friends for some time in the most cruel uncertainty and suspense. At length he returned, accompanied by the registrar (or greffier) of the prison, and ordered our hero to be called. When the registrar informed him of the orders of the directory, Sir Sidney Smith pretended to be very much concerned at it; but the adjutant assured him, in the most serious manner, "that the government were very far from intending to aggravate his misfortune, and that he should be very comfortable at the place whither he was ordered to conduct him." Sir Sidney expressed his gratitude to all the servants employed about the prison, and was not long in packing up his clothes.

At his return, the registrar observed, that at least six men from the guard must accompany him; and the adjutant, without being the least confounded, acquiesced in the justice of the remark, and gave orders for them to be called out; but *on reflection*, and remembering, as it were, the laws of chivalry, and of honor, he addressed Sir Sidney, saying, "Commodore, you are an officer; I am an officer also. Your parole will be enough. Give me that, and I have no need of an escort."—"Sir," replied Sir Sidney, "if that is sufficient, I swear, upon the faith of an officer, to accompany you wherever you choose to conduct me." The keeper now asked for a discharge, and the registrar gave the book to Mr. B——, who boldly signed it with a proper flourish, *L'Oger, adjutant-general*. Meanwhile Sir Sidney employed the attention of the turnkeys, and loaded them with favors, to prevent them from having time to reflect; nor indeed did they seem to have any other thought than their own advantage. The registrar and keeper accompanied them as far as the second court; and at length the last gate was opened, and they left them

after a long interchange of ceremony and politeness.

They instantly entered a hackney-coach, and the adjutant ordered the coachman to drive to the Fauxbourg of St. Germain. But the stupid fellow had not gone a hundred paces before he broke his wheel against a post, and hurt an unfortunate passenger; and this unlucky incident brought a crowd around them. They quitted the coach, took their portmanteaus in their hands, and went off in an instant. Though the people observed them much, they did not say a word to them, only abusing the coachman; and when the driver demanded his fare, Mr. L——, through an inadvertence that might have caused them to be arrested, gave him a double louis d'or.

Having separated when they quitted the carriage, Sir S. Smith arrived at the appointed rendezvous with only his secretary and M. de Phelipeaux, who had joined them near the prison; and though he was very desirous of waiting for his two friends, to thank and take his leave of them, M. de Phelipeaux observed, there was not a moment to be lost. Our hero therefore postponed, till another opportunity, his expressions of gratitude to his deliverers; and they immediately set off for Rouen, where M. R—— had made every preparation for their reception.

At Rouen they were obliged to stay several days; and as their passports were perfectly regular, they did not take much care to conceal themselves, but in the evening they walked about the town, or took the air on the banks of the Seine. At length, every thing being ready for them to cross the channel, they quitted Rouen in an open boat, and were soon afterwards discovered by an English cruising frigate. Thus our hero arrived in London, together with his secretary and his friend M. de Phelipeaux, who could not prevail on himself to leave them.

Sir Sidney was received by his countrymen with that acclamation which a meritorious officer never fails to obtain. His escape was considered as a miracle, which most who heard of it scarcely knew how to credit. His sovereign treated him with the warmest affection, and not only conferred on him marked attention at his public presentation, but honored him with an immediate private interview at Buckingham-house.

CHAPTER III.

Irish History.—Conduct of the Catholics.—Apprehension of Jackson and Stone.—Sudden Death of the former.—Society of United Irishmen.—Meditated Subversion of the existing Government.—Discoveries, and consequent Arrests.—Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—Insurrections in Naas, Rathfarnham, Carlow, Kildare, Wexford, New Ross, &c.—Defeat of the Rebels.—Bigotry of the Priests.—Executions.—Debates in the English and Irish Houses of Parliament on the Subject.—Measures of Government.—France's feeble Aid to the Rebels.—Tranquillity restored.—Observations.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER III.

1798.

THE distracted state of Ireland at this period, which was the occasion of general alarm, demands our present attention; particularly as the views of that immense body of French forces, arrogantly stiled the "army of England," were entirely defeated by the timely suppression of an insurrection, in some degree similar to the Vendéan rebellion which agitated France, but destitute of such honorable motives. Britain was equally alarmed at the preparations for a civil war in her sister kingdom, but very fortunately prevented the mischiefs which were intended.

The Irish catholics, it must be confessed, met with repeated disappointments, some years before the union of England and Ireland; and although the impolicy of the English government, in raising their hopes to the highest pitch, by the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam for their viceroy, and then dashing the cup of expectation from their lips by his sudden recall, admitted of no extenuation; still the revolt of the Irish catholics could not be vindicated, particularly as the present reign was to them a reign of concession and indulgence. By the last act of toleration, they wanted, comparatively, but little of being restored to the perfect enjoyment of *civil liberty*; and as the current, upon the whole, ran in their favor, notwithstanding some occasional and temporary disappointments, there is good ground to believe, that, had they conducted themselves with temper and moderation, they would ultimately have succeeded in their attempts to be restored to their rights as men and citizens in their fullest extent; to their political, as well as civil existence. Obedience to the magistrate is the general rule of duty, not to be departed from but on extraordinary and cogent occasions, such as can never be pleaded in defence of the Irish revolt of 1798.

In another light, this transaction may be deemed no less rash and imprudent, than it was immoral and unjust. The number of those who had entered into the association of United Irishmen, who had sworn fidelity to the rules of the institution, and who had been led on, step by step, to engage in this conspiracy against the government, was

indeed prodigious; but still the power of the sword, and, what is still more potent, of the purse, was in the hands of the protestants; and, in case of necessity, the government of Ireland would doubtless have been supported by the mighty force of Britain. The Irish catholics must, therefore, have been reduced to an absolute dependence upon France, in order to establish their visionary independency. But what scenes of horror and carnage the wretched inhabitants of Ireland must have witnessed, before the existing government could have been subverted by the assistance of such an ally! And, supposing the object attained, Ireland would have dearly repented of the wild and romantic project of separating herself from Great Britain; for France would have treated her as she had Belgium, Lombardy, and Venice. Even Holland, the only country where the French had appeared to observe any degree of moderation, was degraded to the rank of a dependent province.

For the purpose of acquiring intelligence, the French government had employed one Jackson, a native of Ireland, of the clerical profession, who came to England, recommended, as it appears, to no other person than a Mr. Stone, merchant, at Old Ford, near London, whose brother, a violent democrat, had a few years before made Paris his habitation. Mr. Stone received this dangerous friend with much hospitality; but Jackson, being at length convinced that the invasion of England was impracticable, repaired to Ireland, where he still continued his correspondence with Stone. The correspondence being intercepted by government, both Jackson and Stone were in a short time apprehended, on a charge of high-treason. The former was convicted on the most decisive evidence; but when brought up for sentence, he fell down suddenly and expired, before it could be pronounced. Stone, after a long confinement, was also tried, but acquitted, and suffered to follow his brother to France.

Immediately on the conviction of Jackson, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a protestant and barrister, who had been educated at Trinity College, and who was accounted the original founder of the

society of United Irishmen; Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and some other distinguished members of that association, who had formed, at this period, deep designs against the existing government, thought it necessary to abscond.

On the departure of Lord Fitzwilliam, affairs began to wear a most serious aspect, and the society of United Irishmen received an important accession of men of parts and influence. A regular communication was opened between the French directory (through the medium of Mr. T. W. Tone and other Irish refugees) and the representatives of provinces, which were four in number; Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster: these again communicated with the representatives of baronies, who also communicated with the representatives of every hundred men associated in each barony; and the representatives of hundreds communicated with the representatives of tens; which last held the office of corporal in the malcontent army. Thus an immense population could be called into action by an invisible agency; and the attempts of government to suppress this insurrection could not be very successful, unless it could secure the directing power.

In the month of February a military commission was appointed by the executive council, and instructions issued to the adjutant-general. Nocturnal assemblies were held in all parts of the country, where the people were trained to the use of arms. The boldest depredations were made, the most unqualified menaces thrown out, and every thing seemed to presage the near approach of a dreadful explosion. On the other hand, where the king's troops and the orange volunteer corps prevailed, the most horrid barbarities were practised upon the persons, and the most shocking ravages committed upon the properties of the associated Irishmen. By means of one Reynolds, a loyal traitor, who had been sworn a United Irishman, for the purpose of discovering secrets, and who was afterwards appointed treasurer to the county, and also a colonel in the army of the insurgents, a partisan of government, of the name of Cope, became acquainted with the nature and whole extent of the conspiracy. The police were thus enabled to seize, in Dublin, fourteen delegates and three members of the directory, with all their papers, plans, lists of names, &c. A fourth member soon after died of the wounds which he received in his own defence. The Irish leaders were evidently imitators of the French. The supreme power was lodged in a directory, consisting of five men; and they considered all persons attached to the established government as rebels, whose estates should be confiscated for the good of their new republic! The five directors were, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the

Duke of Leinster; Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a descendant from Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught; Mr. Oliver Bond; Counsellor Emmet; and Dr. M'Nevin. Mr. O'Connor was taken, with James O'Coigley, an Irish priest, on the coast of Kent. O'Coigley assumed the air of a man of business: he affected to have forgotten to put some letters of the very first importance into the post, and sent off to the next post two letters, one directed to Manchester and one to Amsterdam. This circumstance, intended to shew the people that they had something to do, put them upon inquiring what that something could be; and the very sound of Amsterdam made the comptroller of the customs transmit the letters to the secretary of state, who had the travellers conducted to London instead of Paris. The letter to Manchester was addressed to a manufacturer there, who had shewn some kindness to O'Coigley, from a letter of recommendation which he had presented on his arrival from Dundalk, where he was an officiating priest; and it was resolved to set a watch upon the manufacturer and his friends, to try if some circumstances could not be discovered that would afford a pretext for arresting them as traitors. One of the Manchester magistrates selected a man to act as a spy upon the occasion, for which he was qualified, by having acted as a sort of valet-du-place to O'Coigley at Manchester. This man collected some few persons in the town, chiefly Irish, and persuaded them to get the bath printed, which the United Men in Ireland used to administer to each other. The manufacturer above-mentioned, a tailor, and a printer who had printed the Irish oath, were consequently arrested.

The principal power, however, remained; for Lord Edward Fitzgerald possessed great military talents, and was beloved by the Irish. The vacancies in the directory were filled up; yet, as it was unknown how government obtained information, they could not prevent it getting intelligence of all the movements that were adopted. The new directory were arrested; and Lord Edward only escaped by the peculiar disguise he assumed, and the care he took to avoid attending any of the meetings in person.

Both parties laid the highest importance on the services of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and were equally of opinion, that the success or miscarriage of the rebellion might depend upon his being able to place himself at the head of the United Irishmen. The moment at last arrived; and nothing remained but to give the final instructions to those who were to lead the different bands against the king's forces. Lord Edward Fitzgerald went to meet them at a cabaret in the neighbourhood of Dublin; and though, according to French republicanism, titles had been abolished, this nobleman was suddenly accosted by

BOOK III. one of the Irish members as *Lord Edward*, which was overheard by a servant girl, and notice given to the police. Government consequently traced out his residence, and arrested the principal persons, particularly Mr. Bond, McNiven, and Counsellor Emmet, who were to act under him. Having made such use of their information as was thought necessary previous to securing Lord Edward Fitzgerald, government ordered him to be taken into custody on the 21st of May. A general attack was intended by the insurgents on the 23d of May, and Lord Edward continued in Dublin, to head those corps which were to seize the castle, and alarm the whole country, in getting possession of the metropolis by a coup-de-main. An idea may be formed of what he would have done at the head of an army, from his having resisted three officers who attempted to take him, one of whom he wounded, after having killed another, and defended himself against the third, till he received two wounds, of which he died in a few days.

Besides Reynolds, government had another secret friend in Captain Armstrong, a man of great art and address, and who, as desired, had obtained an introduction to the new executive directory, appointed by the provincial delegates, amongst whom were two brothers of the name of Sheares, by profession barristers. Armstrong, of course, became acquainted with the proposed project; which was to seize the camp of Loughlins-town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, *in one night*. It was also planned, that a great insurrection should take place in Cork at the same period. Before the time appointed, however, Henry and John Sheares, and some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended; the city and county of Dublin were proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant (Lord Camden) and council to be in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle and all the great objects of attack were trebled; and the whole city was, in fact, converted into a garrison. Martial law was proclaimed, and persons were prohibited from being out after a particular hour.

On the day prefixed, great numbers of the insurgents appeared in arms in different parts of the country. At half-past two on the morning of May 24, a regular attack had been made by a force, consisting of about 1000 men, armed with musquets and pikes, upon the town of Naas, fourteen miles only from the city of Dublin. These rebels were gallantly repulsed by the Armagh militia, 4th dragoon guards, and Ancient British fencibles, commanded by Lord Gosford.

Three of the prisoners taken were immediately hanged in the public streets, by way of example. About the same time, General Dundas came up with and defeated a large party of the rebels,

posted on the north side of the Liffey, near the hills of Kilcullen. On the 25th, a body of about 400 rebels, which had ventured to enter Rathfarnham, a village in the vicinity of Dublin, was encountered by a small party of dragoons, and dispersed with loss: their two leaders being taken, were immediately tried by a court-martial, and executed.

Another and much larger division of the rebel force was defeated at Tallagh-hill, about thirteen miles from the metropolis, May 26; and nearly at the same time they were repulsed in two different attacks on the towns of Carlow and Kildare: in all these actions losing not less than eleven or twelve hundred men in a very few days after the commencement of hostilities. But their chief effort was made in the county of Wexford, where they assembled in great force between the towns of Wexford and Enniscorthy, situated on the river Slaney; the latter of which places they carried sword in hand, on the 28th of the same month. It was impossible for Wexford long to hold out; and, on the 30th, the white flag was displayed, and the garrison surrendered at discretion. A scene of horrid disorder and outrage ensued on the entrance of the rebels into the town. The houses of the protestants were ransacked, and great numbers of the inhabitants committed to prison. Three gentlemen, of large property, members of the society of United Irishmen, who had been for some time past in custody, on a charge of high-treason, were at the same time liberated, and one of them, Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, nominated to the chief command of the rebel army, though in no respect qualified for so arduous an office.

The rebels, flushed with this success, marched under the conduct of their new general, June the 5th, to the attack of New Ross, where General Johnson, an excellent officer, commanded. With a view to disorder the king's troops, who did not amount to 3000 men, posted without the town, the rebels drove before them with their pikes a vast number of horses and oxen. They had also some field-pieces and howitzers. The weight of the rebel column, after a brave resistance, forced the troops into the town, fortified only by an old ruinous wall. Here the battle re-commenced, and, after a dreadful carnage, the rebels were at length compelled to retreat with great loss; though the military were prevented by extreme fatigue, the action having lasted eight hours, from attempting a pursuit. The gallant Lord Mountjoy was killed early in this engagement, fighting at the head of his own regiment. In revenge for this disappointment, and by way of retaliation for the numerous executions by martial law which had been inflicted upon their deluded adherents in different

places, the rebel chiefs condemned a great number of the loyalists of Wexford and Enniscorthy to death—and this sentence was carried into effect a few days after, with circumstances of excessive cruelty.

June 9, the rebels made an attempt upon Arklow, with as little success as the former upon Ross. Their circumstances now became critical,—General Lake advancing towards the seat of the southern rebellion with large reinforcements. The main body of the rebels, to the amount of 18 or 20,000 men, had taken an uncommonly strong position within a mile of Enniscorthy, upon an eminence called Vinegar-hill, from which, had they possessed any share of military skill, it would have been difficult, if not impracticable, to dislodge them. A cordon of troops was gradually collected from different quarters, which almost surrounded the rebel station. The 21st of June was destined for the grand attack. A column, under General Johnson, began the fight by an assault upon the town of Enniscorthy, situated upon the right bank of the Slaney, immediately under the hill, at the base of which that beautiful stream flows in a winding channel. Three other columns, under the Generals Dundas, Duff, and Needham, ascended the mountain in different directions. The rebels maintained their ground obstinately for an hour and a half; but, on perceiving the danger of being surrounded, they fled with great precipitation, part of them retreating to the mountains of Wicklow, and part to the chain of hills separating the counties of Carlow and Wexford. Being vigorously pursued, and no quarter given, they sustained immense loss; while, of the king's troops, the whole number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, was something less than a hundred; a surprising proof of the superiority of skill and discipline over mere unenlightened courage. The only person of any note who fell on the rebel side, upon this occasion, was Father Clinch, a priest of Enniscorthy, who was singled out on account of his large white horse, huge scymitar, and broad cross-belts. Two priests, of the name of Murphy, (Michael and John,) and a third, called Roche, reached the Three Rocks, and, having held a council of war there, marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny.

Wexford was evacuated June 22. General Moore had entered the place so opportunely as to prevent it from being laid in ashes; and, which was still more interesting, to render impracticable the premeditated massacre of the remaining prisoners, eighty-six persons having been murdered by them the preceding day, military music attending and playing a dead march, and their bodies, pierced with pikes, thrown over the bridge. Other horrible cruelties were also committed by the rebels on the protestants of

that vicinity; and, upon their flight from New Ross, it is affirmed, that, exasperated by the intelligence of the refusal of the royalists to grant quarter, orders were issued by one of the rebel commanders, Father Murphy, to set fire to a large barn at Scollobogue, near the foot of Carrickburn-mountain, some miles distant, where upwards of 200 of their prisoners, including women and children, were confined under a guard when the rebel army marched to Enniscorthy, and all perished, amidst surrounding shouts of savage exultation.

The rebel general, Harvey, who had expressed some disapprobation of these enormities, was divested of his command after the battle of Ross; and their leaders were chosen from the most barbarous and bigotted of their own sect. Having been suffered to abscond, this unhappy man, who saw and acknowledged his error when too late, sought to conceal himself in a cave upon one of the rocky islands which lie near the entrance of Wexford-harbour. But, being discovered, he was immediately tried by a court-martial, and convicted; and, with divers other persons, executed, June the 26th, on the bridge of Wexford. On the same day, a large body of the rebels, with the sanguinary bigot, Father Murphy, at their head, who had escaped from Vinegar-hill, were defeated by General Sir Charles Asgill, at Kilconnel, considerably more than a thousand men being killed on the spot, with trifling loss on the part of the king's troops. Murphy was soon after taken in his flight, and most deservedly hanged. After this his body was burnt, and his head placed, with indiscreet zeal, on the market-house—a savage deed, more calculated to incense than to intimidate a courageous though mistaken enemy!

Whatever might be the fond and delusive hopes, entertained by the comparatively very small number of rebel chieftains, who, uninfected by the contagion of religious frenzy, had embraced the new doctrines of liberty, equality, and universal fraternization, it immediately appeared, upon the breaking out of this sanguinary rebellion, how utterly unable they were to inspire the bulk of their ignorant, ferocious, and brutal followers with sentiments even of common humanity, and much less to restrain them within the limits of law, equity, or justice. The generality of the priests, who appeared openly in this rebellion, took the utmost pains to diffuse, as widely as possible, the malignant spirit of religious bigotry and inveterate animosity against the protestants, very few of whom were found in the ranks of the rebel army. Those who had been imprudent enough to enter, were either obliged carefully to conceal their religion, or submit to be re-baptized by the priests, who were continually preaching up, that, in destroying heretics,

BOOK III.

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they were performing a duty to heaven. Murphy, one of the most popular and profligate of this class, in a sermon delivered by him after the defeat at Ross, declared, "that those who were killed in that battle had fallen in consequence of their want of faith; that this general rising of the catholics was visibly the work of the Almighty, who had determined that the heretics, after having reigned so many years, should be now extirpated, and the true catholic religion established." At the successful attack at Three-Rocks, previous to the surrender of Wexford, the same Murphy marched at their head, telling them "not to fear, for, if they took up the dust from the roads, and threw it at the king's troops, they would fall dead before them." Many of the priests pretended to give charms to prevent the balls of the soldiery from doing hurt; and Father Roche, one of the number, did (as was believed by these poor credulous wretches) constantly catch the bullets that came from his majesty's army in his hand. Such were the base materials with which the rash and presumptuous leaders of this rebellion hoped to construct, in the room of the existing government, a pure and perfect fabric of uncontaminated democracy! Certainly, a more crude, wild, and visionary project, never entered into the head or heart of man. It must not, however, be supposed, that the higher descriptions of catholics, whether ecclesiastical or civil, were in any degree implicated in this atrocious revolt, and much less that they approved of the mode of conducting it. On the contrary, the whole body of the catholic prelacy, comprehending the twenty-two titular bishops and archbishops, with the Lords Fingal, Southwell, Gormanstown, and Kenmare, Sir Edward Bellew, Sir Thomas Burk, &c. &c., signed and published a paper, containing a very strong dissuasive from joining in the rebellion, and exhortation to all who were concerned in it to return to their allegiance, declaring, "that, by refusing to relinquish the treasonable plans in which they are engaged, they will not only subject themselves to the loss of life and property, but throw on the religion, of which they profess to be advocates, the most indelible stain."

After the great defeat at Enniscorthy, the rebels were never able to rally, or to appear again in any considerable force in the southern parts of the kingdom. In the north, where General Nugent commanded, the insurrection became general throughout the counties of Down and Antrim. The town of Antrim was, for a short time, in the possession of the rebels; but they were, on the 7th of June, driven out of that place, after a sharp engagement and cannonade. In this action Lord O'Neil received a dangerous wound, of which he afterwards died. On the 12th of the same month, their main force, amounting at

most to 6 or 7000 men, was attacked and totally defeated at Ballynahinch. A party of the rebels also were repulsed at Carrick-fergus; and, in a short time, the generality of the insurgents laid down their arms, and the tranquillity of the province of Ulster was restored.

The state of Ireland was, at this period, the grand topic of debate in both the English and Irish houses of parliament. At an early period of the session, the Earl of Moira, whose property, influence, and popularity, were very great, renewed a motion formerly made by him, for an address to the king respecting the situation of Ireland. He said, that "he had unavailingly called the attention of the house last year to the state of that country, and had in vain predicted the consequences which the system of government established there must inevitably produce. The necessity of interposition was now become more urgent. All confidence, all security, were taken away. No one could say who would be the next victim of the oppression and cruelty which he saw others endure. The greatest and most wanton barbarities had been committed; but he wished, from prudential motives, to draw a veil over these aggravated enormities. He entreated the house to take into serious consideration the tendency of the present measures, which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the number of the discontented. The moment of conciliation was not yet past; but if the system were not changed, he feared that Ireland would be lost to this country for ever."

Though this benevolent motion was opposed by Lord Grenville, in the house of peers, yet the affairs of Ireland became so truly alarming, as to force themselves on the notice of parliament before the termination of the session. The Earl of Moira once more drew the attention of the house, March 26, by stating, "that he had the affidavits of a hundred persons in his possession, to prove that torture had been employed in forcing confessions from individuals, against themselves and against their neighbours; that horrible devastations had been made on the houses and property of persons accused of disaffection. The deponents were ready to come forward at the bar of the house with their testimonies; but he wished to avoid whatever might tend to exasperate; he should therefore content himself with placing his affidavits in the hands of the noble lord on the wool-sack."

When Ireland became a scene of carnage and horror, the Duke of Leinster delivered a speech, June 15, during which he appeared to be very much agitated; and at the close of it he moved an address to his majesty, humbly requesting, "that his majesty would deign to direct the proper officer to lay before this house a full and ample statement of the facts and circumstances which

had led to the disastrous affairs of Ireland, and of the measures which had hitherto been pursued for the purpose of averting such momentous evils: that, however alarming the discontents now prevailing in the sister kingdom were, we should not despair; but that the result of such discussion would enable us to assist his majesty, according to our constitutional duty, with some well-adapted remedy, such as might restore, in that distracted part of the British empire, confidence in the laws by the due administration of them, obedience to his majesty's government by a temperate use of its powers, and union amongst all descriptions of persons in that kingdom." This motion, though ably supported by the most distinguished members of the house, was finally rejected by a majority of 33; but a strong protest was signed by the dissentient peers.

Lord George Cavendish, in the house of commons, on the same day introduced a series of admirable resolutions relative to the distracted state of Ireland, and was ably supported by Lord John Russell; but these were destined to share the same fate as the motion of the Earl of Moira in the upper house. This nobleman, while in Ireland, moved, in the Irish house of peers, on the 19th of February, an address to the lord-lieutenant, beseeching his excellency "to pursue such conciliatory measures as might allay the apprehensions, and extinguish the discontents unhappily prevalent in the country." The Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon, afterwards Earl of Clare, boldly asserted, "that the system of government had been a system of conciliation; that in no place had the experiment been so fairly tried as in Ireland, and in none had it so completely failed. The object of the United Society of Irishmen was to overthrow the government and dissolve the British connection. He did not justify the proceedings of the Orange-men, but he asserted that they were not enemies to their country. He did not approve the tortures, burnings, assassinations, and murderings, of which the noble lord had spoken; but he was compelled to observe, that when treason and rebellion made it necessary to call out the military, it is not always possible to restrain their resentments."

Though government, in many respects, was regarded as rather severe in its measures respecting Ireland, it must be confessed, that there were many in that country who looked much farther than to a reform in parliament and catholic emancipation. And though no dissatisfaction was expressed at the conduct of Lord Camden, it was deemed proper by the English cabinet, that, in the existing circumstances, Ireland should be placed under the government of a military lord-lieutenant, who might, nevertheless, be of a temper less obdurate than the present viceroy; and a happy choice was made in the person of the

Marquis Cornwallis, who arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June; and under his auspices the general system of government immediately changed to that of moderation and lenity. Some severe examples were, however, deemed absolutely necessary; and a special commission was, in a short time, opened in Dublin, for the trial of the principal delinquents. At the bar of this court the brothers, John and Henry Sheares; M'Can, secretary to the provincial meeting; and O'Byrne, a noted member of the United Association, were all tried, and soon after executed. Mr. Oliver Bond was likewise tried, on the 23d of July, convicted and condemned; and in his fate the other conspirators now began to read and foresee their own.

By this time the rebellion was apparently quelled; the people were everywhere returning to their allegiance, and delivering up their arms. Their hopes from France had been miserably disappointed, and nothing appeared before their eyes but individual destruction, without having effected any one purpose for which they had associated. In these circumstances, it was intimated on the part of government, that if Mr. Bond would consent to give to administration all the information of which he was possessed, relative to the late conspiracy and rebellion, his sentence might be commuted for that of banishment. This proposition was nobly rejected by Bond, if his information or evidence should endanger the life of any man with whom he was connected. The mercy of government was then extended to all the state prisoners, including O'Connor, Emmet, and M'Nevin; who acceded to the terms offered, on condition they should be at liberty voluntarily to transport themselves to any country not at war with his majesty, and that no further prosecution should be carried on, except against actual murderers, or such rebels as should be hereafter taken in arms. A general amnesty, with a few exceptions, was soon after granted by the chief governor, and confirmed in parliament. The system of moderation and mercy adopted by this respectable nobleman was peculiarly seasonable, and attended with the happiest effects. Most of the rebel corps, who had retreated to the mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow, took the benefit of the amnesty, and laid down their arms. Those who still resisted were rather banditti, who confined themselves to nocturnal depredations, than troops in arms against the government.

Contrary to the spirit of moderation lately adopted, a bill was brought into parliament, late in the summer of 1798, for the confiscation of the property of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Bagnal Harvey, and Cornelius Grojan, a man of great estates, who had suffered in this rebellion, and it finally passed into an act. The case of Lord Edward, who had neither been tried nor con-

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victed, was justly deemed hard in the extreme. That great ornament of the Irish bar, Mr. Curran, pleaded with consummate eloquence against the bill of attainder, at the bar of the house, when he made use of these memorable expressions: "Often have I, of late years, gone to the dungeon of the captive, but never yet to the grave of the deceased, to receive instructions for his defence: Never have I, till now, been called upon to plead at the trial of the dead! What might, perhaps, have admitted of easy explanation, during the life-time of the accused, must now be for ever buried with him in silence. The present bill convicts where proof is impossible, and punishes where guilt cannot exist; it confiscates the property of the widow, and robs the orphan's cradle. A state must be reduced to the lowest degradation, when it is driven to seek protection in the abandonment of the law, in that melancholy avowal of its weakness and its fears."

Notwithstanding France had pledged herself to assist the Irish insurgents, they were left to the fatal consequences of their temerity; and only a trifling portion of that aid, which the directory had promised them in the month of May, reached the coast of Connaught not before the 22d of August, when, lo! only 1100 men left the bay of Killala, and marched for Castlebar, which General Humbert reached on the 27th, being joined by numbers of disaffected Irish, who could scarcely be restrained from the commission of the most dreadful excesses. The real strength, or rather weakness, of the enemy being not as yet ascertained, the British forces were attacked by surprise, and, after a feeble resistance, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of 800 men and ten pieces of cannon. Castlebar instantly surrendered, and the French were very much strengthened by numerous deserters from the different regiments of militia. Cornwallis having taken the field in person, with a large army, resolved to surround the French, which obliged General Humbert to retreat; and, as that officer from the beginning entertained no hopes of ultimate success, he humanely took a circuitous route, that the natives who had joined him might thus have an opportunity of effecting their escape. On the 8th of September the van-guard of the British army came up with the rear of the French, at Ballinamuck, and, after a short resistance, the French being summoned to lay down their arms, surrendered at discretion.

Another expedition, equally ridiculous, was soon after undertaken by France against Ireland; the squadron then employed consisted of the

Hoche, of eighty guns, and eight frigates, six of the latter being captured by Sir John Borlase Warren, then on the station; the Hoche struck her flag, in which ship was found the celebrated Theobald Wolfe Tone. When brought to Dublin and tried, he most heroically avowed the part which he had acted, and gloried in the treason for which he was condemned. "Into the service of the French republic I originally entered with the view of serving my country. From that motive I have encountered the toils and terrors of the field of battle; I have braved the dangers of the sea, covered with the triumphant fleets of the power I opposed; I have sacrificed my prospects in life; I have courted poverty; I have left my wife unprotected, and my children fatherless. After doing this, for what I thought a good cause, it is but little that I die for it. In such a cause as this success is every thing. I have attempted that in which Washington succeeded, and Kosciusko failed. What awaits me I am aware of, but I scorn to supplicate or to complain. Whatever I have written, spoken, or acted, in relation to this country, and its connection with Great Britain, which I conceived to be the bane of its prosperity, I here avow; I am now ready to meet the consequence. Having attained a high rank in the French service, I only wish, if the court possesses such a discretionary power, that they will award me the death of a soldier." Being informed, after a long pause, that this was entirely at the option of his excellency, and dreading that there was no probability of success in such an application, he finished his career in prison by an act of suicide. Being justly regarded as the original author, his trial appeared to be the concluding scene of this short but bloody rebellion, in which at least 20,000 lives were lost.

We have already stated that no one in Dublin, during these disturbances, was suffered to be abroad after a certain hour. This consequently occasioned a suspension of public amusements; and, when the theatre was allowed to be open, it was only in the day-time. Many persons in England had also imbibed the dangerous principles of French republicanism, and were no doubt ready to join their friends in Ireland, had their endeavors been attended with any promising degree of success. The tumultuous applause which, at this period, certain speeches in Otway's play of "Venice Preserved" excited in London, was the occasion of a temporary prohibition of that tragedy, by the lord-chamberlain—a circumstance not noticed by any modern historian.

CHAPTER IV.

Foreign Affairs.—Congress of Radstadt.—Assassination of Duphot.—Renewal of War in Italy.—Critical Situation of the Pope.—Triumph of Berthier.—Deposition of the Pontiff.—The Directory sends an Army to Switzerland.—War with the Swiss.—Capture of Dornoch and of Berne.—Battle of Standtz.—The Federal States changed into an united Republic.

THOUGH, by the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, France indulged the hope of acquiring a solid and advantageous peace, this fond expectation was completely blasted by the disputes which arose in the directorial cabinet, owing to the exile of two of its popular members, (Carnot and Barthelemy,) and by the incapacity of those who were at the head of public affairs. Appearances, at first, seemed to augur a final adjustment; and a short respite from war, on the continent of Europe, took place.

This eventful year was ushered in by the congress of Radstadt, in which it was proposed to discuss and settle all the disputes between the French republic and the German empire. The emperor, as the head of the Germanic body, in his capacity of King of Hungary and Bohemia, had already acceded to the demands of the directory, to render the Rhine the boundary of the commonwealth, and surrender Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz, and it was imagined that the system of sacrifices and indemnities might be speedily adjusted. While this assembly was coldly discussing the terms of a pacification, so intimately connected with the prosperity of the continent, the theocracy, which had governed a considerable part of Italy, and for ages regulated the creed of a considerable portion of mankind, ceased to exist. The assassination of Duphot, an adjutant-general and *chef de brigade* in the service of the French republic, served to rekindle that spirit of hostility which the treaty of Tolentino was supposed to have extinguished.

Duphot, having repaired to Rome, towards the end of the year 1797, expressly for the purpose of espousing that sister of Bonaparte who was afterwards married to General Murat, became one of the victims of the commotions which took place on the 28th of December. On that day an outrageous mob assembled at the palace of the French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, and demanded the assistance of France, for the purpose of overthrowing the papal tyranny, and establishing a republic in its stead. Joseph Bonaparte being altogether indisposed to countenance so hopeless a project, dispatched Duphot, with a body of the military, to disperse the insurgents, and to prevail upon the papal troops to retire from the precincts of the ambassador's

court; but, while the general was engaged in this service, he was shot by a Roman fusileer; and his body, having been dragged into the streets, was treated with savage cruelty by the populace. Joseph Bonaparte, after a lapse of fourteen hours, finding that no measures had been taken to avenge the late outrage, or to provide for the future security of his own person, retired into Tuscany.

The murder of the French minister, Basseville, in the capital, and almost under the eyes of Pius VI., had, at a former period, excited the indignation of the convention; and the additional murder of Duphot tended to renew the disputes between the pope and the directory. The Cisalpine republic took the lead on this occasion, and a body of troops marched into the disputed territory, and obtained possession of Santo Leone by storm.

As soon as the murder of Duphot and the retreat of Joseph Bonaparte were made public at Milan, the people exclaimed—"Death to the assassin pontiff! Vengeance for our deliverers!" Troops were immediately levied, artillery prepared, and a declaration published, in which the fall of Rome was truly and confidently predicted, and the late events not only detailed, but so far aggravated, that the odium of the murder of the French general was cast upon the pope and his counsellors. Every part of his conduct, however, evinced that this disastrous event produced the deepest disquietude in the breast of his holiness, and that the only crime of his officers consisted in the remissness of the general who had the command of the Roman troops, and whose duty it unquestionably was to protect the French ambassador and his suite from the excesses of the military, and the presence of a lawless mob.

In the declaration, above mentioned, it was stated, "Soon shall that Tiber, which is stained with the blood of our brethren—that capital, inhabited by murderous priests—that field of Mars, which blushes while trodden by a nation of slaves—be purified from the accumulated crimes and ignominy of twenty centuries of servitude."

Thus the directory feeling, or affecting to feel, a high degree of indignation at the insult offered to their ambassador, and at the loss of their gene-

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ral, transmitted instructions to General Berthier, to march to the Roman capital. This general had collected a body of French troops; and, being joined by a column of Cisalpines, advanced to Ancona. His further progress was retarded for a while by the snows of the Appenines; but on the 10th of February the French army entered Rome, and the castle of St. Angelo, containing the pope and the greater part of his cardinals, surrendered on the first summons.

The inhabitants, freed from restraint by the captivity of their rulers, and encouraged by the presence of the French army, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Roman *Forum*, and at the instigation of two of the nobles, and an advocate of some reputation, planted the tree of liberty in the front of the capitol, proclaimed their independence, and instituted the Roman republic.

A manifesto was issued on the 15th, detailing the reasons that induced them to change the form of their government. Berthier, who had just refused to receive a deputation from his holiness, under pretence that the ancient government no longer existed, announced to the pope, by means of General Cervoni, that the people had resumed the sovereignty. He then entered the city, preceded by the music and grenadiers of his army, and pronounced an harangue, in which he invoked the *manes* of the Catos, the Pompeys, the Ciceros, and all the great men of antiquity, to attest the solemn scene exhibited in that spot. "The descendants of the Gauls," said he, "have come with the olive of peace in their hands, to rebuild the altars of liberty erected by the first Brutus. And you, people of Rome, who have recovered your ancient rights, recollect that blood which flows in your veins; survey these monuments of glory by which you are surrounded; resume your pristine greatness, and emulate the virtues of your ancestors!"

All the splendor and magnificence of which the catholic worship is susceptible were employed to celebrate this memorable victory over the head of its faith; every church in Rome resounded with thanks to the supreme disposer of events, for the glorious revolution that had taken place; and while the dome of St. Peter was illuminated without, fourteen cardinals, dressed in the gorgeous apparel appertaining to functions they were fated soon after to abdicate, presided at a solemn *Te Deum* within the walls of that superb basilic. The deposed pontiff, exiled from his country, was conveyed, by order of the directory, first to Brainçon, and afterwards to Valence in France.

At the very moment when the French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt were giving the most solemn assurances that their government panted for tranquillity, a war was suddenly declared against Switzerland, the thirteen federal repub-

lics of which, after a peace that had lasted for ages, were now condemned to experience all the horrors of the most rancorous hostility. The Swiss, attached from habit and interest to monarchical, were decidedly averse to republican France; and some of the cantons, Berne in particular, had not only refused, during a considerable interval, to recognize the French republic, but had countenanced the assembling of the emigrant army; obliged the French minister to quit Soleure; and notoriously violated the principles of neutrality. Towards the latter end of the year 1797, certain menacing demands had been made by the French directory on the Swiss cantons in general, but for the cause just stated, it was expected that the thunder would spend its rage on Berne; and the Helvetic diet, chiefly at the instance of that state, immediately determined on a levy of 26,000 men, while the armed force of two cantons, under the command of Colonel de Weiss, was sent, on the 14th of January, into the Pays de Vaud, to suppress a popular tumult, which had for its object the establishment of a democratic government. No sooner did the French executive learn that Berne and Friburg had dispatched a body of soldiers, and a train of artillery into the Pays de Vaud, than a division of French troops, which had just returned from Italy, was put in motion; and General Menard sent an aide-camp to the head-quarters at Yverdun, with an intimation, "that the inhabitants of the bailiwick must be permitted to organize a government for themselves; and in case any violence was offered to them, force would be repelled by force." But this officer and his escort, being probably mistaken for an advanced guard, were either killed or wounded, and the minds of both armies became more inflamed against each other.

The Vaudois in the mean time adopted a democratical form of government, and assumed the appellation of the republic of Leman. The cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, wisely determining to yield to necessity, restored to their subjects all their rights and franchises, and thus insured the continuance of their fidelity; but the senates of Berne and Friburg, imagining themselves still able to maintain their ancient tyranny, did not think fit to exhibit an equal degree of condescension. The management of the war being now confided to the French general Brune, he entered the territories of Berne on the 25th of February, and published a proclamation, containing professions but too little attended to in the sequel.

"Citizens," said the general, "the French soldiers, who penetrate into your valleys, are your friends and brethren; they carry arms for no other purpose than to annihilate tyranny; their sole aim is, to restore that liberty which you cherish.

"From the commencement of the revolution, those who rule the aristocratical cantons of Switzerland have secretly aided the powers leagued against France; and they have not failed to assert, that we intended to subjugate Helvetia: but neither ambition nor avarice shall ever dishonor the steps I now take in the name of the republic.

"Friends to the generous descendants of William Tell, it is only to punish the criminal invasion of your rights, that we now appear in arms among you. Banish from your minds all uneasiness relative to the political independence and integrity of your territories! The government of which I am the organ, will guarantee these to you; its intentions shall be religiously seconded by my companions in arms. Be free—France invites, nature commands it; and to enjoy this precious advantage you have only to express the wish."

Some unsuccessful attempts were now made to obtain a truce, but a body of the invaders having advanced against the castle of Dornoch, seized without any difficulty on that little fortress, March 2, while 13,000 troops summoned Soleure, which immediately opened its gates. Eriburg, better prepared for resistance, determined to oppose the French; but Brune having advanced at the head of a column, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the garrison, headed by Verrer, the avoyer, who perished upon this occasion, took it by assault.

On the 4th of March, General Brune sent a large detachment against and carried Guinene, a post defended by numerous batteries, while another column, under General Pigeon, forced the pass of Neveneck on the succeeding morning, after an engagement of five hours, during which both sides displayed considerable valor.

The advances of the French army were seconded by a spirit of disaffection, too apparent in the army of General d'Erlach, and a proclamation was made by the council of Berne, that the levy of the Landsturm (rising in a mass) was ready for action; but it was a measure productive of pernicious effects. When possessed of arms, the people soon dissolved their own government; established a *pro tempore* regency, stated their proceedings to General Brune, and ordered the army to be dismissed, on condition that the French troops did not advance beyond their present positions. These concessions, however, met not the views of the republican commander; for he demanded that the town should be garrisoned by the soldiers of France. Mutiny broke out in the army of Switzerland, which put to death a number of their officers, who were unfriendly to their views; it appears that no fewer than 11,500 men had abandoned this army. About 8000 of the regular troops were stationed at Newenegg,

while 6,400 maintained their station at Frauenbronn, to carry which General Schawenburg marched from Soleure with 18,000 men.

Both places were attacked by the French on the 5th of March, when the glorious resistance of the Swiss troops, stationed at Newenegg, seemed to portend a future victory; but those at Frauenbronn were under the necessity of retreating. General d'Erlach rallied his troops at Uterer, four miles and a half south of Frauenbronn, when another action took place, which also terminated in favor of the republicans. The Swiss again faced the enemy at Grauholtz, about five miles north-east of Berne, but were driven to the very gates of the metropolis, and totally defeated. In this engagement the Swiss are computed to have lost 2000 men killed and wounded, and the French not less than 1800.

On the evening of March 6, the city of Berne capitulated, and was entered in triumph. The Swiss troops at Newenegg and Guminen were forced to retreat; the soldiers, at the latter place, put their officers to death in a fit of despair, and the unfortunate General d'Erlach was murdered by his own men, in escaping from the field of battle. This noble general, on being summoned by Brune to deliver up Morat, where some of his progenitors had fallen in a battle that proved fatal to the invaders, transmitted the following gallant reply:—"My ancestors never surrendered, and were I such a coward as to think of it, the bones of the Burgundians, now before my eyes, would preclude the possibility of such an humiliation." The conquest of Berne led to the surrender of almost all Switzerland; though many parts of that free country seemed determined to resist to the last extremity.

The French were now determined to triumph over the Bernese, as the following menacing demands, which had been made on the Swiss cantons in general, had not been complied with:—

1. The free navigation of the lake of Lugano for the Cisalpine republic.

2. A passage for 25,000 troops; (which would have completely violated the neutrality of the cantons.)

3. The dismissal of Mr. Wickam, the English minister; (which must have involved them in disputes with Great Britain.)

And certain other pretended grievances were required to be immediately redressed; particularly the countenance "notoriously afforded to emigrants of distinction; who, not content with enjoying the rights of hospitality, were perpetually plotting and intriguing against the new form of government adopted by their native country."

Now triumphant, the French exacted a bloody retaliation for the insults offered to themselves, as well as for the assistance afforded by the aristocracy of Berne against them. After displacing the

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ruling families, and sending the most violent of their opponents into exile, the directory, actuated by a selfish policy, determined on the subjugation of Switzerland, and, accordingly, changed the form of government, from a federal into an united republic; which, by means of a close and intimate union with France, might be held in continual dependence, and be advantageous to the latter, in case of a renewal of hostilities.

The cantons of Berne, Zurich, Soleure, and Friburg, intimidated by recent events, willingly acceded to the proposition; deeming themselves fortunate in escaping complete subjection, and conscious, that in consequence of their wealth and numbers, they would still retain great influence in this general diet. The smaller states of Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, attached to that system of government which had so long guaranteed their liberty and secured their happiness, were not desirous of change, anticipating, perhaps, the superior consequence of their more wealthy neighbours. Instead therefore of sending deputies to the meeting assembled at Arau, their commissioners met at Brennen, and transmitted a memorial to the French general, in which they stated:—

“That there was only one objection in the government of their cantons, relative to which the republic, in conformity to her own principles, could desire a change: this has been obviated, and we no longer recognise any portion of the people as subjects; all are henceforth to enjoy equal franchises. A nation which, amidst its native mountains, possesses no other property than its flocks, religion, and liberty; solemnly promises every mark of attachment, not incompatible with its independence.

“We are ready to enter into a secret engagement never to take up arms against France; and we demand, in return, the maintenance of a constitution which recognises, for its basis, the sovereignty of the people, and has conferred upon us ages of happiness.”

These exalted sentiments had no effect, either in disarming the inflexible severity of the directory, or even meeting with the assent of such of the inhabitants of the greater cantons as had determined on a complete revolution throughout the whole of Switzerland. The latter having chosen a legislature, Arau was appointed to be the scene of its deliberations; and one of the first operations that took place was the nomination of an executive, consisting of five members, who were to be entrusted with the government of the whole of Helvetia, the country of the Grisons alone excepted, the inhabitants having determined to admit of no kind of innovation.

The democratical cantons refused to send deputies to the new assembly, or to acknowledge its authority, and the assembly consequently in-

voked the assistance of France, to enforce obedience to its decrees, while the malcontents entered into a mutual league for the preservation of their ancient franchises. The latter accordingly assembled in arms, and, having appointed Paravicini their leader, they seized on Lucerne, and menaced Zurich. Finding it impossible to awaken the slumbering spirit of resistance among their countrymen, and by one grand patriotic effort expel the invaders, they thought proper to retire to the fastnesses of their native mountains, and took post near the lake of Zug.

A great force, commanded by General Schawenburg, immediately marched against them, and commenced an attack. The leaders of the confederates, perceiving that valor alone could be of no avail against superior numbers, had recourse to stratagem, and, by a feigned retreat, expressly calculated to punish the characteristic impetuosity of the foe, enticed the assailants into an ambuscade, in consequence of which a complete defeat ensued. The career of the French was now, for the first time, stopped in Switzerland by a hardy peasantry, warmed with the love of liberty. The battle was sanguinary, and several thousands perished. The loss of General Schawenburg was 3000 men.

Soon after, a treaty was proposed and assented to, in which, although it was agreed to accept the new constitution as a bond of general union, yet an express stipulation was entered into, that the internal government of the smaller cantons should continue as before, and they were at the same time exempted from any contribution whatever. Had the superior cantons been inspired with that laudable spirit which their inferior neighbours evinced, the selfish views of the French government would, in all probability, have been entirely baffled.

This treaty, however, which was dictated partly from policy and partly from necessity, was neither agreeable to the Helvetic nor the French directory; and, unfortunately, a pretext was soon found for the renewal of hostilities, as Unterwalden, exhibiting a fastidious perseverance, obstinately refused to accede to any conditions whatever.

The French accordingly, in the beginning of September, marched a large body of troops, accompanied by artillery, to Standtz; and, after a violent battle of two days' duration, (September 8 and 9,) during which clubs and spears were in vain opposed to muskets and bayonets, and fragments from the rock to a regular artillery, the hardy mountaineers were overcome, the town of Standtz taken by assault, the houses in its beautiful valleys destroyed by fire, the inhabitants nearly exterminated, and neither age nor sex spared by a furious and implacable enemy.

All the Swiss now subscribed to the new con-

stitution, which was styled the "Helvetic Republic." Lucerne was chosen as the seat of government, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into between the Gallic and Helvetic republics. This circumstance, however, did not prevent the rapacity of the French directory, for they still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions with a most unpardonable severity; and those once happy regions, instead of enjoying some consolation from the conciliating manners of their diplomatic agents, experienced a new subject of complaint in the arrogant demeanour and insolent demand of Mengaud and Rapinat, whom they had entrusted with their confidence.

Thus the federate republics of Switzerland, after enjoying the sweets of independence since the commencement of the fourteenth century, when the fortunate issue of a contest with Albert of Austria laid the foundation of their liberties, were at length overcome by a foreign foe, and

obliged to change the form of their government. The pretext for their ruin originated in the notorious injustice of the canton of Berne to the little states subjected to its dominion; and this intolerable yoke, instead of being lightened, was increased, during a war which had effected so many remarkable changes. The magistrates, the chief of whom either perished in the field or sought refuge in the dominions of Austria, endeavored, when too late, to obtain the confidence of those whom they had so long deceived.

The fate of the five smaller cantons was truly lamentable. Formed into little independent societies, on the declivities or amidst the recesses of the mountains, they first resisted the encroachments of the house of Austria, and made the last effort against the injustice of France. They were less fortunate than their ancestors, and fell, not because they had degenerated, but because they retained their original character, while every thing around them was changed.

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CHAPTER V.

Policy and Designs of France.—Motives for an Expedition to Egypt.—Preparations for the same.—Bonaparte, with his Army, sails from Toulon.—Attack and Surrender of Malta.—Descriptions of Malta and Egypt.

THE territorial and commercial greatness of Britain, in the East Indies, had long been the envy of France; and every thing, on her part, was contrived to entangle her rival in constant hostilities with the native governments. In these views, Hyder Ally, who had usurped the throne and territory of Mysore, entertained a similar hatred to the English, from obstacles which their power opposed to his enterprising schemes. An alliance between France and Hyder obliged the English to be constantly on the alert in the East-Indies; and though the British arms were triumphant in every contest, the danger increased with the progress of time, inasmuch as the French officers and engineers instructed their allies in all the mysteries of European tactics.

Tippoo Saib, son and successor to Hyder, evinced the same dislike and attachment, and, being severely beaten by the English, just before the war which took place with the republic, thought that war likely to afford him an opportunity of gratifying his resentment; mutual convenience drew the two powers together, and the army of the sultan was officered by Frenchmen. The designs of Tippoo were not doubted, but, occupied as France was with the combined powers of Europe, she could spare no force to co-operate

with him. When the continental war finished, this difficulty was removed; but there was another, and that was the superiority of the British navy, now triumphant in every sea.

It was resolved by France to attack the British possessions in India, and the enterprising spirit of Bonaparte was suited to the hazard of the undertaking. It was also determined to seize upon the territory of Egypt, that by moving the commerce of the East through the Red Sea, the new French colony should become the grand mart, where all Europe might be supplied with Indian articles, cheaper than they could be had from the English; while, as a military post, it could at all times transport auxiliaries to the coast of Coromandel. This plan was imparted to Tippoo, and the government in India knew it nearly as soon as it was known in London.

Bonaparte, convinced that the subjugation of Britain was too arduous a task, averting his eyes from the north, turned all his attention to the east; and the army of England, as it was called, was now to be transported to Egypt, for the purpose of preserving its inhabitants from the vassalage of the Turks and Mamelukes, and restoring the country to its ancient splendor. The object of this expedition was so artfully concealed, that it

BOOK III. was generally supposed, this army was organized for the assistance of the United Irishmen; and had France sent it, instead of her feeble aid, the consequences might have been exceedingly serious.

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Egypt, before the age of Vasques di Gama, had participated in the commerce of India; and it was possible to render it once more the staple at which the merchants of the eastern and western hemisphere might change the commodities of their respective soils. Rich in its own productions, it even at this period maintained a considerable trade with Arabia and Abyssinia, through the Nile, and with Turkey and Europe, by means of the Mediterranean; while the navigation of the Red Sea was also calculated to share in the wealth of Asia. It was even surmised, that the passage by the Cape of Good Hope would be abandoned; and while Suez, on one side, commanded the commerce of two continents, Alexandria, restored to its primitive destination, would circulate their rich productions throughout another; and, by giving the entire monopoly to the southern provinces of France, increase the wealth and strength of that country, as much as the opulence of her great maritime rival would be diminished.

For some time the ports of Marseilles and Toulon were employed in refitting and launching ships, the fabrication of cordage, and the preparation of naval and military stores. The spoils of the rich arsenals of Venice contributed an ample share; Corsica was called upon to furnish its quota; and even Genoa granted supplies with a liberal hand. While all Europe was contemplating the extent and destination of the armament, Bonaparte, with some of his generals, had repaired to the borders of the Mediterranean sea, where he was joined by his troops, whom he was pleased to term "the right wing of the army of England." The name of England was still preserved, as Bonaparte wished the intended invasion of Britain to be thought *postponed*, and not *declined*.

Immediately on his arrival, the French general addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he told them "that they had already carried on hostilities in mountains, in vallies, and before cities; but that they were now destined to a maritime war. The Roman legions, whom they had sometimes imitated, but never equalled, combated Carthage, by turns on the plains of Zema, and on the same sea they were about to traverse. Victory had never abandoned them, because they were brave, patient amidst fatigues, admirably disciplined, and united among themselves." He also reminded the soldiers, "that the eyes of mankind were fixed upon them; that they had a grand destiny to fulfil, many battles to fight, dangers to overcome, and fatigues to encounter." They were told, "that the genius of the republic,

which, from the first moment of its existence, had become the arbiter of neighbouring nations, now wished to achieve the conquest of distant countries." In fine, after being recommended to consider each other as brethren, they were promised, in return for their toils, a rich harvest of glory to all; and to such as survived the expedition, was held out the prospect of a secure retreat, and a suitable portion of money and of land, on their return to their native country.

On the 20th of May, 1798, the general put to sea from Toulon, on board the *L'Orient*, of 120 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Bruyes, to take the command of a fleet then assembling from the different ports of France, which was to consist of thirteen sail of the line, besides four frigates, and near four hundred transports. On board the fleet was an army of 40,000 men, and a vast number of adventurers, who associated their fate with this expedition, without knowing more of it than that Bonaparte was at its head; there were a great number of men of science and others, all of them capable of contributing to the prosperity of a new colony; and the whole of this, including the sailors, made the number engaged in the expedition amount to near 70,000 souls. The frigates led the van; the admiral followed, and the ships of the line formed the rear; the transports kept in-shore, between the *Hierres* and the *Levant*.

On the 9th of June, Malta was seen, and two crazy barks came off to sell tobacco. Bonaparte asked permission for his squadron to enter the port; but the grand master declared, that it was contrary to the laws of the order that all the squadron should enter, but that every necessary refreshment should be distributed among the soldiers and seamen.

When this answer was made public, the commander, Bosredon Rasifeat, after reading a letter from Dolomieu, another chevalier then on board of the *L'Orient*, informed his chief, "that he begged leave to resign his employment, as he had only sworn to wage war against the Turks, and was not disposed to carry arms against his countrymen."

Bonaparte persevered in his demand, as a pretext for hostilities. It behoved him to support the character he had obtained of gallantry and enterprise, being, at this period, the only general France had reliance on; the brave Pichegru having been disgraced, and sent an exile to Cayenne, with several others.

Accordingly all the boats of the fleet were seen rowing to the shore, and a letter was presented to the grand master, from the representative of France, threatening to obtain by force what had been so inhospitably denied; but, at the same time, promising to respect the religion, customs, and property of the Maltese. The debarkation,

however, was not effected until seven o'clock at night, when the soldiers were landed at the roadsted of La Madealine, the only place in the island where the rocks were neither mined nor cut into mortars: notwithstanding, ample means of defence presented themselves, and the progress of the enemy might have been instantly arrested, had courage and inclination been united. After firing a single cannon, the knight who commanded the town of St. George deserted with his garrison to the enemy. The battery at the point of St. Julian was also abandoned, and the regiment of militia of Birkarhara, posted there, took refuge under the cannon of Fort Manuel.

These unexpected events having produced general terror and distrust, a report was suddenly spread and believed, that all the French, Spanish, and most of the Italian knights, had entered into a conspiracy with the enemy, who, by this time, had advanced into the entrenchments of Nesciar, and seized on all the artillery, now abandoned by the fugitives. A picquet of cavalry, sent by the grand master to the old city, was nearly at the same time refused entrance by the governor, who, as well as the regiment stationed there, stated, that they were determined not to quarrel with the French.

The grand seneschal, notwithstanding this general defection, established his head-quarters at Floriani, the Bailli de Clugny assumed the command of Fort Ricasoli, the Bailli Tomasi remained firm at his post, and the fire of the forts St. Elmo and Tigné produced great execution; while a sally was made with a galley and two galliots, which cannonaded the French shallops, still employed in carrying fresh troops, and sent two of them to the bottom.

The morning of the 10th of June discovered that the enemy had encircled the city, stopped the supplies of provision and ammunition, and were erecting redoubts to batter the place. Hereupon a general confusion took place; 900 of the regular troops refused to attack a post occupied by the enemy; whole companies of militia expressed a determination not to be shut up within the fortifications; and it was found necessary to relieve all the posts commanded by the French chevaliers.

On the approach of evening the nobles, the advocates, and the burghers, who had returned from different parts of the island into the city, surrounded the palace of the grand master, and stated, that as there could no longer be any doubt of treachery, they had drawn up a declaration, and presented it to the Dutch consul, intimating their resolution of surrendering to the French; and it was added, that they had requested him to transmit the capitulation to Bonaparte, either with or without the consent of the order. Several of the knights were, at the same time, massacred;

the chevaliers De Valin, Montazet D'Arnice, and D'Andelard, were put to death; and the chevaliers De Roux, Du Quesnoi, Rigaud, De Cornet, De Guebriant, and the bailli De Neveu, experienced a similar fate. A bloody head was carried about on a pike, and it was with great difficulty that the chevaliers of the priories of Castile and Bavaria could prevent the minister of Russia from being killed during the tumult. The doors of the council-chamber were soon after burst open, the bodies of the murdered chevaliers presented to the members, and the sovereign himself threatened with death.

During this dreadful period of suspense and apprehension, Ransjeat, who had been released from prison; Formosa, the consul of Holland; Doublet, the under-secretary of state; the bailli Frisari; and the chevalier Amati, minister from Spain; were sent by the insurgents to the French camp, where they obtained an armistice, during twenty-four hours, and the terms of capitulation were immediately debated upon and agreed to; but neither the grand master, nor the council, nor the congregation of state, affixed their signatures.

On the 12th of June, at half-past eleven, the French entered the city of Malta, and seized on all the ports; while Ransjeat and Doublet presided over the municipality, and regulated the internal police. The grand master, Hompesch, deprived of all authority, and anxious to abandon a place where he no longer found any respect, was permitted to leave the island, and take refuge in the dominions of the emperor. This unfortunate chief embarked on the morning of the 17th of June, and arrived at Trieste, after a passage of thirty-nine days. He was not allowed to carry away either his plate or jewels; all that he received, or, more properly, was to receive, under the title of an indemnification for so many losses, was the sum of one hundred thousand livres, (about 4,500*l.* sterling.) Though the French legislature passed a vote for a pension of three hundred thousand livres during his life, (a poor compensation for a chief, ranked as a sovereign) he never obtained any portion of it. Had this nobleman betrayed the interests of his order, (as had been pretended) he might have experienced more munificence; and in that case he would have assuredly retired to France, and not sought an asylum in the territories of the Emperor of Germany.

In the course of about eight days, Bonaparte contrived to obtain possession of Valetta and the whole island of Malta; while the ancient order of St. John of Jerusalem beheld itself bereaved of its territories, after being upwards of two centuries and a half in possession of them. In the orders issued by Bonaparte at Malta, there was one more barbarous than the Greek in which it was

written; when it is considered, that he had no more right to dictate laws at Malta, than the robber who has broken into the house of a peaceable man, and stolen his property, has to lay down rules for the family. This order began in the usual way, with the two conspicuous words—**LIBERTY!** and **EQUALITY!** It first related to the mode of worship in the island, and that protection should be given to the Jews who might wish to establish themselves there: that all the Greeks who should have any connection with Russia, should be put to death; and all vessels under Russian colours be sent to the bottom. He then wrote a letter to the Bishop of Malta, thanking him for his reception of the French troops, telling him the high opinion he entertained of the character of a good priest, and begging him to repair to the town of Malta, and by his influence preserve harmony among the people. He wished to be introduced, he said, to the different chiefs, and begged the bishop to be convinced of his esteem and consideration.

When Bonaparte took the island of Malta, he organized a provisional government, victualled the fleet, took in water, and arranged all the dispositions. He quitted it on the 19th of June, leaving the command to General Vaubois, and appointed Citizen Menard commissary of marine.

In order to gratify curiosity, and enable the reader to form a just idea of the country and people, for the subjugation of whom such immense preparations had been made, we shall devote the remainder of this chapter to a description of Malta, its cities, towns, &c.; and of Egypt, so renowned in ancient history.

Malta, known to the Romans by the name of *Ogygia*, to the Greeks by that of *Melita*, was long celebrated as the residence of an order, the laws of which mingled the duties of the cowl with those of the sword; and all the pride, pomp, and glories of chivalry, with the vows, humility, and resignation of the cloister. This institution, coeval with the crusades, and originating in the same spirit of enterprise, that induced European kings and barons to lead their followers to the holy land in quest of extraordinary adventures, was at first known under the name of the order of St. John, and established at Jerusalem in 1103. The heroic courage of the Turks, and the declining fanaticism of the Christians, after a residence of eighty years, occasioned its removal to Acre, where it flourished for a century. Thence, following the fate of the common cause, it was obliged to emigrate; but it conquered Rhodes from the infidels, against whom all the knights had sworn perpetual war; and being driven, after a long and gallant defence, from an island which had owned its sway for more than two centuries, Malta was presented by Charles V. in 1530, to the remnant of chevaliers who had survived the

contest; and their successors had continued, until the arrival of Bonaparte, to carry on continual hostilities by sea against the unbelievers in the true faith. The rights of this order, its sovereignty and independence, were acknowledged by all nations, and could neither be invaded nor infringed without the greatest injustice. The Count Ferdinand di Hompesch (before mentioned) was descended from an ancient and illustrious family, and was the first German who had ever been grand master. The chevaliers were in number 332, viz. 200 French knights, 90 Italians, 25 Spaniards, 8 Portuguese, 4 Germans, and 5 Bavarians; but as 50 were incapable of service, on account of their age, 282 only were able to carry arms. The troops and militia, consisting of 17,282 men, were capable of affording a formidable assistance, but they were not actuated by similar motives. Great dissensions had taken place between the order and its subjects; the latter were accordingly 'disaffected, and many of the French knights were also dazzled with the late acquisitions of France.

The island of Malta is separated from that of Goza by a strait of about five miles in breadth, in the centre of which appears the small island of Cumina. The greatest breadth of Malta is about twelve miles, its length twenty, and it is sixty in circumference. Goza is not more than half the former, either in circuit or diameter. Cumina is not quite a mile in breadth, and about three miles long; but it is cultivated, and fruitful in corn. It possesses a fort, which was erected in the year 1618. Malta contains two cities and twenty-two small towns, or *cazals*, a derivative word from the Arabic, signifying a station; and sufficiently proves that these villages were gradually formed from the collected habitations of laborers, who successively built their huts on those spots which formed situations convenient to their particular employment; a rise not dissimilar to that of the borough towns of our own country.

Citta Vecchia, or the old city, is situated on the highest ground in the island, and near the centre of it was the ancient capital; but the city of La Valetta is the actual metropolis of the island. Its dependencies, which are enclosed within stupendous fortifications, are considered as so many distinct towns. Besides the *cazals*, there are small groups of houses scattered about the country. The coast is defended by entrenchments, batteries, and towers, from whence the inhabitants give advice, by signal or fires, of any suspected vessels that may be seen at sea. These towers, built at a small distance from each other, and forming a curve, the extremities of which reach to the two castles, placed at the entrance of the harbour, repeat the signals with such rapidity as ensures the prompt defence of the whole coast. Besides the two chief harbours, between which

the city of La Valetta is situated, there are several bays, where vessels may ride with safety. Two of the most considerable are St. Paul's Bay, and that of Marzo Scirocco, where the Turks landed in the year 1556. The whole of the coast affords opportunities for landing, except the southern part, which is bold, rocky, and of a great height.

The island of Goza has no harbour, but several bays. Its coasts are also furnished with towers, whose signals, repeated by the fort at Cumina, very rapidly communicate the alarm to Malta. It contains one castle, one town, and six cazals.

The city of La Valetta was built, or at least its foundations were laid, in the year 1566. The elevation of the spot, and its position, between the two great harbours of the island, determined the choice of its situation. It derives its name from the grand master La Valette, who, after having sustained a siege against the Turks, with very unequal numbers, and almost incredible efforts of courage, and fearing another and more powerful descent from the Ottoman troops, obtained supplies from the court of Spain, and caused the walls of the new city to be traced according to a plan conceived and laid down by himself. The inhabitants of either sex and of every age, made a voluntary offer of their labors towards building the city, which would not only prove their defence, but serve to increase their commerce and secure their wealth; as well as increase the importance of the island, by the additional protection it would give to the trade of Europe in the Mediterranean sea. La Valette dying in 1568, it was reserved for his successor, De Mont, to finish the work, and the whole was completed on the 18th of May, 1571. The principal attention in building this city was paid to the construction of fortifications for its defence; and the chapel, called La Vittoria, built by La Valette, in commemoration of raising the siege, was at that time the only place of worship belonging to the order.

La Valetta projects boldly towards the sea for about a mile, is washed on either side by two branches or inlets of it, and presents, at the same time, a stupendous mass of fortifications. Its principal batteries are those of the fort and castle of St. Elmo. This fort stretches, as it were, into the sea, is defended by three tier of cannon, chiefly brass, and has an handsome signal-tower rising from the crown of it. The castle, at the same time, is surrounded with a ditch fifty feet in depth, and is also encircled by the battery of St. John, which is mounted with a numerous and an heavy artillery, chiefly brass four-and-twenty pounders, and brass mortars. This castle and battery completely overlook the harbour, and command its entrance, presenting to the sea an almost impenetrable aspect. Opposite to it, on the right, is

Fort Ricasoli, and on the left Fort Tigné, which commands the Marsa Muschetta harbour, allotted for vessels performing quarantine. The castle and batteries of Ricasoli are situate at the entrance of the grand harbour, which they likewise command from a variety of points. It is a place of great strength, as it stands upon a rock, and its batteries are mounted with heavy cannon from twenty-four to forty-two pounders.

Fort Tigné is on the other side of Valetta, and is built on a neck of land at the mouth of the right entrance of the quarantine harbour, or Marsa Muschetta. This fort was erected by order of the grand master, Emanuel de Rohan, and designed by a French engineer, named Tigné, from whom it derives its denomination. It is of a triangular form, with a round tower facing Valetta, and surrounded by a ditch forty feet in depth, chisselled out of the solid rock. It is a very handsome building, and commands the approach from the westward to Valetta, with the entrance to the quarantine harbour, for a considerable distance. It is fortified with great strength, is well mounted with cannon, and contains barracks for three hundred men, which are bomb-proof. It is also undermined in every part, and the four entrances to the mines are two hundred feet in length, and cut out of the solid rock.

Fort Manuel, which is situated about a mile from Fort Tigné, and separated from it by a part of the harbour about a quarter of a mile in breadth, is less remarkable, perhaps, for its defensive utility, than the beauty of its construction. Its mines extend a considerable distance beyond the ditches, which are generally forty feet in depth. It is immediately opposite the Marsa Muschetta gate, and the public slaughter-houses of La Valetta. The probable motive for erecting this beautiful fort, was to keep an enemy at a distance from La Valetta, should they land in any part of the island to the westward: and thereby prevent the cruel effects of a bombardment on that city. It contains an handsome chapel, and in the square is a fine statue in bronze, of the grand master Emanuel, who was at the sole expence of building the fort. It is near the lazaretto, but is separated from it by a wall of forty feet in height, with a carriage-way beneath it. The only approach to it, except by boats, is by a small neck of land, or isthmus, connecting with the country, about half a mile at the back of the fort, and which is sufficiently guarded and defended.

The ancient castle of St. Angelo is situated in the centre of the grand harbour, and rises from a rock that protrudes, as it were, into the water. It faces the mouth of the harbour, and, having four tiers of powerful artillery from the level of the sea to the top of the works, with a battery of mortars, it may be said irresistibly to command it. So

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that, independent of St. Elmo and Ricasoli, this part of the castle is capable of sending to instant destruction a ship of any force that should presume to come within its reach, as one hundred pieces of very heavy cannon could be made to bear upon her. This castle is situated on a rocky peninsula, and may be considered, both from art and nature, as an impregnable fortress. It has only one entrance, which is by a draw-bridge from the town of Vittoriosa; and there are three covered gates, of prodigious strength, which at once guard and form the passage.

Vittoriosa is built in a very irregular manner, and rises gradually from the water-side in a state of acclivity to the distance of about half a mile. The houses are of stone, and equally elegant and commodious; the streets, or rather lanes, for they deserve no other appellation, are narrow and irregular. It contains a fine palace, and two handsome churches, which are decorated with paintings and sculptures. There is also a very neat and cleanly market-place in the centre of the town; in the middle of which appears, on a pedestal, a fine statue in bronze of the grand master who laid the foundations of the place. Every part of it is well inhabited, and fountains of water continually refresh it.

The town of Bormula is separated from it by a draw-bridge over a ditch about twenty feet wide, and between fifty and sixty in depth, which is also dug out of the solid rock. This town, like Vittoriosa, is built on the slope of an hill, and displays an equal irregularity. There is only one spacious street; the rest are narrow, and without any kind of pavement. The houses, however, being regularly built, present a pleasing appearance.

The town of Singlia is situated on an eminence, and is irregular. The principal street displays a noble appearance, and extends from the entrance by the gateway, to the point opposite La Valetta, about three quarters of a mile; it is well paved, and in the middle of it there is an handsome column, crowned by a statue of one of the grand masters of the order.

Floriana is connected with, but is situated on, an eminence without the walls of La Valetta; it consists of several neat, pleasant, but unpaved streets, and commands a magnificent prospect of the Mediterranean sea, with the entrance of the grand harbour, and its predominant circumstances. Of the two churches which this place can boast, one, which is situated in the middle of it, presents a large architectural form, with a steeple; while the other, which is placed close to the fortifications that overlook the harbour, has no exterior claim to attention.

The entrance from Floriana to La Valetta is by a draw-bridge, thrown over a ditch of ninety feet in depth, and scooped out of the solid rock:

the bridge is flanked on either side by a powerful battery, which no force could resist, even supposing it to be practicable for an enemy to make so near an approach to the city: to the bridge succeeds an archway of fifty feet in length, hewn out of the rock, on one side of which, and formed in the same manner, is a guard-house and officer's room; this gateway is called the *Porta Reale*, and gives its name to the street that proceeds from it: this stupendous archway supports a small neat house, that commands the whole of Floriana, and a considerable distance beyond it, which is probably intended as a place of observation for the general or commandant, as occasion may require. On the wings of this building are batteries of immense strength, which join the walls that enclose the city: they are mounted with cannon, and have a commanding front over the Floriana, and the country adjacent. The gate is supported by two cavaliers of ninety feet in height, bomb-proof, and inaccessible, except by one small narrow passage. They are of uniform appearance, and answer in size and shape to each other. These large magazines of powder and shot are so constructed, that no accident can possibly occur to them, as they are formed in the solid rock, and consequently superior to the annoyance of shot or bombs.

The French, while they were in possession of Malta, not only endeavoured to republicanize the Maltese, but to give republican names to the very streets: they, therefore, blotted out the ancient titles, and substituted such as accorded with their political views, and the order of things in France.

Beyond the arsenal and *Strada di Mezzodi*, two very handsome churches present themselves to the view: they are opposite to each other, and form a part of the street. One of them has a tower filled with bells, which are continually chiming, to the great annoyance of those who live in their immediate vicinity.

The magnificent church of St. John stands in a square, and forms a central point of view to four streets. It is a large plain building, without any striking display of exterior ornament. In the front of the church the area is paved with large flat stones, to the extent of thirty or forty feet; and is inclosed by a small parapet wall with pillars, on the outside of which there is a paved footway for passengers, raised a few inches above the common causeway. The west front of the church presents two towers, containing bells of uncommon magnitude, which continually announce the unceasing ceremonials of public worship in the building beneath them. The first stroke of the bell from St. John's church, is the general signal for the bells of all the other churches in La Valetta and its dependencies: the whole producing a kind of wide-extended chime, which has rather a pleasing effect. The interior form and decorations of this church are truly magnificent.

The roof, which is finely painted, is supported by a double row of superb columns, about thirty feet in height, and are of a beautiful dark green marble, with black veins. To the right of the altar was a stately throne of crimson velvet, richly decorated with embroidered ornaments; the principal of which were the arms of the order. This was the seat of the grand master. In a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, a golden lamp, of large size and great value, had been long suspended by a chain of the same metal. It was said to have been formerly brought from Rhodes, and had ever been regarded by the people with the most profound veneration. It was considered of so much importance by Bonaparte, that he ordered it to be removed to the place of his residence.

This church was built by the Grand Master La Cassiere, and dedicated by Ludovico Torres, Archbishop of Montreuil. It was enriched with the presents made, every five years, by the grand master and priors of the order. The first general chapter celebrated at Malta, assigned a chapel in this church to each nation of which the knights are composed: these chapels form the wings to the extensive body of the church.

The French, with that rapacious spirit which accompanied and disgraced their conquests, stripped this beautiful church of almost the whole of its valuable ornaments; even statues of bronze were pillaged for the mere value of the metal.

Opposite to the Treasury is a very handsome modern edifice, called the Conservatorio; it joins the grand master's palace, and was intended, previous to the surrender of the island to Bonaparte, for the reception of the public library, which at that time promised to become a very splendid and extensive collection of literature. This establishment was begun in the year 1760, by the Bailli di Tencini, who presented it with 9700 volumes, collected at a very considerable expence. The last general chapter, held in 1776, confirmed this institution; and it was also settled, that the books of the knights should, on their death, be presented as contributions to it.

The Jesuit's College, which is near the market, is a large handsome building, well suited for the purposes of public education, and is in the same state of establishment as the colleges in other Roman catholic countries.

The General Hospital, an extensive building, fronts the grand harbour, and has a fine clear air from the sea. It contains several large airy halls and extensive chambers for the sick, where the ranges of beds might be quadrupled without inconvenience. Before the miserable change in the affairs and state of this island, this hospital was open to the natives of all countries, and every kind of medical and surgical assistance amply afforded. The knights not only superintended the different parts

of its administration, the principal office of which was one of the first dignities of the order, but frequently attended the sick in their own persons, and with all the care and vigilance of a domestic hospital. At that better period, all the utensils employed in the hospital were of silver, the plainness and simplicity of which, however, announced that such a circumstance was less an object of luxury than a means of preserving cleanliness.

It may, indeed, be wondered that such a place as Malta was so readily surrendered to the army of France; but this must be attributed to secret treachery, and not to the prowess of Bonaparte, or to a decline in that native courage which had impelled the Maltese to perform those martial deeds which history records.

We shall now, according to promise, direct the reader's attention to a land renowned in ancient writings.

Egypt is commonly reckoned to be about 500 miles in length, and 160 in breadth. The borders of the Nile, from Abyssinia to Grand Cairo, form a narrow valley, which, with lesser vallies or openings into the hilly country, and the deserts on either side, is called the Upper, and the whole country watered by the Nile from thence downward; the Lower Egypt. The two grand branches of the Nile, which part at Grand Cairo, together with the Mediterranean, into which they fall, form a triangle, called the Delta, of which the ocean is the base, the two branches of the Nile the sides, and Cairo the apex, or head. A great portion of this part of Egypt, being enriched by the overflowing of the Nile, is extremely fertile. No country in the world is more plenteously stored than Egypt with corn, rice, flesh, fish, sugar, fruits, vegetables, and oil. The Delta produces oranges, lemons, figs, dates, almonds, and plantains in the greatest abundance. The extent of this famous country, that is, of the part of it now inhabited, does not seem, at first sight, to correspond with the descriptions which have been left by the ancients, of its twenty thousand towns and cities, several millions of inhabitants, and armies, kept by its ancient kings, of three hundred thousand men, executing the pyramids, the labyrinths, the grottos of Thebes, the lake Moeris, vast canals, obelisks, temples, and pompous palaces. But, although the reports by travellers, of Egypt being a delicious garden, have been unanimously reprobated by all the French who have written on the subject, since Bonaparte's expedition thither, the most intelligent admit the extent to which the happy influence and dominion of the Nile, by means of industry and art, might have been carried, in times past, from the banks of the river over the arid desert. As a heavy counter-balance to these natural advantages, except in our winter, and the

latter part of the autumnal months, the heat of the climate is oppressive to all who are not accustomed to it. The winds are sometimes of such extreme heat and aridity, that their influence proves mortal. During the time these last, the streets are deserted, and the inhabitants almost blinded by drifts of sand, so subtle, that they insinuate themselves into the closest apartments: so that from this enemy there is no such thing as a perfectly secure retreat. The vermin that infest this land, to strangers particularly, is intolerable; and, in addition to all these evils, it is frequently visited by the plague.

Since Egypt fell under the dominion of the Turks, it has been ostensibly governed by a pacha, or, as we pronounce the word, bashaw, who resided at Grand Cairo; but whose authority, for a long time past, has been more nominal than real. The bashaw was, in fact, little more than a sign and memorial of the respect formerly paid, and still professed, by all musselmans, to the eldest son of the prophet. Besides the bashaw there were inferior governors, under various designations, in the different provinces; but the power of the sword was in the hands of the mamelukes. A small number of janissaries, indeed, was retained at Cairo, and a few other places in the service of the Porte, of which they held landed possessions, in return for their service. In Upper Egypt there were some Arabs who paid tribute to the grand signior, or made presents to the bashaw: and, in the Lower Egypt, there were some villages in the possession of sheicks. But the real government or sovereignty of Egypt was possessed by the Mamelukes, originally soldiers of fortune, but who paid very little regard to the conditions on which they held their power and property. They came originally from the mountainous countries between the Black Sea and Caucasus; and their armies were still recruited by boys from those countries, and other youth, the children of christian slaves, brought for sale to Grand Cairo. The laws of Mahomet enjoin great compassion and tenderness for slaves, and nothing is considered as more pleasing and meritorious in the sight of God than their total emancipation. The condition of the young slaves, who fell into the hands of the Mamelukes, was certainly among the gentlest lots of slavery. It was the road to fortune. They were brought up by the Mamelukes in the same manner as their own children, and came, in time, to be almost considered as such; nor did the circumstance of their having ever been in a state of slavery preclude them from any degree of preferment, even that of bey, which was the chief, who was chosen freely by a plurality of voices in a full council of officers; so that the beys, elevated to power, neither by the accident of birth, nor the particu-

lar favor of any sovereign prince; but in some degree at least, if not chiefly, by their own merit, were, for the most part, men of superior talents and unquestionable courage. The Mamelukes were all of them brave, even to excess. They were accustomed, from their earliest years, to a dextrous management of the finest and most spirited horses in the world. They were armed with swords and pistols, muskets and lances. Their wealth and state were displayed in their arms, dress, and equipage. Their habitations and household furniture were wretched. It was their manner incessantly to wheel round about an enemy in his front, flank, and rear, and to retreat as he advanced, unless they perceived an advantage, or were under a necessity of coming to close action, while another division of them hung upon his rear, and endeavoured to surround and cut off detached parties, wherever they could find an opening. The general spirit of their warfare, like that of the ancient Scythians and the Arabs, was to cut off supplies, and harass and destroy their enemy by repeated attacks, according to opportunities. But, in different circumstances, their courage, as might be expected, was more or less impetuous and daring.

The beys were not all of them, without exception, of christian origin, as has been commonly supposed. Of late years, the annual number of slaves from Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circassia, has been greatly diminished. In 1762, five of the beys were of Mahometan descent; and, from the cause just mentioned, the proportion of the Mahometan, to what we may call the Christian beys, has probably become greater.

The number of the beys, originally four-and-twenty, by the encroachments of the more powerful over the weaker, had been reduced, it is said, to eighteen or twenty; but on that point the accounts vary. They had frequent quarrels with one another, but these did not lead to such serious and obstinate contests as has been imagined. They did not draw the whole of their resources, whether of actual possession or credit, and plunge many thousands of unoffending people into the vortex of protracted war, but quickly settled their disputes by pitched encounters: in which they were accompanied and joined by the small corps of their respective body-guards. When the combat was over, the conqueror returned immediately to the capital, where most of the bashaws resided. The vanquished party returned also thither in a few days after. If he fell in battle, another bey was chosen in his stead; and there was an end of the matter. So that, on the whole, the disputes among the mamelukes were not of such an inveterate nature as to prevent a ready union against a common enemy.

There were about 10,000 Mamelukes clothed

in one uniform, and which were at the disposal of government, or rather that of the beys, who seem to have considered themselves as forming, in some respects, a kind of republic. But, besides these, each mameluke kept on foot, or could easily raise bodies of men among his own vassals.

Besides the Turks and the Mamelukes, the Arabs and Copts form another set of inhabitants. The Arabs, who are all musselmen, may be divided into three classes: the first consists of the Fellahs, or husbandmen and artisans; the second of the Occidentals, who either cultivate the earth or live by trade; and, lastly, the Bedouins, or inhabitants of the desert, some of whom arrive yearly from the heart of Africa to profit by the fertility of the country, and retire, during the spring, into the desert; others are stationary in

Egypt: but all of them are detested by the farmers, whom they pillage, and by the travellers, whom they rob. The Bedouin Arabs were attached to the Mahometan faith.

The Copts, christians of the Eutychian sect, are descended from the mixture of Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks, who possessed the country under the Ptolemies and Constantines. Being less ignorant than the other inhabitants, they are become the depositaries of the registers of the lands and tribes; at Cairo they are also the secretaries and collectors of government.

The other inhabitants consist of Jews and Greeks. The Mamelukes, disdaining to marry the natives, form alliances with their own countrywomen alone, who, like themselves, are slaves brought from Georgia, Mingrelia, &c.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1798.

CHAPTER VI.

Critical Situation of Bonaparte.—His Proceedings.—His Army inclined to mutiny.—Capture of Alexandria.—Louis Bonaparte's Account of it.—Action at Chebreisse.—Battle near the Pyramids.—The French enter Cairo.

BONAPARTE, having anchored in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, received a visit from the French consul, who repaired on board the *Orient*, and communicated very unpleasant intelligence. He stated, that the appearance of the fleet had occasioned great commotions in the city, which was prepared for defence; that all the christians were in danger of being massacred; that Admiral Nelson, with fourteen line-of-battle ships, had arrived three days before; and, not finding the armament there, sailed immediately in pursuit of it, towards the north-east. The commander-in-chief found, by this information, that his situation was very critical, and he was therefore determined to precipitate all his movements.

Bonaparte addressed his army in a manner perfectly suited to the designs he had in view, and spoke to the following purport:

"The people with whom you are now going to establish an intercourse, are Mahometans. The first article of their faith is, There is no god but God, and Mahomet is his prophet. Do not contradict them. Treat their mufties and imans with respect, as you have done the rabbies and bishops. The Roman legions protected all religions. You will find here usages different from those of Europe. You will reconcile yourselves to them by custom." The French general also told them, that they were going to undertake a valuable conquest, and give the English a most sensible blow; that they should have much to do,

and fight several battles; but that they should succeed in every thing. He then railed against the mamelukes, who, he said, tyrannize over the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile; but that they should cease to exist. He informed them, that the first city they should arrive at was built by Alexander, and that they would meet, at every step, with objects to excite emulation.

Bonaparte then issued general orders from on board the *Orient*. He commenced by ordering the generals, who commanded detached divisions, to seal up the registers of the revenue; and all the mamelukes to be arrested and taken to headquarters. Having made a disposition of all horses and camels for the use of the army, and stated the sum to be paid for each by the quarter-master-general, he concluded by stating, that all soldiers, stealing horses or camels, should be punished.

In a subsequent order he fixed the superintendence of the coast, and appointed the officers to their situations; he also added a clause, that all sailors, under thirty, should be put in requisition.

Bonaparte transmitted three proclamations, prepared beforehand, and dated on board the flag-ship; the first to the Pacha of Egypt, stating, "that he was come to put an end to the exactions of the Mamelukes;" and inviting his highness, in the oriental style, "to meet and curse, along with him, the impious race of the beys;" the

BOOK III.

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second was addressed to the inhabitants, in which he declared, "that he was come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants;" and added, "that the French respected, more than the mamelukes, God, his prophet, and the Koran.

"Cadis, Cheiks, Imans, Tchirbadjees," he continued, "tell the people that we are the friends of the true musselmen. Did we not dethrone the Pope, who preached that it was necessary to make war against the true believers? Did we not destroy the knights of Malta, because those foolish men thought that God wished hostilities to be perpetually carried on against those of your faith?" After stating that all the towns and villages, which might arm against the French, should be burnt, he commanded every one to remain in his house, enjoined prayers to be said as usual, and concluded with "Glory to the sultan; glory to the French army, his friends; curses to the mamelukes; and happiness to the people of Egypt."

The third proclamation was to the following effect:—

BONAPARTE, Member of the National Institute, Commander-in-Chief, to the Commander of the Caraval, at Alexandria.

*Head-quarters, on board the Orient,
July 1, 1798.*

"The beys have loaded our merchants with exactions, and I am come to demand reparation.

"I shall be at Alexandria to-morrow; but this ought not to alarm you. You are a subject of our great friend the sultan; conduct yourself accordingly; but, if you commit the slightest act of hostility against the French army, I shall treat you as an enemy, and you will have no one to blame for it but yourself; for such a thing is far from my intention, and from my heart.

"Your's,

"BONAPARTE."

On the same evening Bonaparte made arrangements for landing, and fixed on the Point at Marabou as the spot; he ordered the fleet to anchor as near the Point as possible; but two ships of war, in preparing to execute this, ran foul of the admiral's ship, which caused the order to be countermanded, and the armament remained at its then situation. They were at a distance of about three leagues from the shore, the wind was northerly, and blew with violence, and the debarkation was equally perilous and difficult; but nothing could retard the brave men, who were eager to anticipate the hostile dispositions of the inhabitants. The sea was covered with boats, which stemmed the impetuosity of the waves. The galley with Bonaparte approached the nearest

breakers, whence the entrance to the creek of Marabou was discovered; he waited for those boats that were to join him; but they arrived not till after sun-set, and could not, during the night, penetrate the ledge of breakers. Near one o'clock in the morning of July 2, the general-in-chief landed, at the head of the foremost troops, who formed in the desert, about nine miles from Alexandria.

Neither Desaix nor Regnier had as yet been able to reach the shore, and the distance of the shipping had also precluded the arrival of both cannon and cavalry. The troops which landed consisted of 1000 men belonging to Kleber's division, 1800 of Menou's, and about 1500 of General Bon's. As expedition was chiefly aimed at, the van of the army was to commence its march at half after two.

It is asserted upon good authority, that the French troops, on beholding the dreary aspect of the desert, actually mutinied, and refused to land, until Kleber interposed, and prevailed upon his division to consent.

Bonaparte, accompanied by his staff, headed the advanced guard along with General Caffarelli, who, notwithstanding his wooden leg, did not wait the arrival of a horse. General Bon commanded the column on the right; that in the centre was led by General Kleber; while the left, under General Menou, proceeded along the sea-coast. The troops met with little interruption, except from a few scattered Arabs, who killed an officer, and at break of day beheld Pompey's pillar. At length they arrived within a short distance of the old town, which was immediately summoned; but the shouts of men, women, and children, accompanied by some cannon-shot, soon demonstrated that the enemy was not inclined to surrender. Hereupon Bonaparte gave orders to beat a charge, and the French, advancing towards the walls, prepared to scale them, although the fire of the besieged was accompanied by a dreadful shower of stones. While the generals and privates were attempting to reach the summit, Kleber received a musket-shot in the head, and Menou was thrown back from the parapet covered with contusions. By means of a guide, the walls were at length covered by the French troops, and the besieged fled; those, however, who garrisoned the old town, continued their fire, and refused to submit.

These generous invaders, who came, as Bonaparte said, to visit them in *pure friendship*, in order to introduce *liberty and happiness*, now penetrated into the city, engaged in the streets, and put a great number of the inhabitants to death. The rest of the natives, dispirited by the dreadful slaughter that had taken place, and being promised that their property should be safe, laid down their arms. The city, notwithstanding, was

pillaged by the French, though in the treaty, signed between the inhabitants and the invaders, who with the city obtained possession of two forts, the following clause was inserted:—

“The general-in-chief of the French army promises, on his part, that no one of the soldiers shall molest the inhabitants of Alexandria, by vexatious proceedings, rapine, or menaces; and those who shall commit such excesses, shall be punished with the utmost rigor.”

The following account of the capture of this city was given by the French general, in a letter to his brother Joseph, dated Alexandria, July 6.

“At break of day on the 2d, we invested Alexandria, after driving into the town several small detachments of cavalry. The enemy defended themselves like men; the artillery, which they planted on the walls, was wretchedly served, but their musketry was excellent. These people have no idea of children’s play; they either kill, or are killed. The first inclosure, however, that is to say, that of the city of the Arabs, was carried; and soon after the second, in spite of the fire from the houses. The forts which are on the coast, on the other side of the city, were then invested, and in the evening capitulated.

“Since the 2d of July we have been engaged in disembarking the troops, the artillery, and the baggage. General Desaix is at Demanhur, on the Nile; the rest of the army is to follow him.

“The place where we disembarked is about two leagues from hence, at the tower of Marabout, or the Isles des Arabes. The two first days we had a number of stragglers cut off by the Arab and Mameluke cavalry. I imagine that we have lost about 100 killed, and as many wounded. The generals, Kleber, Menou, and Lasalle, are wounded.

“I send you the proclamation to the inhabitants of the country, which has produced an effect altogether astonishing. The Bedouins, enemies of the Mamelukes, and who, properly speaking, are neither more nor less than intrepid robbers, sent us back, as soon as they had read it, thirty of our people whom they had made prisoners, with an offer of their services against the mamelukes. We have treated them kindly. They are an invincible people, inhabiting a burning desert, mounted on the fleetest horses in the world, and full of courage: they live with their wives and children in flying camps, which are never pitched two nights together in the same place. They are horrible savages, and yet they have some notion of gold and silver; a small quantity of it serves to excite their admiration. Yes, my dear brother, they love gold; they pass their lives in extorting it from such Europeans as fall into their hands; and for what purpose?—for continuing the course of life which I have described, and for teaching it to their children. O Jean Jacques! why was

it not thy fate to see those men, whom thou callest ‘the men of nature?’ Thou wouldest sink with shame, thou wouldest startle with horror at the thought of having once admired them!

“Adieu, my dear brother, let me hear from you soon. I suffered a great deal on our passage; this climate kills me; we shall be so altered that you will discover the change at a league’s distance.

“The remarkable objects here are, Pompey’s column, the obelisks of Cleopatra, the spot where her baths once stood, a number of ruins, a subterraneous temple, some catacombs, mosques, and a few churches. But what is still more remarkable, is the character and manners of the inhabitants; they are of a *sang-froid* absolutely astonishing; nothing agitates them; and death itself is to them what a voyage to America is to the English.

“Their exterior is imposing; the most marked physiognomies amongst us are mere children’s countenances compared to theirs. The women wrap themselves up in a piece of cloth, which passes over their heads, and descends in front to the eyebrows. The poorer sort cover the whole of their face with linen, leaving only two small apertures for the eyes; so that, if this strange veil happens to be a little shrivelled, or stained, they look like so many hobgoblins.

“Their forts and their artillery are the most ridiculous things in nature. They have not even a lock, nor a window to their houses; in a word, they are still involved in all the blindness of the earliest ages.

“Oh! how many misanthropes would be converted, if chance should conduct them into the midst of the deserts of Arabia!”

On establishing his head-quarters at Alexandria, Bonaparte issued a proclamation, stating, that the beys from Georgia had desolated the country, and oppressed the French merchants; that he had arrived, and the fate of the beys was sealed. He told the inhabitants, that the French were come to rescue them from the hands of their tyrants; that they adored God, and honored the prophet and the koran; that their friendship should be extended to all who joined them, or maintained a strict neutrality—but for the beys there should be no deliverance; that all the villages should send to the French general, stating their submission, and that they should hoist the French flag; every village opposing the French was doomed to be burnt; the cheiks and other public officers should continue to execute their respective functions, and all the people of Egypt should offer up their prayers for the destruction of the beys.

Bonaparte established himself at Alexandria, as he had done at Malta; like an arrogant tyrant, he ordered every person, except the muftis, imams,

and cheiks, to deposit their arms in a given place within twenty-four hours after; that all the inhabitants should wear the tri-colored cockade, reserving to himself the right of distributing a tri-colored shawl to the cheiks who might distinguish themselves; that the troops were to pay military honors to whoever wore a shawl, and that they should be treated with all due respect. Foreign agents were not to display their colors, and the consul only was to have his name over his door.

Bonaparte, judging the people to be only barbarians, treated them as too ignorant to exercise any of the reasoning faculties; the next proclamation called upon them for reliance on his honor and friendship, in the very paper which acknowledged him the ally of the grand seignior, whose territories he had thus wrested from him!

Possession having been thus obtained of Alexandria, with the loss of only a colonel and seventy soldiers killed and wounded, General Desaix, who had arrived with his division, accompanied by two field-pieces, was immediately dispatched towards Cairo, on purpose to take advantage of the terror with which the Mamelukes would necessarily be inspired by the sudden arrival of the French.

During the interim, Bonaparte issued orders for the transports and two Venetian men of war to enter the old port. He was desirous also, that the fleet should shelter itself there from the enemy; but, on sounding the channel, it appeared there was not sufficient depth of water for the Orient; the road of Aboukir was, therefore, chosen as the fittest anchorage.

The cannon, cavalry, and military stores, having been disembarked, a divan established at Alexandria, and the chief command entrusted to Kleber, in the course of five days a flotilla was established on the Nile. This flotilla consisted of seven small sloops, three gun-boats, and a xebec, and would have been a great assistance to the army, had the route of Rosetta been taken, in carrying the baggage and provisions of the troops, but the French had not yet taken Rosetta, and by that route Bonaparte would have retarded the progress to Cairo at least eight or ten days; he therefore determined to advance through the desert by Dementour, and by this way General Desaix was ordered to proceed.

General Dugua had orders to proceed with the dismounted cavalry to the mouth of the Nile, to cover the entrance of the French flotilla into that river; he was also instructed to take possession of Rosetta, to establish a divan, erect a battery at Lisbé, and embark a quantity of rice in the flotilla; after which he was to proceed towards Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile, to join the army near Rahmanieh, and the flotilla was to proceed up the river.

The French were greatly annoyed by the Arabs; General Desaix was nearly taken prisoner, when not more than fifty paces in the rear; and Le Meriar fell a sacrifice within 100 paces of the advanced guard; Delanau, an adjutant, was made prisoner within a few yards of the troops; and the Arabs settled a quarrel amongst themselves about sharing the ransom, by blowing out his brains! The Mamelukes presented themselves in front of the army; these horsemen retired, and, certain of victory, ceased to harass a march which, under a burning sun, gave nothing but hunger and thirst; the soldiers cried for bread, while the dazzling sunbeams, playing on a sandy soil, displayed such a resemblance to water, as to deceive, not only the stranger, but those who had before witnessed it.

Early in July, the main army left Alexandria. The Arabs filled up all the wells at Beda and Birkit; so that the soldiers, scorched by the heat of the sun, felt a parching thirst, which they could not assuage. The wells were explored, but a little muddy water could only be obtained. Many skirmishes took place, in one of which General de Brigade Mireur was mortally wounded.

When the army was on its march for Rhaminie, the scarcity of wells obliged some of the divisions to halt. The soldiers soon discovered the Nile; they plunged in, and eagerly assuaged their thirst. Speedily the drums recalled them to their colors; a corps of about eight hundred mamelukes were seen approaching in order of battle; the soldiers ran to their arms; the enemy retired, and went towards Dementour, where they met the division of General Desaix: the discharge of cannon announced an action. Bonaparte marched against the Mamelukes, but the artillery of General Desaix had made them retreat, leaving forty men killed or wounded; ten of the infantry were slightly wounded. The troops, being exhausted, were greatly in want of repose; and the horses, harassed by the voyage, required it still more. This induced Bonaparte to halt at Rhaminie the 11th and 12th, when he expected the flotilla, and the division under General Dugua.

General Dugua had taken Rosetta without any obstacle, and joined the army at the expected period. As to the flotilla, he announced that it ascended the river with great difficulty, from the shallowness of the water; however, it arrived on the 14th, and, during that night, the army set out for Miniét-el-Sayd, where it rested; and proceeded again on its march.

About 4000 Mamelukes were discovered at the distance of a league, their right covered by the village of Chebreisse, where they placed some pieces of cannon, and also by the Nile, on which was a flotilla of gun-boats and armed gemes. Bonaparte ordered the French flotilla to dispose itself so as to act with the left of the army, and to

engage the enemy's vessels, when the former should attack the Mamelukes and the village of Chebreisse. The violence of the wind deranged this plan; the flotilla was driven nearly a league higher up, where it engaged at a great disadvantage, as it had, at the same time, to sustain the fire of the Mamelukes, the peasants, and the Arabs, and to defend itself against the enemy's flotilla. Some of the peasants, led on by a party of Mamelukes, possessed themselves of one galley and a gun-boat. The commander, *Perée*, made a successful attack in his turn, and retook the galley and the gun-boat. His xebec, which dealt fire and death, destroyed several of the enemy's gun-boats; he was powerfully supported in this unequal contest by the coolness of General *Andreossi*, and *Bourienne*, secretary to Bonaparte, who were on board the xebec.

Bonaparte soon understood, by the noise of the artillery, that the flotilla was engaged; and immediately approaching Chebreisse, perceived the Mamelukes ranged in front of the village. He reconnoitred the position, and formed his army into five divisions, each of which constituted a hollow square; the artillery was at the angles, and in the centre the cavalry and baggage. The grenadiers of each square formed platoons, which flanked the divisions, and were to reinforce the points of attack. The miners posted themselves in two villages in the rear, to secure places of retreat. The Mamelukes suddenly advanced in crowds, and wheeled about on the flanks and on the rear; others fell on the right and front of the army. They were allowed to approach, when the artillery opened, and they were soon put to flight. Some of the bravest rushed upon the platoons on the flanks; these were received with firmness, and nearly the whole were killed by the fire of the small-arms, or by the bayonet. The army advanced against the village of Chebreisse, which the right wing was to attack. It was carried after a slight resistance; the defeat of the Mamelukes was complete; they fled in disorder towards Cairo; their flotilla got up the Nile with all possible expedition. The loss of the Mamelukes was about 700 men, more killed than wounded: that of the French was about seventy, besides the loss on board the flotilla. When the French recovered their squadron from the Mamelukes, they found themselves stripped of every thing.

Perée, in his account of this engagement, said, "I cannot describe to you what we suffered in this expedition: we were reduced, for several days, to subsist entirely on water-melons, during which, we were constantly exposed to the fire of the Arabs, although, with the exception of a few killed and wounded, we always came off victorious. The Nile is very far from answering the

description I had received of it; it winds incessantly, and is withal very shallow."

Bonaparte ordered *Zayoncheck*, the general of brigade, to proceed with about 500 dismounted cavalry, along the right bank of the Nile, in a parallel line to the march of the army, which advanced on the left bank. The army was incessantly harassed on the march by the Arabs; it could not advance farther than a cannon-shot without falling into an ambuscade. All communication, beyond 300 toises from the rear of the army, was cut off, and no intelligence could be forwarded to, or received from, *Alexandria*. Neither men nor cattle were to be seen, for all the villages were abandoned. The French soldiers lay upon heaps of corn, and subsisted only upon some lentils, and a kind of thin cakes, which they made themselves by bruising the corn.

The army continued its march towards Cairo; and, on the 19th of July, General *Zayoncheck* united with the main army, where the Nile divides itself into two branches, those of *Rosetta* and *Damietta*. At this time, *Mourad Bey*, at the head of 6000 Mamelukes and a host of Arabs and peasants, was entrenched at *Ernbabé*, waiting for the French; and, on the 22d, *Desaix*, with the advanced guard, arrived within two miles of the spot. The heat was intense, and the soldiers excessively fatigued, which induced Bonaparte to halt. But the Mamelukes no sooner saw the army, than they formed upon the plain; an appearance so grand was never before witnessed by the French; the cavalry of the mamelukes were covered with resplendent armour. Beyond their left were the celebrated pyramids, which have survived so many empires, and braved, for more than thirty centuries, the outrages of time. Behind their right was the Nile, the city of Cairo, the hills of *Mokattam*, and the fields of the ancient *Memphis*.

The same disposition having been made as at Chebreisse, Bonaparte gave orders for a charge, but the Mamelukes prevented this movement; they made a feint against the centre, and rushed, with their usual impetuosity, on the divisions of *Desaix* and *Reignier*, which formed the right: they charged their columns, which reserved their fire until the enemy advanced within half-musket shot, when the Mamelukes in vain strove to break through a rampart of bayonets; their ranks were thinned, a number of killed and wounded remained on the field, and they fell back in disorder, not venturing to renew the action.

General *Dugua*, with the divisions of *Bon* and *Menou*, supported by that of *Kleber*, advanced against the intrenched village of *Ernbabé*. Two battalions, under the Generals *Rampon* and *Marmont*, were detached to turn the village, and to

take advantage of a deep ditch that was in the way, to defend themselves from the enemy's cavalry, and conceal their movements towards the Nile. The divisions rapidly advanced; the Mamelukes attacked the platoons, and unmasked forty pieces of bad artillery; but the divisions rushed forward, so that the Mamelukes could not re-load their guns. The camp and the village of Ernbabé were carried by the bayonet. Fifteen hundred Mameluke cavalry, and as many peasants, whose retreat was cut off, occupied a position behind a ditch that communicated with the Nile; these brave men would not surrender, and were all either put to the sword or drowned in the Nile.

Mourad Bey, who commanded upon this occasion, on perceiving the village of Ernbabé carried, thought proper to retreat, leaving behind him 400 camels, forty pieces of cannon, baggage, and provisions. The divisions of Generals Dessaix and Reignier had already forced his cavalry to fall back; the army pursued the Mamelukes; and the French, after marching and fighting nineteen hours, occupied a position at Ghazah. Never was the superiority of disciplined courage over ill-directed valor more sensibly felt than at this time.

This victory, obtained with the loss of ten men killed, and about thirty wounded, presented a rich spoil for the invaders, who seized on many fine Arabian horses, superbly caparisoned, and found all the purses of the vanquished filled with gold; which amply compensated the soldiers for the excessive fatigues they had suffered. During fifteen days, their nourishment was a few vegetables without bread; the provisions found in the camp, therefore, afforded them an agreeable entertainment.

On the 23d of July the principal inhabitants of Cairo offered to deliver up the city to Bonaparte, who received them at Ghazah; they asked protection for the city, and engaged for its submission. The French general declared, he wished to remain in friendship with the Egyptian people and the Ottoman Porte, and assured them that the customs and religion of the country should be scrupulously respected. They returned to Cairo with a detachment under the command of a French officer. The French troops, notwithstanding, committed excesses; the mansion of Mourad Bey having been pillaged and burnt.

Mourad Bey took refuge in Upper Egypt, while his colleague, Ibrahim Bey, fled towards Syria. Bonaparte removed his head-quarters to Cairo; the divisions of Generals Ragnier and Menou were stationed at Old Cairo; those of Bon and Kleber at Boulac; a corps of observation was placed on the route of Syria; and the division of Dessaix occupied an entrenched position

about three leagues in front of Ernbabé, on the route to Upper Egypt. As soon as the French general obtained the confidence of the cheiks and principal families, he organised a provisional government. For the first time, since the days of Mahomet, a deliberative assembly was formed by musselmen representatives. All the principal cheiks, throughout the fourteen provinces of Egypt, who had not exhibited a marked enmity to the invaders, were summoned to meet in the capital; and deputies selected from these constituted a convention, over which Berthollet and Mouge, the former a chemist and the latter a mathematician, assisted as commissioners on the part of France; while Abdallah Kerkaori, an Arabian prince, exercised the functions of president. The members of this divan were permitted to wear turbans, which distinguished them from other chiefs, while over their shoulders were extended tri-colored shawls, descending to their heels.

The French general sent his dispatches to Alexandria and to Paris; and, it being customary with him to convey the rarities of Egypt to the Museum at Paris, he ordered the Mamelukes, whom he had taken prisoners, to be transported in his first collection of natural curiosities. Accordingly, a letter was written to Admiral Brueys, accompanied by twelve Mamelukes, named, whom he wished to be sent to France by the first opportunity. Bonaparte informed the admiral, that, after almost incredible hardships, he was at length quiet in Cairo; and desired him not to be uneasy about the subsistence of his men, the country being rich in provisions almost beyond imagination; he urged him to dispatch the courier he sent in a frigate, to land wherever he thought proper; and said, that he had dispatched, by the Nile, a prodigious quantity of provisions, to pay for the freight of the transports.

Bonaparte also wrote to General Kleber, telling him there was a very excellent mint at Cairo, and desiring him to get back all the ingots he had given to the merchants, in lieu of which he promised them wheat and rice, of which he had immense quantities: these ingots were plunder, taken at Malta, which had been left with General Kleber at Alexandria, to pay the transports to serve in the expedition.

General Kleber was occupied in procuring supplies and providing for the sick; both which duties were attended with great difficulty, as water was obliged to be supplied from Rosetta. The commissary of the marine, and those employed in the victualling-service, complained of the pains and trouble it cost to do the most trifling thing. Kleber laid these obstacles to the hostility of the new divan, and, in a fit of anger, caused

the old Cheriff, Coraim, to be sent a prisoner on board the Orient; but the commissary, in a letter to Admiral Brueys, declared, that it was owing to not finding scherms (lighters) enough at Rosetta to convey water and provisions to sup-

ply the fleet; until the 29th of July only five of those vessels could be had, and the demand of the fleet could not be supplied until more could be procured from Damietta. Such was the wretched state of the French army in Egypt.

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1798.

CHAPTER VII.

Nelson proceeds in quest of the French Fleet.—Battle of the Nile.—Happy Effects of the Victory.—The Porte declares War against France.—Russia sends a Fleet into the Mediterranean.—Declaration of the King of Naples, who marches against the French.—Defeat of the Neapolitans.—Abdication of the King of Sardinia.

THE destination of the French fleet, by which the conquest of Malta and Egypt was effected, had long attracted the attention of all Europe, and particularly of England; but, though many vague conjectures were afloat before the object of the armament was ascertained, the number and rates of the ships employed upon the occasion were well known. Indeed the distracted state of Ireland did not permit England to detach a fleet for the purpose of blocking up Toulon, and preventing the French from leaving that port; positive instructions, however, were sent to Lord St. Vincent, then stationed off Cadiz, to select a sufficient number of line-of-battle ships for a pursuit, the nomination of which was entirely left to his lordship's choice; but the name of the commander, to whose discretion they were to be entrusted, was particularly specified: this was the enterprising Rear-admiral Nelson, who was already in the Mediterranean, having a flying squadron under his command, with his flag hoisted on board the Vanguard; but this force was by no means sufficient to cope with so powerful an armament as that under Brueys, the French admiral. Ten sail were at length detached, under Captain Trowbridge, as soon as the arrival of a reinforcement from the Channel fleet enabled Lord St. Vincent to spare them; and, when these had joined, Rear-admiral Nelson determined to proceed in quest of the enemy.

Having repaired to the neighbourhood of Naples, for the purpose of obtaining information, he afterwards directed his course to Sicily, and there, for the first time, heard of the surrender of Malta. He immediately took on board expert pilots, and was the first commander who ever passed the Straits of Messina with a fleet of men of war.

After staying only a week, the rear-admiral heard that the French had left Malta; he then steered for Candia, and, being assured that they were destined for Egypt, he sailed thither, and arrived at the mouth of the Nile three days before

Bonaparte. After consulting with the English consul, he supposed his former information to be false, and repaired to Rhodes, having actually passed Bonaparte's fleet in the fog, as they were lying to for the convoy. He returned to Sicily, and, in the bay of Syracuse, procured supplies of every kind for his squadron.

In the course of a few days the English admiral again went in search of the French expedition, and, being informed that it had arrived in Egypt some time before, he once more steered for Alexandria, and, as he approached the coast, saw the object of his desire. The position occupied by the French was in the very place where the famous combat between Augustus Cæsar and Mark Anthony, nineteen hundred years since, decided the empire of the world. History must again record a matter almost as important—a naval battle between the fleets of two of the most powerful states of the civilized world, on which depended their maritime superiority, the immediate renewal of the war on the continent of Europe, and the eventual possession of Egypt.

When Admiral Brueys disembarked the troops under his convoy, he arrived, on the 7th of July, in the bay of Aboukir, forming a line of battle, his headmost ship being as close as possible to a shoal to the north-west, the rest of the fleet forming a curve along the line of deep water, flanked by a number of gun-boats, and, on an island in the van, by a battery of shells and mortars. Thus defended, the French admiral waited till the 31st of July, trusting too much, we presume, to his own strength, because he had abundant time to have taken shelter in Corfu or Malta, which was the earnest but fruitless recommendation of General Bonaparte.

The British fleet hove in sight on the 1st of August, and Admiral Nelson, on a near approach, determined on a manœuvre never before hazarded by any commander, and which, perhaps, was only justified by the known coolness of the veteran

officers of his fleet, and the undaunted courage of his sailors, habituated to victory. Being made fully acquainted, by repeated soundings, with the depth of water near the shoal, he daringly gave the signal, which was executed with the same temerity, to turn the head of the enemy's line; in consequence of which, the whole van was attacked on both sides (the French lying at anchor) before any of the ships could move to their assistance.

ENGLISH LINE-OF-BATTLE.

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
1. Culloden . . .	Capt. Trowbridge	74	590
2. Theseus . . .	Capt. Miller	74	590
3. Alexander . .	Capt. Ball	74	590
4. Vanguard .	{ Rear-admiral Sir H. Nelson . . } Capt. Berry . . }	74	595
5. Minotaur . . .	Capt. Louis	74	640
6. Leander . . .	Capt. Thompson . .	50	343
7. Swiftsure . . .	Capt. Hallowell . .	74	590
8. Audacious . .	Capt. Gould	74	590
9. Defence . . .	Capt. J. Peyton . .	74	590
10. Zealous . . .	Capt. Hood	74	590
11. Orion	Capt. Sir J. Saumarez	74	590
12. Goliath . . .	Capt. Foley	74	590
13. Majestic . . .	Capt. Westcott . . .	74	590
14. Bellerophon .	Capt. Darby	74	590
La Mutine brig, T. M. Hardy.			

FRENCH LINE OF BATTLE.

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
1. Le Guerrier	74	700
2. Le Conquerant	74	700
3. Le Spartiate	74	700
4. L'Aquilon	74	700
5. Le Souverain Peuple	74	700
6. Le Franklin, Rear-adm. Blanquet	80	800
7. L'Orient { Admiral Brueys, com- mander-in-chief Capt. Casa Bianca }	120	1010
8. Le Tonant	80	800
9. L'Heureux	74	700
10. Le Timoleon	74	700
11. Le Mercure	74	700
12. Le Guillaume Tell, { Rear-admiral Villeneuve }	80	800
13. Le Généreux	74	700

Frigates.

1. De Diana	48	300
2. La Justice	44	300
3. L'Artemise	36	250
4. La Sérieuse	36	250

The sanguinary action commenced a little before the setting of the sun. A signal was made to engage from van to centre, both to windward

and leeward; but, as the English fleet advanced for that purpose, the Culloden struck on the northern shore of the Bequier Island, and remained unserviceable: this circumstance, instead of proving fatally disastrous, contributed to the preservation of two other vessels, she having served as a beacon or strand-mark to the Alexander and Leander, then in her wake, which consequently avoided the danger. Captain Foley, in the Goliath, which took the lead, having been followed by the Zealous, the Orion, and the Theseus, notwithstanding they were assailed by the batteries on shore, and the gun-boats stationed on the flank, attacked the van ships of the French in succession as they came up, and then pushed in between their line of battle and the land; while the Vanguard, with the admiral's flag on board, and the signal for close action still flying, kept on the outside, and came to anchor exactly opposite to the Spartiate. In the mean time the Minotaur was opposed to the Aquilon, the Defence to the Souverain Peuple, and the Swiftsure of 74 to the Franklin of 80; but the most unequal part of the contest was reserved for Captain Darby, of the Bellerophon, who had to oppose the commander-in-chief, in the Orient; but he was soon assisted by Capt. Ball, of the Alexander, who assumed such a position as enabled him to annoy, though not to silence, the tremendous batteries of their antagonist. Soon after this, the Leander, which, from her inferiority, could not be considered as appertaining to the line of battle, anchored in a most judicious station, by placing a spring upon her cable, and opening a well-directed fire on the Franklin and Le Souverain Peuple, (which she would not have been able to contend with, had they not been previously engaged,) contributed greatly to the general success.

Such was the masterly disposition of the British fleet, which had thus doubled upon and engaged with only half of the enemy's, while the remainder was obliged to remain inactive, that the project, though daring, proved fortunate, particularly as the yards and rigging of the adverse ships were frequently entangled together, whereby the English seamen were able to display their usual superiority in close fight. Although some of the van struck, the fate of the engagement remained as yet undecided; for those in the rear were untouched, and the Orient, which still continued to pour forth successive broadsides from all her decks, seemed to prove a match for her adversaries: however, a little after nine, she was perceived to be on fire, and, in about an hour after, blew up with a terrible explosion, the force of which was so great, as to shatter her upper works to pieces, and endanger the safety of the English vessels. Notwithstanding this awful spectacle, the action did not cease until day-light;

and even then, after a short interval, it was resumed, as several vessels of force still displayed the French flag, nor did it terminate until about noon, when the victory was complete.

The result of this memorable engagement was that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral, of 120 guns, and the *Timoleon*, of 74, were burnt, while two 80-gun ships, the *Franklin* and *Tonnant*, and seven of 74, were captured. Two vessels of the line, the *Guillaume Tell* and the *Généreux*, put to sea during the general confusion, and, with two frigates, found means to escape, notwithstanding the *Zealous* was sent in pursuit of them; but they did not long remain in possession of the enemy, having been seized soon after: thus the whole of the armament was either taken, sunk, or burnt.

The French, as imagined, lost about 6000 men; the English had 218 killed and 677 wounded, the largest portion of whom belonged to the *Bellerophon*, the *Vanguard*, and the *Majestic*. One officer only was killed, Captain *Westcott*, who fell early in the action, and was succeeded by *Lieutenant Cuthbert*, who continued the fight with great gallantry. The intrepid *Nelson* was wounded in the head, and carried off the deck, while Captain *Berry*, who took his place, evinced the same courage.

Achard, a *lieutenant de vaisseau*, in his account of this action, condemned the conduct of the French commander, and asserted,

1. That *Le Guerrier* was originally moored close to the bank, in five fathoms and a half; but was ordered to move forward, notwithstanding the representations of the captain.

2. That the crews of the headmost ships were all desirous to fire the moment that the leading vessels of the English were within half-cannon shot; but that the commanders refused until a signal for that purpose should be made by the admiral; in consequence of which, the enemy were permitted to choose their position at leisure.

3. That instead of holding a council of war, or making preparations for defence, a distribution of rice actually took place among the ships, notwithstanding the English were in sight from two to six, when the action commenced: and,

4. That the utmost confusion was visible on board the admiral's ship, which was set on fire, not by the enemy's guns, but by mere carelessness; several casks of linseed-oil having been left on the deck.

This account, however, neither corresponds with the report of the English officers, who affirmed that the fire of *L'Orient* was incessant and tremendous, nor with *Achard's* former assertion, that previously to the bursting out of the flames, the *Bellerophon* was about to strike to her. The

French commander appears to have been indefensible;

1. In omitting to strengthen his flanks, by means of the two Venetian men of war then lying useless in the old harbour of Alexandria, which would have presented a more formidable bulwark than the batteries on the little island and the gun-boats, which indeed annoyed, but never once interrupted the evolutions of the British squadron. And

2. In forgetting to moor his fleet in such a manner as to *tail* on the shoals, and thus prevent the antagonist from doubling upon and getting between them and the land.

It was, however, unjust, as well as illiberal, to blame the French admiral after his death; particularly as it had been stated by *Brueys*, that he detained the fleet to gratify the wishes of the commander-in-chief; and, probably, it was to atone for this, that *Bonaparte* wrote a letter of kindness and condolence to *Madame Brueys*.

As soon as the news of this naval victory reached England, bonfires and illuminations declared the joy of the public; and the king and both houses of parliament bestowed marks of favor on the fleet. His majesty conferred the dignity of a baron of Great Britain, with a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, on the admiral, who was accordingly called up to the house of peers, by the style and dignity of *Baron Nelson of the Nile*. The captains *E. Berry* and *T. B. Thompson* received the honor of knighthood, and the other commanders were presented with gold medals.

The Turkish sultan, in consequence of this joyful event, transmitted to *Admiral Nelson* a superb diamond chelengk, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the imperial turbans, and a sable fur with broad sleeves; also a purse of 2000 sequins, to be distributed among the wounded. A much larger sum, however, was raised for the widows and children of those who perished in the action, by public subscription. The king of Naples, at a later period, conferred upon the English admiral the title of *Duke of Bronte*, with an estate in Sicily.

Admiral Gantheaume, who had escaped from the Orient during the conflagration, by getting into a boat which was under her counter, in his account said, "that the whole of their van was often raked, and the smoke so thick, that with difficulty they could distinguish the different movements; that in about an hour after the action had commenced, the admiral was wounded twice, and soon after killed on the quarter-deck; that while they were briskly firing from the lower deck guns, they found the quarter-deck on fire, which spread so rapidly, that all was soon in flames; their pumps and sockets were destroyed; the flames increased, and made an alarming pro-

gress; they had lost their main and mizen masts, and the fire rapidly spread; both captains were wounded, but the scuttles were ordered to be opened, and every one to quit the ship. At day-break several ships were discovered in possession of the enemy; two which ran aground were attacked, and obliged to strike; four set their sails and stood out to sea; the Timoleon ran ashore, and was set fire to by her crew, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands. He details the accounts (he added) from memory, not being able to preserve a memorandum of any description.

During this time Tallien was at Rosetta, and in a letter to Barras the director, he said, "Consternation has overwhelmed us all. I set out tomorrow for Cairo, to carry the news to Bonaparte. It will shock him the more, as he had no idea of its happening. He will find resources in himself to prevent the disaster being fatal to the army which he commands."

The intelligence of this astonishing disaster threw the whole French army into consternation, excepting Bonaparte, who knew the ill effects of giving way to apprehension. He congratulated the army on their safe landing, and would not allow that the object of his expedition was frustrated. "To England," he was pleased to say, "is decreed the empire of the sea—to France that of the land." In allusion to the rash determination of the French admiral, to await the arrival of the British squadron, he observed—"If in this fatal act he had his faults, he has expiated them by a glorious death."

Great events were produced by Lord Nelson's victory, the effect of which became most evident at Radstadt. The deputation of the empire had already agreed to a plan of indemnities; by means of which no less than forty-four of the secular and ecclesiastical states were to make immense sacrifices to obtain peace; and the Rhine, in consequence of a secret article of the treaty of Campo Formio, was to be the common boundary between France and Germany: but the attack on Switzerland and Rome, and the impolitic expedition of Bonaparte into Egypt, joined to the opposition experienced by him there, and, above all, the recent destruction of the French navy, rendered a new contest on the continent unavoidable.

The cabinet of Vienna was also determined to try the fortune of a new war, and accordingly, under pretence of maintaining the integrity of the empire, evinced the most unequivocal marks of hostility. The Ottoman Porte, too, which had lately exhibited great jealousy at seeing Istria and Dalmatia occupied by the imperial troops, now evinced its displeasure at the late unqualified aggression on the part of "a man of the name of Bonaparte, calling himself a French general, and

who, in that capacity, had made war on the Turkish province of Egypt."—"Some of his emissaries," as added in this memorial, "have pretended to persuade the inhabitants of that country, that they have been sent by Mahomet to give them perfect liberty and happiness, and render their religion the sovereign religion on earth; but the people have answered, that Mahomet does not authorize injustice."

Nine days after, September 11, a formal manifesto was published, in which the Ottoman court called all Europe to witness, that, notwithstanding the frequent invitations of the combined powers, the most rigorous neutrality had been persevered in on its part, although great offence had been given, by the dispersion of seditious papers and the employment of secret agents, with a view of stirring up the inhabitants of Natolia and the Morea, as well as those of the islands of the Archipelago, to revolt. Having stated the various subterfuges recurred to by French ministers, for the purpose of concealing or palliating their injustice, this manifesto added, "that, contrary to the rights of nations, and in violation of the ties subsisting between the two courts, an army, in a manner altogether unprecedented, and like a band of pirates, had suddenly invaded Egypt, the most precious among the provinces of the Ottoman Porte; of which they took forcible possession, at a time when they had experienced nothing but the sincerest demonstrations of friendship." That country "being the portal of the two venerable cities Mecca and Medina," it was observed, "that to wage war upon this occasion, was become a precept of religion incumbent upon all mussulmen;" and it was intimated, towards the conclusion, "that the French ambassador and all his retinue had been sent to the Seven Towers, where they were to be detained as hostages."

An imperial decree was published at Constantinople, September 1, declaring the deposition of the grand vizier, Mehemet Pacha, who, as asserted, "had not observed the instructions given him, to attend to the defence of the Ottoman dominions: so that, in the dark himself with respect to the evil designs of those *brutish infidels*, the French, he did not in good time apprise the inhabitants of Egypt thereof. When the unhappy tidings from thence came to our imperial ear, a full month after that insufferable event came to pass, such was our grief and concern, that, we take God to witness! it drew tears from our eyes, and deprived us of sleep and rest. We have, therefore, immediately deposed him from the office of grand vizier, and have appointed in his place Youssouf Pacha, governor of Erzerum. Now, it being incumbent upon all true believers to combat those *faithless brutes*, the French; and it being a positive duty for our imperial per-

son, to deliver the blessed territories from their accursed hands, and to revenge the insults which they have offered to mussulmen, no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the new vizier; but the most vigorous measures must be pursued to attack them by sea and land. Wherefore, by a deliberation with the illustrious lawyers, ministers, and chieftains, our subjects, you must, with a full confidence in God and his prophet, fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the presence of such wretches. You will acquaint all the true believers in the respective quarters, that we are at war with the French, and, turning night into day, will apply your utmost efforts to take revenge of them."

Such was the resentment of the Ottoman Porte against France, which found an advocate in the emperor Paul, who became an active member of the new confederacy. The late Empress of Russia, Catherine II., whose death we have already mentioned, had been so occupied about the extension of her empire, even to the remotest period of her existence; that, instead of zealously entering into a contest which had proved unsuccessful to other powers, she contented herself with occasionally publishing manifestoes, and protecting the most distinguished emigrants, on whom she liberally conferred favors and pensions. Her son, however, Paul Petrowitz, a monarch of a different character, and anxious to distinguish his accession to the throne of the czars by some splendid action, evinced his readiness to oppose the new republic. A Russian squadron, of twelve sail of the line, under Admiral Ouschakoff, was permitted, for the first time, to sail through the Dardanelles, for the purpose of reducing the Venetian islands, in conjunction with their new allies the Turks. The success of this expedition we must, for the sake of chronological order, reserve for a future chapter.

This alliance against France was strengthened rather by the activity than the power of the King of Naples, who, contrary to the third article of the treaty of peace which he had lately entered into, admitted the hero of the Nile and his victorious fleet into the bay of Naples, September 22. His Sicilian majesty instantly went on board the admiral's ship, attended by a numerous train of barges and boats, with colors and music, the whole of that natural amphitheatre being crowded with spectators. Also when Rear-admiral (afterwards Lord) Nelson returned the royal visit, every mark of attention and respect was shown to him, and a new confederacy against France began to be publicly and confidently talked of. "Fire but one gun," said the Chevalier Acton, first minister to the King of Naples, "and the congress of Rastadt will be dissolved."

The King of Naples entered into engagements

with the courts of Vienna and London, and was promised by the former a reinforcement of 16,000 troops, and by the latter the protection of a naval force and a subsidy. Having, in the mean time, obliged the convents and clergy to furnish him with money, he had recourse to new levies, and soon obtained a numerous, though not a formidable army. He also applied to the emperor for a commander, and obtained the assistance of General Mack. His majesty, notwithstanding, determined to place himself at the head of his troops, with the laudable hope of relieving the people of Rome from the rapacity and injustice of the invaders, avenging the cause of the dethroned pontiff, and liberating Italy from her oppressors. A manifesto was accordingly published by Ferdinand IV., dated at San Germano, Nov. 22, in which, after stating to his subjects "that he was about to march at the head of the brave defenders of their country, full of confidence in the Lord of Hosts," he told them, he had left "his dear and well-beloved consort regent during his absence," and observed, "that it is better to die gloriously, for God and our country, than to live shamefully oppressed." The metropolitan troops, accompanied by the monarch, commenced their march against the Roman republic on the following day; and the time chosen was peculiarly auspicious, as the attention of the directory was entirely occupied by the movements of the Russian troops.

The imperial general, Mack, sent a formal summons to General Championnet, who commanded in this quarter, to withdraw his troops from the Roman territory. To which Championnet replied, "that such a summons could only be regarded as an act of aggression, and a direct violation of the subsisting treaties." In reply to this declaration, General Mack, on the 25th of November, signified to General Championnet, that his Neapolitan majesty had, in person, passed the frontier on the preceding day, to take possession of the Roman territory, revolutionised and usurped since the peace of Campo Formio. The number of French troops in the Roman state did not exceed 10,000: and so little political discernment had the directory, or so defective was their information, that these were very ill armed and provided. The public magazines were empty, Civita-Vecchia itself left defenceless; and the invasion of the Neapolitans, who had collected on this occasion their whole military force, consisting of 60 or 70,000 men, without skill or discipline, was evidently, to the French government, a most unwelcome and unexpected measure, productive of great political embarrassment.

The Roman republic had long exhibited a scene of dilapidation and oppression beyond example. In what proportion the public distress was to be ascribed to the French commissioners,

or to the government of Rome, established and supported by the power of France, is of little importance to ascertain. Probably the balance of injustice would be found, on examination, very equal. The disastrous measures of finance adopted by Faypoult, the chief of the French commissariate, were productive of ruin to individuals; and the plunder and corruption of the subordinate agents completed the picture of the public misery; and, together with the persecutions exercised against all who showed any disposition adverse to these proceedings, excited continual disturbances and insurrections, and destroyed every hope of establishing any rational system of liberty. The venerable names of senate, tribunate, and consulate, served only to remind the inhabitants of Rome of their degraded condition, and answered no other purpose than to add insult to injury, and contumely to oppression.

The state of things in Europe, since the victory of Aboukir, had also a great effect upon the mind of the Sardinian monarch, in whose dominions evident symptoms appeared of a counter-revolutionary spirit. Couriers were known frequently to pass between the two courts of Naples and Turin, and letters were intercepted which plainly proved the good understanding subsisting between them. In one of these, dated October the 2d, written by Prince Pignatelli to the Chevalier Prioca, his Sardinian majesty's minister, the arrival at Naples is announced of the Baron D'Awervech, "the secret agent of his Britannic majesty, who," said the prince, "seems to multiply himself, that he may be present wherever he can serve the cause which is to unite all the princes of Europe against France. You will see that fortune must cease to rebel against us, if we have only courage to follow her. The genius of Prince Repnin, seconding the vast conceptions of the cabinet of St. James's, is preparing to convert into mournful cypress those laurels with which the republicans have covered Italy."

The Baron D'Awervech himself, in another letter, addressed nearly at the same time to the Governor of Turin, thus expressed himself: "The ambassador from the court of London to Berlin has just concerted with Prince Repnin a measure, the most bold that modern diplomacy could suggest in the present circumstances, to put an end, as it were, by force, to the indecision of Austria. They will cause hostilities immediately to be commenced by the court of Naples. A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between these two powers, will authorize his Sicilian majesty again to call to his aid the Austrian contingent. Then all Europe will be put in motion upon the shores of the Bosphorus, as well as upon those of the Danube, upon the banks of the Nieper as upon those of the Rhine, in order to precipitate themselves, *en masse*, upon that nation

of usurpers.—Such, sir, is the plan concerted by the vast genius of Prince Repnin, and of which you now see the first openings."

As soon as the intelligence had reached Paris that the Neapolitans had passed the frontier, war was declared in form against their Sicilian and Sardinian majesties, the directory denouncing in their manifesto "the long train of perfidies of which the court of Naples had been guilty, and which were now brought to the height by an audacious attack upon the French republic; a court which, during the whole course of the war of the coalesced monarchs, distinguished itself by the most insensate fury against the republic, notwithstanding which, the French government made no other use of the superiority which victory gave them, than for the purpose of moderation." They then enumerated the recent instances in which the court of Naples had shewn its ingratitude—"inciting and encouraging the Romans to revolt, and displaying its hostility to the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics. While she dared not openly to declare war against France, she sought to destroy in Italy all the free states which were under her protection. Instead of inflicting signal vengeance for this conduct, the directory did not oppose the taking possession of the duchy of Benevento; they offered their mediation to deliver the King of Naples from the feudal pretensions of Rome. They sent to Naples a new ambassador, (M. Garat,) furnished with the most amicable and conciliatory powers, and were anxious to give satisfaction to his Sicilian majesty respecting the object of Bonaparte's expedition. In return, the fleet of Admiral Nelson was honorably received at Syracuse, and was re-victualled in that port. It even received stores from the arsenal of the king, pilots to clear the Straits of Messina, and whatever was necessary to secure the success of the attack against the French. If, too, we recollect the inconceivable joy which was manifested at Naples on the sight of the English fleet, the public honors which the court itself lavished on Admiral Nelson, in going out to welcome him, his triumphal entry, the large rewards granted to the messenger who brought the first account of this victory, and the illuminations and rejoicings which took place on this occasion;—if it be remembered that, from the time of this victory, the audacity of the Neapolitan government has known no bounds;—if all these circumstances are considered, it must be allowed that more hostile sentiments were never manifested on one side, nor more patience shown on the other. The guilt of the Sardinian government, as an accomplice with Naples, is manifest from a thousand circumstances;—its sentiments, its language, and even its actions, in proportion to its means, have been the same; and its artifice and hypocrisy exactly resemble that of Naples.

In fact, they have never ceased to make war in every way which their imbecility and their cowardice suffered them to put into execution. The Piedmontese troops marched towards Loana at the same moment in which the Neapolitan army attacked the French;—and in the same moment also it was that the Sardinian government dared to require the evacuation of the citadel, and the diminution of the French troops in Piedmont.”

General Championnet, conscious that he could not defend Rome, left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo, and immediately retreated towards Civita-Castellana. He was followed by the consuls, the senators, and the tribunes of the new republic; and, on the 29th of November, the King of the Sicilies entered Rome, and took up his residence at the palace of Farnese, whilst the combined fleets of England and Naples took possession of Leghorn. His majesty now appeared so conscious of the stability of his recent conquest, that he invited the pope to return from Tuscany, and take possession of his capital. His holiness, however, foresaw that the triumph of this monarch, who had not yet been able to subdue the fortress of St. Angelo, would be but of short duration, and wisely declined the invitation.

During the occupation of Rome by the King of Naples, different detachments of the Neapolitan army had been defeated by the French Generals Lemoine and Rusca; and reinforcements now arriving from all parts, a general attack upon the Sicilians took place throughout their whole line of posts. In the various combats which ensued, the army of Naples suffered immense loss, 12,000 prisoners falling into the hands of the French, and 100 pieces of cannon. His Sicilian majesty evacuated Rome with the greatest precipitation, and was pursued with equal vigor by the French. On the 31st of December, an armistice, limited or illimited, was offered by General Mack, in a letter written from Capua, on pretext of the severity of the weather and badness of the roads. General Championnet returned for answer, “that, as his army had so far

overcome the difficulties both of the way and the weather, he should not halt till he made his entrance into Naples.”

Soon after this interchange of messages, the strong post of Gaeta was taken, containing immense magazines and stores of every kind: another body of troops, under General Duhesme, which had forced its way with great resolution and success along the line of the Adriatic coast, through a country intersected with rivers, and guarded by troops which might have disputed every step, after gaining a complete victory on the banks of the Vomano, took possession of the important maritime fortress of Pescara.

Thus, in the course of a few weeks, that monarch, who proved a temporary victor, and offered to restore the popedom, was constrained, on the last day of the year, to abdicate all his continental dominions, and, with his family, seek refuge, as will be shown in another chapter.

The fate of the King of Sardinia was, however, more deplorable. In consequence of the disputes which had arisen between his majesty and the new Ligurian republic, about some territories, this monarch became an object of suspicion to the French government; as may be seen in the quotations which we have given from the manifesto which the directory issued. Though the conduct of his majesty appears to have been exempt from reproach, yet, apprehensive, no doubt, of being sent a prisoner into France, he agreed with General Joubert, on the 9th of December, to sign an act of abdication; and stipulating only for the exercise of the catholic religion for his subjects, the security of his own person, and the enjoyment of his liberty and property for the Prince de Carignan, the ill-fated monarch was pleased to renounce the exercise of his power and authority, to order the Piedmontese army to consider itself as a portion of the French troops, and “to surrender the citadel of Turin, as a pledge that no resistance whatever should be attempted against the present act, *which has emanated purely from his own will.*”

BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

1798.

CHAPTER VIII.

Disastrous Expedition to Ostend.—Capture of Minorca.—Evacuation of Port-au-Prince, in St. Domingo.—Naval Exertions, and Observations.

THE offensive operations of Great Britain, in the course of this year, were chequered with a variety of good and bad fortune. In the month of May, an expedition was fitted out against ma-

ritime Flanders; not with the hope of being able to restore that country to the emperor, but to interrupt the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France, by destroying the basin,

gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal. An armament accordingly sailed for this purpose, from Margate Roads, May 18, under Captain Popham, with a body of troops commanded by Major-general Coote, both officers of distinguished merit. On its arrival before Ostend, the necessary preparations were made for a descent; and while the Wolverine, Asp, and Biter, returned the fire of the batteries, the Hecla and Tartarus bombs threw their shells with such rapidity and precision, that the town was set on fire in several places, and some little damage done to the shipping.

In the mean time, May 19, by five o'clock in the morning, a landing was effected to the north-west, notwithstanding the violence of the gale; and many of the troops had actually disembarked before an alarm was given. General Coote now burnt several boats, demolished the sluice-gates, and soon after ten effected a grand explosion, by which he hoped to have destroyed a grand national work, which had cost the states of Bruges an immense sum of money, and occupied the labor of five years to complete. Having performed this arduous task in the best manner possible, about noon, the commander-in-chief attempted to retreat; but the surf unfortunately ran so high, that it was impossible to re-embark. Hereupon it was deemed necessary to occupy a position on the sand-hills, at a little distance from the beach; and, as a feint, in order to gain time, a peremptory summons was sent to the governor of Ostend, to surrender that important place; but the answer was, "this would not be done till the garrison were buried under the ruins."

The English, to the number of 1200, were attacked early the next morning by a very superior force, moving in different columns. The English were completely hemmed in, and after a short but gallant contest, were completely overpowered; their front being broken, their flanks turned, and General Coote severely wounded. In this dilemma, the invaders were unhappily compelled to surrender. Captain Popham endeavoured, without effect, to obtain an exchange of prisoners; and it was at first the intention of the French government to oblige the captive troops to labor at the reparation of the works they had demolished; but the damage, though thought considerable, was in a few weeks perfectly repaired.

An expedition in another quarter, which was undertaken early in November, proved more fortunate. To wrest the island of Minorca from the Spaniards being considered an object of great importance, a small squadron was detached for that purpose, under Admiral Duckworth, and the command of the land forces conferred on the Hon. General Stuart, an active and enterprising officer. A division of 800 men having effected a landing in the bay of Addaya, the Spaniards,

who had previously evacuated a small battery at the entrance, and spiked the guns, soon after abandoned and blew up the works at Fornelles. About 2000 of their troops then approached in different directions, and threatened to surround the English detachment; but they were repulsed with some loss on the left, while the guns of the Argo checked a similar attempt on the right flank; and sufficient time was thus obtained for the rest of the land-forces to disembark.

Notwithstanding the badness of the roads, and the disagreeable intelligence brought by deserters, that the force on the island exceeded 4000 men, General Stuart detached Colonel Graham to seize on the important post of Mercadel. On learning soon after, that the town of Mahon had been left almost destitute of troops, Colonel Paget, who had advanced with a body of 300 men, summoned Fort Charles, and made the lieutenant-governor of the island and some officers prisoners.

As the commander-in-chief received intelligence that the Spaniards were throwing up works and forming an entrenched camp in front of Cindadella, he determined to attack them there. He accordingly obtained the assistance of some seamen and marines from the squadron, and, advancing in two columns, forced the Spaniards to retire within the walls.

Propitious, however, as were these events, yet, had the place been defended with any degree of resolution, it certainly could not have been carried; the troops being deficient in heavy artillery, and every thing necessary for a siege. When the governor was summoned, he hesitated, apparently restricted by a mere point of honor, from delivering up the island immediately. He took the preliminary articles into consideration, and seemed to be in doubt whether the investing force was superior to that of the garrison. In the course of the following night, two batteries of three twelve-pounders, and three five and a half inch howitzers, were erected; and, though it was evident that such light metal was inadequate to the capture of the place, these hostile preparations had the desired effect; for only two eighteen-pound shot having been fired by the besieged, a capitulation was immediately entered into, and the English consequently became masters of Minorca.

About this time, however, the English were obliged to abandon the island of St. Domingo, in the West Indies, for the possession of which so much blood had been spilt—so much treasure expended! As it could no longer be retained without immense sacrifices, Brigadier-general Maitland agreed, on the 9th of May, with Toussaint L'Ouverture (then commander-in-chief of that colony, where he had been formerly a slave) to leave the island, and deliver up the parish of Arcahaye, and the towns of Port-au-Prince and St. Mark, on condition of guaranteeing the lives

and properties of all the inhabitants who might choose to remain. This evacuation was chiefly occasioned by the increasing energy and numbers of the mulattoes and freed negroes, now rendered bold by a succession of engagements, and by the relaxed efforts of the royalists; who, perceiving that the surrender of this colony had been expressly stipulated in the late negotiations in Europe, became apparently indifferent about the form of government that was to afford them protection.

In another quarter, October 28, the island of Goza surrendered to a British squadron, and Malta was blockaded by a detachment of men of war under Captain Ball. Lieutenant Price gallantly defended St. Marcou against a French flotilla from La Hogue; and a Spanish armament, with a body of troops under the command of General O'Neil, governor of Yucatan, was also foiled in an attempt on the bay of Honduras.

During the campaign of this year, the exertions of the British navy were particularly successful, having captured or destroyed thirteen line-of-battle, and as many 40-gun ships and frigates. On the other hand, the English lost the *Ambuscade*, of thirty-two guns, after a severe action with the *Boyonnaire*, in the bay of Biscay: the *Jason* and *La Pique* ran aground near Brest, at the end of a contest of three hours with *La Seine*, of forty-two guns, which was captured, as was also the *Leander* of fifty, the flag of which was reluctantly struck to *Le Généreux*, of seventy-four, soon after the battle of the Nile, whence the latter had escaped; the commander of the former, however, was entitled to considerable praise, having, notwithstanding the superiority of his adversary, maintained a gallant contest for six hours, during which 100 of the crew of the French ship were killed, and 188 wounded.

Sir John Borlase Warren also assisted in securing the British isles, by his defeat of the armament destined to assist the Irish rebels, already alluded to in our third chapter. While cruising

in the Canada, off Lough Swilly, he received intelligence of the approach of this hostile squadron, from the *Amelia*, *Ethalion*, *Anson*, and *Sylph*, stationed for the purpose of watching the motions of the enemy, and immediately endeavoured to fall in with it. Accordingly, he and the four sail of men of war under his command, viz. the *Canada*, *Robert*, *Foudroyant*, *Magnanime*, and *Melampus*, discovered about noon, on the 11th of October, the French squadron, consisting of the following ships:—

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
<i>Le Hoche</i> . . .	80	<i>La Resolve</i> . . .	40
<i>L'Ambuscade</i> . .	40	<i>La Loire</i> . . .	46
<i>La Coquille</i> . .	40	<i>La Romaine</i> . . .	40
<i>La Bellone</i> . . .	36	<i>La Semillante</i> . .	36

And *La Biche*, a schooner.

Hereupon Sir J. B. Warren threw out the signal for a general chase, and gave orders to form in succession, as each man of war reached her antagonist; but from the great distance, and a hollow sea, it was impossible to commence the action before the following morning, by which time it was discovered that the large ship had lost her main-top-mast.

The French squadron, instead of attempting to escape, bore down, and formed a line of battle in close order, upon the starboard tack. The *Canada*, therefore, threw out a signal for the *Robust* to lead, and the rest of the ships to form in succession in the rear of the van. An action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, when the three-decked vessel (which proved to be the *Hoche*) struck, and three other frigates, following her example, hauled down their colors also. Five frigates, a brig, and a schooner, escaped; but two of the former were afterwards captured. The whole squadron, though insignificant, was entirely new, and full of troops and stores. The happy effects of these captures are already before the reader in our third chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

Situation of the King of Naples.—The French march against his Capital, and obtain Possession of Capua by an obnoxious Armistice.—Comotions in Naples.—Bravery and Superstition of the Lazaroni.—Capture of Naples.—The French General's seductive Proclamations.—Naples declared a Republic.—Revolution at Lucca.

THE King of Naples, in consequence of the failure of his expedition into the Roman territory, was not only forced, by a sudden reverse of fortune, to abdicate his dominions on the continent,

but also to make a precipitate retreat on board of a British flag-ship, commanded by the gallant admiral who fought the battle of the Nile. While his majesty, after appointing Prince Pignatelli

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BOOK III. viceroy at Capua, was steering towards Palermo, in order to take refuge in the palace usually allotted for the residence of his viceroys, the French were marching with hasty steps towards the metropolis.

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Notwithstanding this monarch had abandoned his subjects, a large portion of them were still hostile to the French, and not only attacked and cut off their convoys, but also seized upon their baggage, and massacred the stragglers. However, the republican troops still continued to advance in three columns, under the Generals Duhesme, Le Roy, and Macdonald.

Championnet, the commander-in-chief, was entirely ignorant of the state of the centre and left wing of his army under General Duhesme, who was equally so with the destiny of the right wing; he had forced his way through a country intersected by rivers and defended by the troops of the enemy. With all its successes the French army was attacked by an armed peasantry and people, and was in great distress, when a deputation of Neapolitan officers, authorized by the viceroy, waited upon General Championnet, proposing to deliver up Capua on being granted an armistice as the basis of a permanent treaty. The Neapolitan army was evidently discontented at being governed by a foreigner and forsaken by the royal family.

General Championnet, who had haughtily refused a similar proposal before, now cheerfully agreed to an armistice, which was accordingly concluded, on the 10th of January, between the republican general, the Prince of Milliano, and the Duke of Gesso, by which Capua was to be delivered to the French, with all its artillery and stores. The army of Championnet was to have the country from Acerra before Naples; Benevento, and along the Adriatic, was to form a line of demarkation; the ports of Naples were to be evacuated by the ships belonging to those at war with the republic; and the Neapolitans were to pay to France 10,000,000 of livres. Hostilities were not to commence till three days' notice should be given by either of the parties.

General Championnet, in a secret note to the directory, which went with the capitulation of Capua, declared that he was surrounded on all sides, destitute of provisions, ammunition, and articles of every kind; that the loss of a battle would have ruined his whole army, and a victory, even before Capua, would have availed him nothing. He looked on the possession of this place as of the utmost importance, since there was in it a supply for the army of all its wants, and it greatly hastened the conquest of Naples. An armistice, granted to a people so full of perfidy, was no more than a stratagem of war, and the one now concluded could be broken by the Neapolitans whenever they thought proper; and that he had

no doubt of the conquest of Naples about the time when the news of the surrender of Capua could reach the directory, as he corresponded with the disaffected party, which was very numerous. The directory passed the severest censures on General Championnet for agreeing to any armistice till he had subdued the whole kingdom.

The king was truly dissatisfied with this armistice, as appears by his letter to General Pignatelli, commander-in-chief at Naples during the absence of his majesty:

Palermo, Jan. 15, 1799.

"At the time when, from the urgency of circumstances, and the good dispositions manifested by the people, to which in your former letters you have done justice, I expected a general rising in defence of the capital of my kingdom, I receive your's of the 12th instant, which informs me of the disgraceful treaty which has been concluded, in consequence of the most absurd instructions given by you to persons directed to negotiate with the enemy, and by which I see the greatest part of my realm, though unconquered, given up with a view of sparing the capital, when it is obvious that these concessions must lead to the irretrievable loss of my whole kingdom. I have been more surprised that you have acted in this unwarrantable manner, as you had no powers from me for such negotiations. The instructions which I left with you were of a tendency very different. In concluding such a treaty, you may either have forgotten you have a master, or remembered it only for the purpose of imposing the most scandalous and disgraceful terms on him.

"You may suppose how much I am incensed at finding the trust I had imposed in you betrayed in such a manner, and how indignant I feel against your unworthy advisers. F. R."

A proclamation was soon after published, formally disavowing the late armistice, and calling on all the inhabitants of the different provinces to rise in defence of their country, their families, their property, and their religion. They were told "that cowardice and treachery alone had rendered the invasion formidable;" and "that the bravery and attachment of the people to their sovereign must speedily render their enemies contemptible."

The imperial General Mack having been deserted by his soldiers, and looked upon by the royalists as a traitor, sent an officer before him to crave protection from General Championnet. So closely was he pursued, that he reached the French camp almost as soon as the officer, and was received with kindness and affability. He obtained a passport, and was escorted to Milan. This enraged the Lazzaroni, who collected their

forces in a body, and poured their vengeance on the republicans at Ponte Rotto, defeating the advanced guard, and pushing forward to the line of the French army, where multitudes were put to death, and the rest took refuge in flight.

The Prince of Molliterno had the address to be chosen their general; but, when they learned that he wished to negotiate with the French, they not only deserted his standard, but aimed at his life. The Duke Della Torre, and his brother, Clement Filomavino, were first murdered, and then burnt to ashes, although inimical to monarchy. As the Lazzaroni had attacked the van-guard of the republican army, Championnet sent them a proclamation by the chief of the squadron; but the messenger was received by a volley of musketry; and, after attempting to explain, forced to return.

The insurgents, by this time, had chosen two leaders, Paggio and Michel; the former kept a chandler's shop, and the latter was a porter. Several avowed partisans of France, joined by a number of the chief inhabitants, for the sake of preserving their lives and fortunes, found means to seize on the castle of St. Elmo. The French general, hoping that the appearance of his army would reduce the Lazzaroni to submission, deferred the assault till the following day; but the fire they kept up convinced him they were to be subdued only by force. Those at St. Elmo acquainted the general in the night that they only waited his commands to open a dreadful fire upon the city. The two battalions on Capo di Monte had orders to march at night, and form a junction with the garrison of St. Elmo, and discharge upon the city the whole of their artillery. This was the signal for General Eble to commence firing upon it, and the whole army were to rush impetuously forward, and bear down all before it.

Although night overtook them, the firing continued, when the republicans formed into two divisions, and, exhausted with fatigue, one of them charged on the gallant enemy, while the other sought some repose amidst a dismal heap of carnage and ruins. At the dawn of day, January 23, the battle raged with fury, and it was doubtful who would be the conquerors. To end the conflict, General Championnet gave orders to force the passages to the Castello Novo and the Fort del Camine, at the point of the bayonet. A division was to seize on the palace, and another to form a junction with the garrison of St. Elmo, already in possession of part of the city.

At this critical period Championnet thought he might meet the superstitious ideas of those savage people, and therefore published an account of his regard for their great St. Januarius! This had the desired effect; his conversion flew like lightning through the city, and did more in his

favor than his artillery. One of their chiefs delivered an oration to his soldiers, ordered them to stop their firing, and to lay down their arms. He was listened to with reverence, and obeyed with alacrity. The horrors of war were followed by acclamations of joy, and the French general's hand was kissed in token of submission.

Thus suddenly the Lazzaroni became the advocates of republicanism. They plundered the royal palace, which but a short time before they would have defended to the last; and General Championnet thought proper to hinder them from committing other extravagant excesses. He left the command of the place to General Dubesme, and encamped his army on the heights around the city of Naples. Having disarmed the inhabitants, the French general, in person, proclaimed to his troops, that henceforth they should be styled "The Army of Naples;" which decree was accompanied by the shouts of the multitude and the tremendous thunder of cannon.

The clergy, and many of the nobles, celebrated the entry of the French. Even the cardinal archbishop condescended to pay his court to the invaders, and actually practised fraud to reconcile the people to the new government. In consequence of long and earnest prayers, the phial, which contained a precious portion of the patron saint, so much respected by the inhabitants, exhibited undoubted marks of miraculous interposition, an event immediately communicated to the credulous multitude. After this, a day was appointed for a solemn *Te Deum*, when the citizens were to return thanks for the *glorious* entry of the French troops, who had come to regenerate the nation, and consolidate its happiness. At the same time the venerable prelate intimated, that St. Januarius had greeted their arrival in the kindest manner, "his blood having miraculously liquified on the very evening of that day on which the republican forces had taken up their abode in the capital."

With affected piety Championnet assisted on this occasion, and then addressed the following seductive proclamation to the deluded inhabitants:—

"You are at length free; your love is the only price which France desires to obtain from you for your liberty, and the only clause of a treaty of peace, which the army of the republic comes to ratify, by a solemn oath with you, within the walls of the capital, and on the subverted throne of your last monarch. Misery be to the wretch who shall refuse to sign with us this honorable compact, in which the fruit of victory is given to the vanquished, and which only leaves to the conqueror the glory of having consolidated your happiness: he shall be treated as a public enemy, against whom we remain in arms!

"If there be still among you hearts so ungrate-

ful as to reject that liberty which we have gained for you at the expence of our blood; or any men so insane as to regret a king deprived of the right of commanding, in consequence of his violating the oath which he had sworn to defend them, let them fly for protection to standards which are disgraced by perjury! War shall be prosecuted against such to extermination. Republicans, the cause in which you have so generously suffered is ultimately victorious. What the brilliant victories of the army of Italy had not been able to accomplish, has been happily effected by the blindness of your last king.

"Let him blame, then, his own mad pride and his audacious aggressions, for the happiness of your fate, and the disgrace which he has experienced: but let him be justly punished for having attacked, against the faith of oaths, a nation in alliance with him, and for having attempted to deprive a neighboring people of their liberty; let him be punished by the loss of a crown which he has dishonored, and by the chagrin of having been the principal instrument of making you free: let no apprehension embitter the sentiment of an happiness so unexpected.

"The army which I command remains in the midst of you for your defence—it will lose its best men—it will shed its last drop of blood, before it will allow your last tyrant to entertain even the hope of renewing the proscriptions of your families, and of opening again the dungeons in which he has caused them so long to pine.

"Neapolitans, if the French army now assumes the title of the army of Naples, it is in consequence of the solemn engagement into which it has entered, to die for your cause, and to make no other use of its power than to maintain your independence, and to preserve your rights, which it has vindicated. Let the people, therefore, be assured of the full enjoyment of their religion, and cease to be alarmed with respect to the rights of property. The force of interest has assisted the tyrants in the exertions they have made to calumniate, in the eyes of the world, the integrity, generosity, and good faith of the French nation; but, to a nation so generous, a few days are sufficient to divest credulous men of the odious prejudices to which tyranny has recourse to incite them to deplorable excesses.

"The organization of plunder and assassination projected by your last king, and excited by his corrupt agents, as a mean of defence, has produced the most dreadful and horrible consequences; but in removing the cause of the evil, it will be easy to check its effects, and to repair even the fatal mischief which it has produced.

"Let the republican authorities, which are about to be established, restore order and tranquillity, on the basis of a paternal administration; let them dissipate the idle alarms of ignorance, and oppose the fury of fanaticism, with a zeal equal to that which has been employed by perfidy to increase them; and, in a short time, the severity of discipline, which re-establishes order with so much facility among the troops of a free people, will not fail to put a period to the crimes produced by hatred and revenge."

Immediately after this, Naples was proclaimed a commonwealth, under the designation of "The Parthenopean Republic," and the provisional government confided to twenty-one citizens, chosen by the French general. These were enjoined to draw up a plan for a new constitution, and while money was levied for the payment of the army, the estates of the clergy and the domains of the crown were declared to appertain to the conquerors.

Charles Laubert, a man accused of jacobinical principles, was placed at the head of the new administration; and none of the rest possessed the confidence of the nation, except Dominico Cirillo, a celebrated physician, and Flavio Pirelli, formerly a president of the royal chamber.

The national guard, indeed, boasted of the first grandeas, particularly the princes Della Torella and Rocca, both knights of St. Januarius, and the richest individuals in the kingdom. The Prince of Molliterno, before mentioned, was appointed commander-in-chief, and the Duke de Roccarmana offered to levy a regiment at his own expence.

An assembly, or kind of parliament, was soon after convoked, and care was taken to admit two representatives on the part of the Lazzaroni, who still continued to possess considerable sway in Naples, while their former leaders were gratified with offices and pensions.

In order to keep his word, Championnet restrained, as much as possible, the spoliations of the agents of the directory, and not only suspended them from the exercise of their functions, but obliged them to return home. Soon after, the French general and all his principal officers were cashiered by the directory; and General Serrurier, in consequence of having seized the little republic of Lucca, January 15, received the command of the army of Naples. All titles and exclusive privileges were abolished in Lucca; the sovereignty of the people was proclaimed, a directory established, and the sum of two millions of livres levied on the estates of the ex-nobles alone, which was immediately presented to General Serrurier.

CHAPTER X.

Proceedings of General Bonaparte in Egypt.—A Theatre opened at Cairo.—Anniversary of the Republic.—Entertainments.—Policy of Bonaparte.—His Visit to the Pyramids.—Execution of Coraim.—A sudden Insurrection at Cairo.—Other Insurrections.—Policy of Mourad Bey.—Battle of Sediman.—El-Arisch seized by the Pacha of Syria.—Alexandria blockaded, and threatened with a Siege.

THE reduction of Egypt proved a more difficult task than Bonaparte at first supposed. The Mamelukes, though unacquainted with the modern system of war, were not so ignorant as he suspected. The number of his enemies was also about to be increased, in consequence of the declaration of war by the Ottoman Porte; but his greatest enemy proved to be the plague, called by the French physician an inflammatory fever, in order to conceal the malady; its contagious effects, however, soon led to a discovery of the real cause.

The first care of the general was to provide for the support of his troops, and the preservation of their health. The Egyptians, by nature a soft and timid race, were naturally struck, after the arrival of the French, with terror. They shut themselves up in their own houses, and concealed whatever they had fit for being used as food; so that for several days the French were forced to subsist on their own naval stores. But when the apprehensions of the natives were removed, the markets of Alexandria were supplied with all sorts of provisions in the greatest abundance. The Delta was fully sufficient to supply all necessities, which could be conveyed to the French magazines by the Nile, or by canals. The old canal that conveyed the waters of the Nile to Alexandria, with other canals, were cleared and repaired. Wind-mills were constructed for the grinding of corn, the only mills known to the natives being hand-mills, and here and there mills wrought by oxen. The want of wine was found capable of being supplied by a spirit extracted from dates.

The divan which had been appointed, (as mentioned in the sixth chapter) had it in charge, from the commander-in-chief, to inquire whether Egypt did not furnish a substitute for hops for the making of beer. At Alexandria and Grand Cairo, boards were instituted for inquiring into the best means for the prevention of contagious distempers, and in general for preserving the health of the seamen and soldiers: among the first fruits of which was the cleansing of these and other cities from many impurities, and a recommendation of the bath, with directions to the French soldiers for using it.

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At Cairo, a theatre was established for the amusement of the French; and music was introduced on all occasions. Here also the anniversary of the republic was celebrated with uncommon splendor. On the setting of the sun, September 22, the feast was announced by three salutes of artillery. The commencement of the feast was proclaimed at sun-rising the next morning, by three discharges from the whole of the artillery; that of all the different divisions of the army; that of the park; and that of the marine, or flotilla, on the Nile. Immediately the *generale* was beaten through the whole city, and all the troops, in the highest order, appeared under arms, in the place of Elbecquier. In this place a circle had been traced of two hundred fathoms diameter, of which the circumference was formed by one hundred and five columns, decorated with three-colored flags, bearing the names of all the departments. These pillars were united by a double row of garlands, emblematical of the unity and indivisibility of all the parts of the French republic.

One of the entries into the circle was decorated by a triumphal arch, on which was portrayed the battle of the pyramids; the other by a portico, above which were placed several Arabic inscriptions. Of these there was one as follows: "There is no God but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

In the middle of the circle was raised an obelisk of granite, of the height of seventy feet. On one of its faces was engraven, in letters of gold, "To the French republic, ann. 7;" on that opposite to it, "To the expulsion of the Mamelukes, ann. 6." On the collateral sides, these two inscriptions were translated into Arabic. The pedestal of the obelisk was embellished with *bas reliefs*; on the adjoining ground, seven altars in the ancient style, intermixed with candlesticks, supported trophies of arms, surmounted with three-colored flags, and civic crowns. In the centre of each of these trophies, was a list of those men, of each division, who fell in the act of delivering Egypt from the yoke of the Mamelukes.

As soon as all the troops had assembled, and were drawn up on the place of Elbecquier, the

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commander-in-chief appeared, accompanied by his staff-officers, the generals of divisions, the commissary-general, the commissaries of war, and of civil administrations, artists and men of science, the *kiaya*, or Turkish officer, next in authority to the *bashaw*, the *emir Hadji*, and the members of the *divan*, both of *Cairo* and the provinces. When arrived, Bonaparte and his suite seated themselves on the platform that ran round the obelisk. Superb carpets covered the mount on which it stood. The music of the different demi-brigades struck up warlike marches, patriotic airs, and songs of victory.

The troops, after going through their exercises with great readiness and precision, came and arranged themselves around the obelisk; when a proclamation, by the commander-in-chief, for the discipline of the army, and the good government and well-being of Egypt, was read aloud, by the adjutant-general. It was listened to with the most profound silence, and followed by repeated cries of *vive la republique*. A hymn was performed at the orchestra, and the troops filed off, in perfect order, before the general-in-chief, who returned with his company to his quarters. The whole of this company, with several Turkish officers and Arabian chiefs, who had come up during the exhibition, were invited to dinner at the general's house, where a sumptuous table was provided, of one hundred and fifty covers. The French colors were united with the Turkish, the cap of liberty was placed by the side of the crescent, and the rights of man by the *koran*. The gaiety of the French was tempered with the gravity of the Turks. The mussulmen were left to their own choice of meats and drinks, and expressed great satisfaction with the attentions that were shewn them. After dinner, several toasts were drank. The commander-in-chief gave, for a toast, "To the three hundredth year of the French republic;" one of his aides-de-camps, "To the legislative bodies, and the executive directory;" Menge, president of the Egyptian institute, "To the perfection of the human understanding, and the advancement of knowledge;" General Berthier, "To the expulsion of the Mamelukes, and the prosperity of the people of Egypt." Other toasts were given, and each was received with unanimous plaudits, and suitable airs of music. Patriotic couplets, sung by the soldiery, concluded this civic feast.

At four o'clock, foot and horse-races began, and the prizes were adjudged to the victors, who were borne in triumph around the circus. At the close of the day, the whole of the circumference of this was illuminated in the most brilliant manner. The pillars, the intermediate garlands, and the triumphal arches, were hung with chrysal lamps, which produced the happiest effect. At

eight o'clock, there was a beautiful display of fireworks, accompanied, at different intervals, by discharges of musquetry and artillery. A considerable number of Turkish ladies enjoyed the spectacle from the windows and tops of the houses that surrounded the place of *Elbecquier*. The intent of this entertainment was, to impress the minds of the Egyptians with a sense of the power, art, and magnificence of the French nation, and of their respect for mussulmen, and good-will towards all the Egyptians. Nor was it by professions alone that Bonaparte studied to gain the attachment and confidence of the people; for, in order to please them, and dispel their apprehensions of some unknown impending calamities, the annual ceremony of the opening of the Nile was this year accompanied by even greater pomp than usual. On this occasion the general distributed considerable sums, in alms, among the poor, and gave an entertainment to the notables of *Cairo*. In like manner he gave a considerable sum for defraying the expence of a magnificent feast, in honor of the birth-day of the prophet. Having, on that occasion, declared himself the protector of all religions, he received, from the mussulmen, the name of *Ali Bonaparte*.

The French general not only declared himself a disciple and friend to Mahomet, but, by means of his emissaries, as well as no obscure hints in messages and letters to different parties of mussulmen, insinuated that he was acquainted with their inward thoughts and designs, and endeavored to propagate a persuasion that he had been actually and expressly commissioned, by the prophet, to resist, repel, and overthrow the tyranny of the beys, to reform certain errors and abuses, and to promote justice, mercy, and piety, the great ends of the Mahometan and only religion.

The predominant passions of the people of Egypt were religious bigotry and superstition, and a jealousy and indignation against any degree of familiarity with their women; and the French general endeavored to win their favor by making his officers and soldiers attend the great festivals and ceremonies in honor of the prophet, and by forbidding plunder. He improved the condition of the women by giving them a certain portion of their husbands' goods at their decease; and he encouraged marriages between them and his soldiers, but prohibited polygamy.

Accompanied by his staff and the members of the national institute, with a powerful guard, and conducted by several muftis and imams, he proceeded to see the pyramids, where, after hastily surveying the five inferior ones, his attention was directed to that called "*Cheops*." After examining the different apartments, he seated himself in a flattened vault, on a chest of granite, eight feet long and four feet deep, amongst his attend-

ants, and invited the muftis, imans, &c. to be also seated, when he saluted Sulaman, Ibrahim, and Muhamed, the chief muftis, and said—

“God is great, and his works are marvellous. Here is a great work accomplished by the hands of man. What end had he in view who constructed this pyramid?” One of the priests answered, “It is the work of a great King of Egypt, called Cheops, who wished that his ashes might not be disturbed by sacrilegious intrusions.”—“Cyrus the Great,” replied Bonaparte, “gave orders, that his inanimate body should be exposed to the open air, on purpose that it might be the more easily and completely dissolved, and be re-united to the natural elements. Don’t you think that he did much better? What think you?” One of the muftis, bowing his head, said, “Glory to God, to whom all glory is due.” Bonaparte added, “Honor to Allah; who was the caliph that gave orders for the opening of this pyramid, and disturbing the ashes of the dead?” The mufti and imans made answer, “According to some, Mahomet, the commander of the faithful, who reigned, many centuries ago, at Bagdad; but, according to others, Haroun al Reschid, who fancied that he should find treasures in it; but, when those whom he had sent had entered this apartment, they found nothing but mummies, with the following inscription on the wall, written in letters of gold: “The impious commit iniquity without fear, but not without remorse.” Bonaparte applied a proverb, well known to the persons with whom he now conversed—“The bread that is taken by violence fills the mouth of the robber with gravel.”

But notwithstanding all the French general’s precautions, and in the midst of his festivities, the capital became suddenly disaffected. The fate of the aged Coraim, whose arrest has been mentioned in the close of the sixth chapter, was productive of great animosity. This cheriff was convicted of treasonable correspondence with the Mamelukes, and, on the 6th of September, condemned and executed. His head, with a label of his crimes, was carried through the streets; an act of severity which was calculated indeed to inspire terror and create disgust. Murmurs of discontent were soon intermingled with the deliberations of the national assembly of musselmén. These murmurs did not escape the vigilance of the French commander, who had his spies in every place, and was informed of every thing that passed. He endeavoured to preserve peace and good order by measures of prevention. Out of the numbers of individuals who were followers, and employed in various services of the government and army; and all Europeans, of whatever nation, residing at Cairo, he formed, about the beginning of October, ten companies of national guards, not to be employed as regulars,

but to occupy and maintain certain appointed posts in the city on any announced emergency.

It was not long before the insurrection apprehended burst forth. On the 21st of that month, immense crowds, armed with spears and sharp stones, assembled in and around the grand mosque, and every other mosque in Cairo. These were the fortresses in which they were to make their stand, and from which to make their attacks. A secret correspondence was established between the Mahometan priests and Mamelukes, some of whom were concealed in different houses, in the garb of women. General Dupuis, at the head of a regiment of dragoons, repaired to the grand mosque, to disperse the multitude that was every moment increasing. He was furiously attacked and mortally wounded. Not a few of his men were killed. The rest carried back the general to his quarters, where he died in a few hours after.

The alarm being given, the whole of the French were immediately under arms. The general gave orders for a battalion to march against the grand mosque, where the Turks were assembled to the number of 8 or 10,000. They were summoned, but decidedly refused to surrender. The citadel then fired on the city, particularly the grand mosque, into which there fell several bombs, exciting terror and despair. Other battalions were sent against the other mosques, in the avenues and approaches to which the Turks were attacked, and driven back to the mosques. The doors of these were forced by the French, who made a dreadful slaughter. But the mus-sulmen, though defeated, were not yet conquered. The place of the slain was supplied by new combatants, and the contest was prolonged. This was a terrible day, and scarcely was that which followed less bloody. Not a Turk who was armed with so much as a club or a stone escaped with life. The Turks, on their part, assassinated every individual, or small party of French whom they found in the streets. They burst open the houses of the French, and plundered them; and if any European domestics were found, they were put to the sword. Some traces of the insurrection remained till the 23d of October; towards the evening of which the city began to resume the appearance of tranquillity.

The loss of the insurgents was calculated by the French at 5 or 6000 men; that of the French themselves, in killed and wounded, was stated by them not to have exceeded 100; and this loss, it was also stated, was owing to a shower of heavy stones thrown on the French from the tops of houses.

In this affair the Greeks, at Cairo, took a decided and active part on the side of the French. Some of them took up arms in their cause while its issue was yet dubious; a greater number, after

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it was decided, were active in the discovery of fugitives. All the prisoners whom they brought to the different military stations in Cairo, and who were found guilty on evidence, we may presume not very scrupulous, were put to death. The disguised Mamelukes, conformably to a former decree, underwent the same fate. Several parties of the insurgents retaining their arms, endeavoured to escape death by a precipitate flight; but these unfortunate men were assailed by double terrors. While they were pursued by General Danourt, at the head of a body of cavalry, they were met in front by the Arabs of the desert, who are equally hostile to all strangers, Turks, Europeans, and Egyptians, and sometimes parties of their own nation; strangers not of their own tribe. The unhappy fugitives from Cairo, hemmed in between such enemies, and the avenging French, had no retreat. The fate of the whole was ruin, slavery, or death. Bonaparte, having inflicted severe punishment, published an amnesty to all peaceable people, and held the same language of conciliation, and affected confidence, as usual.

While the insurrection was brewing at Cairo, the French arms were employed in the suppression of plots of less moment, and in subduing open resistance in other places. Scarce a day passed without some skirmishing between the French and Arabs. At Sombat, capital of the district of Gambia, the inhabitants assassinated a detachment of French, consisting of one half of a demi-brigade, and a part of a regiment of dragoons. On the 13th of September, the place, by orders of the Generals Dugua and Verdier, was burned. About the same time there was an engagement at Mitcamar, between the Arabs and the troops under General Murat, in which the former were completely routed. On the night between the 15th and 16th of September, the French garrison of Damietta was attacked by a number of Arabs, joined by insurgents from several neighbouring provinces. The Generals Vial and Andreossi attacked them in their turn, at their head-quarters in the village of Schouarra, situated within cannon shot of Damietta. The Arabs, to the number, as stated by the French, of about 10,000, were ranged in one line, extending from the Nile to the lake Menzales. The number of the French did not exceed 500. Fifteen hundred of the Arabs were killed or drowned in the inundation of the river, and in the lake. The village Schouarra was taken, and committed to the flames. Columns of light troops scouring the country, between Damietta and Mansoura, punished the chiefs of the revolt.

General Desaix being informed that some barks, with articles for the Mamelukes, were at Reshuasch, marched to surprise them; and, after

crossing eight canals, and the lake Baten, with the water up to their armpits, came up with the convoy at Banaseh, and made it a prize. Desaix rejoined his division at Abu-jairjeb, marched to Tarutelshereef, where he took his position at the Canal of Joseph, to insure a communication with Cairo. Arrived at Siut, he endeavored to overtake the Mamelukes at Beneady, whither they had retired with their women and baggage: but they having joined Mourad Bey, in Faium, Desaix returned to Siut, to re-descend to Tarutelshereef, where he embarked his troops on the Canal of Joseph. Arrived off Mansura, he met Mourad Bey, who kept up such a well-directed fire upon the French on their landing, that Desaix ordered them to return on board, intending to fall down to Minkia. The Mamelukes, having harassed the barks, some companies of grenadiers dispersed them: the debarkation being effected, the troops resumed the road to the desert, accompanied by the barks as far as Mantra; Mourad Bey was at four miles distance; while his rear-guard harassed the French, he gained the heights, and they saw his army open with all the magnificence of the east. They discovered his person, surrounded by all the beys and kiaschefs under his command. The French marched forward; and the cavalry they had to oppose turned and fled to Elalamon. In following the French left their barks; they were obliged to return for biscuit: Mourad thought they had fled; he attacked them, and actually carried away two prisoners from the points of the bayonets, while night delivered the French from his valor. On regaining the barks, the French loaded with biscuit, and, after taking some repose, recommenced their march.

Mourad Bey had got a stranger to arrive in his army, with news that the English had destroyed the French at Alexandria; that the people of Cairo had massacred those who were in that city; and that there remained in Egypt only the few soldiers whom they had put to flight the evening before, and whom they should presently destroy; a festival was given, and a sham battle, where the French were represented by Arabs, who were ordered to suffer themselves to be beaten. The feast concluded with the murder of the two prisoners who had been taken two days before.

General Desaix, on reaching Sediman, in Fay-cum, a province of Upper Egypt, resolved to attack when he had left the open and cultivated country. The Mamelukes passed the night in carousals. At day-break, October 7, they formed a hollow square, flanked by two lesser bodies: soon after the French saw Mourad with his Mamelukes, and 8 or 10,000 Arabs. A valley was between the two armies, which must be passed before the French could attack. As soon as

Mourad saw them in the disadvantageous position, he surrounded them, charging them with a degree of fury. The closeness of the French rendered his numbers of no advantage to him; their musketry repulsed him for the time. The Mamelukes stopped, wheeled, as if to flee, and suddenly fell on one of the squadrons, which they levelled; all who were not killed fell down: this uncovered the Mamelukes to the centre of the French, who instantly gave a heavy fire: Mourad stopped and wheeled once more; those of the squadron not killed came into the ranks. The French were again attacked with the cries of rage; much valor was shewn on both sides; the barrels of the French muskets were hacked by the sabres of the Mamelukes; their horses fell back at the sight of the bayonets; their riders turned them, hoping to force their ranks by their kicks; the French pressed together without disorder; carnage was every where, but there was no battle; the Mamelukes were wild with fury; they threw their arms at the French, and the troops were assailed with firelocks, pistols, battle-axes, and showers of sabres. Those who were dismounted crept upon their bellies under the bayonets, endeavoring to cut the soldiers legs; but all was in vain; they were obliged to flee.

Mourad had committed great slaughter among the French; in falling back he did not flee, and the situation of the French was not improved; scarcely had he retreated, when he opened a battery, hitherto concealed, which at each discharge carried off six or eight soldiers. The French were lost in consternation; the number of the wounded increased every instant; to march was

to abandon the fallen, and to abandon them was to give them up to certain death. Desaix remained motionless a moment: at length, the voice of necessity drowned that of the unfortunate wounded, and the army began its march. Mourad threatened his retreat: his only choice was now between victory and absolute destruction; the army, as one individual, determined to force the battery: the light artillery did prodigies; and, while they dismounted some of the guns of the Mamelukes, the grenadiers came up; the battery was abandoned; the cavalry, panic-struck, wheeled, fled, and left the French no enemy to oppose.

On the side of the united forces of the Mamelukes and Arabs three beys were killed, two wounded, and 400 of the flower of his troops killed on the spot. The loss of the French was by them stated to be thirty-six killed, and ninety-six wounded.

Here, as well as at the battle of the pyramids, the soldiers made a considerable booty. There was not a Mameluke on whom they did not find from three to five hundred louis. Mourad Bey retreated to the gorges of the mountains of *Tajain-rast*, to take care of his wounded, and recruit his army. Thus Desaix was left in possession of the best part of Upper Egypt.

In the mean time, Achmet el D'jezzar, Pacha of Syria, instigated by the Turks, seized on the fort of El-Arisch, and made preparations to invade Egypt: Alexandria was also blockaded by the English, and threatened, nearly at the same time, with a siege by the Ottoman fleet and army.

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CHAPTER XI.

Conduct of Bonaparte.—Movements of the French Army.—Expedition to Syria.—Capture of El-Arisch.—The French Army reach Ghazah.—Capture of Jaffa.—Bonaparte's Letter to Achmet, Pacha el D'jezzar.—The Answer.—Character of D'jezzar.—The French reach Acre.—History of Acre.—Gallantry of Sir Sidney Smith.—A general Attack on the French, contrived by the British and Turkish Governments.—Siege of Acre.—Sir Sidney Smith's Circular Letter.—Defeat of Bonaparte.—Humanity of Sir Sidney Smith.—The retreating French Army harassed by the Arabs.—Ishmael enters Jaffa.—Return of the French Army to Cairo.—The French General's Vengeance.

PARTLY by policy, and partly by force, the interior of Egypt was kept in a state of tranquillity for a short period. In order to sway this superstitious nation, Bonaparte endeavored to instil a belief of his immediate intercourse with the Divinity. "Is there a man so blind," said he, to the cheriffs and imans of the mosque, "as not to see that all my operations are conducted by des-

tiny? Instruct the inhabitants that, ever since the world existed, it was written that, after having overcome the enemies of Islamism, and destroyed the cross, I should come from the furthest part of the west to fulfil the task which has been imposed upon me. Make them see that in the second book of the Koran, in more than twenty passages, that which has happened was

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foreseen, and that which shall take place has also been explained: let those, then, whom the fear of our arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations, now change their dispositions; for, in offering prayers to heaven against us, they solicit their own condemnation: let the true believers, then, present vows for our success. I could call to account each individual among you for the most secret sentiments of his heart; for *I know every thing, even that which you never communicated to any person*; and the day will come when all the world shall witness, that, *as I act in consequence of orders from above*, human efforts are of no avail against me."

In this impious manner the French general endeavored to awe the natives; but, though he had established himself in Egypt, he still remained in a state of continual alarm. He had strengthened his army by the wrecks of the navy, and by recruits of different nations in the East. Taxes were imposed and collected; horses, camels, and provisions for the army were supplied in abundance.

Early in December a detachment of 1500 men, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of General Bon, took possession of Suez. Thither Bonaparte went himself, on the 22d of December, accompanied by several officers, and men of science and learning, and escorted by a corps of cavalry. Having forded the Red-Sea at low water, he visited the fountains of Moses, about ten leagues and a half from Suez, in Asia. Five sources contribute to form these fountains, which send up to the top little monticules of sand. The water is very good, but somewhat brackish; there are vestiges of a small modern aqueduct, which conducted the water to cisterns on the borders of the sea, from whence it was taken to supply ships. These fountains are at the distance of three-quarters of a league from the sea.

In the evening Bonaparte returned to Suez, but the sea was high. His guide lost him in the marshes, from which he extricated himself with difficulty, being up to the middle in water.

Suez appears to have been the *entrepôt* of a very considerable commerce. Barges only can come into the port; but a point of sand, that runs out a league into the sea, and which is uncovered at low water, and near which frigates can lie at anchor, furnished every possible means for the erection of a battery, that might protect the shipping at anchor, and defend the coast. At Suez, the Arabs of Top came and solicited the friendship of the French. Here also Bonaparte received a deputation of the monks of Mount Sinai. The pious Cenobites brought him the humble offering of the fruits of their mountain, and presented to him the charter of toleration given, originally, and signed by Mahomet, requesting also the protection of the conquerors;

and Mahomet's charter was countersigned by Bonaparte.

As the fort of El-Arisch had been seized by the Pacha of Syria, Bonaparte, suspecting an attack on the side of Syria, and another by sea, would take place, resolved to march into Syria, chastise D'jezzar, and destroy the preparations made for an expedition against Egypt, rather than wait and receive the combined attack apprehended on the coasts of that country. Having, by a proper disposition of his troops and other precautions, provided for the internal quiet of Egypt, the French general accordingly gave orders to Gen. Almeyrus to embark provisions and stores for the army of Syria, to be conveyed, by the lake of Menzales, to the port of Tinch, and from thence to be carried, by land, to the village of Cathich. The artillery, that had been employed in the siege of Alexandria, was put on board three frigates, which were to cruise off Jaffa, and to maintain a communication with the army. Camels and mules were provided with extraordinary expedition, at Cairo, for carrying the light artillery, ammunition, and provisions, of which the most bulky, as well as the most necessary article, was water. The army, amounting to about 12,000, was parted into four divisions; one under General Kleber, one under General Regnier, one under General Bon, and one under General Lasnes. The cavalry was commanded by General Murat, the artillery by General Dommartin, and the engineers by General Caffarelli. A junction was formed, on the 4th of February, 1799, between the divisions of Kleber and the advanced guard of Regnier, under the command of General Grange, at Cathich; from whence they proceeded to Larissa, otherwise called El-Arisch, a village pleasantly situated on the river Peneus, and the seat of a Greek archbishop, as well as of mosques for the votaries of the Mahometan religion. El-Arisch was carried, by General le Grand, with the bayonet. The barbarous Arnautes and Maugrabins, who defended it, took refuge in the fortress, but with such precipitation, that, in barricading the gates, they shut out 200 men, who were put to the sword, or made prisoners.

Scarcely was the blockade of El-Arisch begun, by Regnier's division, when a reinforcement of infantry and cavalry, escorting a convoy of provisions for the defenders of El-Arisch, appeared in sight of that village, and encamped on a rising ground, covered by a very deep ravine. At that moment General Kleber came up with the advanced guard of his division. General Regnier communicated to him the design he had formed, of turning the ravine, and surprising the camp of the Mamelukes in the night. Kleber entirely approved of this project. The attack was made, and succeeded. The camp was carried, and the

corps of Mameluke cavalry cut in pieces, or taken. A number of horses, camels, stores, and provisions, and the whole of the convoy, fell into the hands of the French. Two boys were killed on the field of battle. The two other divisions of the army, with the artillery, formed their junction a few days after. Bonaparte himself, with his état-major, and a strong guard, who had set out from Cairo on the 10th, arrived at El-Arisch on the 17th of February. In his march across the desert he lost several men and a number of horses, through bad provisions and the want of water, as well as by the attacks of the Arabs, who never ceased to harass him.

The main army, thus assembled, took a position before El-Arisch, on the 18th of February. Bonaparte ordered one of the towers of the castle to be cannonaded, and, a breach being soon made, he summoned the place to surrender. The garrison was composed of *Arnautes* and *Maugrabins*, all rude barbarians, without leaders, uninformed in any of the principles of war acknowledged by civilized nations. Their answer was, that they were willing to come out of the fort, with their arms and baggage, as it was their wish to go to Acre. At length, on the 20th of February, the garrison surrendered, on condition of being permitted to retire to Bagdhad, by the desert. A number of the *Maugrabins* entered into the French service.

On the 24th of February, the head-quarters of the army marched to Kan-jouness, the first village of Palestine, as they got out of the desert, and from whence they discovered the cultivated plains of Ghazah.

The French army now succeeded in traversing eighty leagues of the most dry and barren part of the desert; for the inhabitants of El-Arisch, as well as those of Cathich, enjoy only a few spots of cultured ground, and a few palm-trees near their wells; all around being a dry and burning sand. The aspect of the plains of Ghazah was more pleasing and recreating to the sight, as they appeared bordered by mountains, which rendered the prospect similar to that of European countries, without having the tiresome monotony of Egyptian plains, and of those parching sands, which uniformly fill the air with an annoying insufferable dust.

Abdallah Bashaw, with 1000 cavalry, and 50,000 *Naplousians*, lay encamped in the heights of Korsum. After harassing the French army, attempting to take it in flank, and to entangle it in the mountains, he was beaten back, forced to raise his camp, during the night of the 24th, and fell back upon Ghazah; against which place the French proceeded to march on the 25th of February. The fortress of Ghazah, being evacuated by the enemy, was taken possession of by

the French, without resistance. In Ghazah they found a very seasonable supply of provisions and military stores. The inhabitants having gone out to meet Bonaparte, the city was treated in a friendly manner.

On the 29th of February, the main army began to move towards Jaffa, (the ancient Joppa,) a sea-port on the coast of Palestine, between which and Damietta, along the sea-coast, the whole is desert and wild. Here pilgrims pay for permission to visit the Holy Land.

This city is surrounded by a wall, without a ditch, and defended by strong towers, provided with cannon. Trenches were opened, batteries were erected, and a practical breach was made in the wall. Notwithstanding two desperate sorties, and every exertion on the part of the garrison, about 4000 strong, the principal tower was taken, and the greater part of the brave garrison put to the sword; with a view, no doubt, of striking terror into other parts of Palestine, and wherever Bonaparte might direct his march. About 300 Egyptians, who escaped from the assault, were sent back into Egypt, and restored to their families. The French found, in the towers of Jaffa, ten pieces of cannon, and about twenty indifferent siege-pieces, either iron or brass.

Bonaparte, in making himself master of the towers of Jaffa, on March 6, lost above 1000 men. About fifteen small trading vessels were found in the harbour. The French general now formed a divan, composed of the principal Turks of the town. He also gave orders for taking every necessary measure for the defence of the place. Jaffa proved a situation of the highest importance to the army; it became the port and the *entrepôt* of every thing that was to come from Damietta and Alexandria. From Jaffa, Bonaparte wrote the following letter to D'jezzar Pacha, dated the 9th of March:

"Since my arrival in Egypt, I several times informed you that I had no design to make war against you, and that my only object was to expel the Mamelukes. You returned no answer to the overture which I made you. I announced, that I desired that you would drive Ibrahim Bey from the frontiers of Egypt; but, instead of that, you sent troops to Ghazah; you formed there large magazines, and gave out that you intended to march against Egypt. You, indeed, began to put this plan in execution; and you threw 2000 of your troops into the fortress of El-Arisch, which is only six miles from the frontiers of Egypt. I was obliged, then, to depart from Cairo, to direct, in person, the war which you seemed to invite. The districts of Ghazah, Ramley, and Jaffa, are already in my power. I have treated with generosity such of your troops as surrendered

at discretion, but I have been severe towards those who violated the rights of war. In a few days, I shall march against Acre. But why should I go, to deprive an old man, with whom I am not acquainted, of the few remaining years of his life! What are a few miles more of territory, in comparison of those which I have already conquered! And, as God grants me victory, I will, like him, be clement and merciful, not only towards the people, but towards the great. You have no solid reason for being my enemy, since you were that of the Mamelukes. Your government is separated from that of Egypt by the districts of Ghazah, Ramley, and impassable marches. Become my friend, be the enemy of the Mamelukes and the English, and I will do you as much good as I have done you hurt; and I can still do you more. Send me a short answer, by some person invested with full powers, that I may know your views. He needs only to present himself to my advanced guard, with a white flag; and I have given orders, to my staff, to send you a pass of safety, which you will find here annexed. On the twenty-first of March, I shall march against Acre; I must, therefore, have an answer before that day."

To this letter, D'jezzar returned the following verbal answer:

"I have not written to you, because I am resolved to hold no communication with you. You may march against Acre when you please. I shall be prepared for you, and will bury myself in the ruins of the place, rather than let it fall into your hands."

The name of this pacha, El D'jezzar, which signifies *the butcher*, sufficiently declares the ferocity of his disposition. This hoary chief is said to have extorted from the people no less than 25,000 purses, (about a million and two hundred thousand pounds sterling,) and to have put to death some hundreds, besides mutilating a number of individuals. His residence at Acre was fortified without like a castle, while it resembled a den within; for near to the place of audience was a dungeon, into which the victims of rage or suspicion were immediately precipitated. Be it, however, recollected, that the government of the turban is always despotic. D'jezzar was not deficient in policy nor in courage.

The French army marched to Zetta, under the tower of which it passed the night. On the sixteenth, they encamped at Sabarieu, after extricating themselves from the narrow passes of mount Carmel, on the plains of Acre. A division of the army, under General Kleber, marched against Caiffa, which the enemy abandoned at their approach. On the seventeenth, late in the evening, they arrived at the mouth of the little river of Acre, which is at the distance of about

fifteen hundred fathoms from the fortress. The night was employed in constructing a bridge, over which the whole army passed, at break of day, on the eighteenth.

The city of Acre (anciently called Accho by the Hebrews and Phœnicians, and afterwards Ptolemais by the Greeks) was, by the French, called St. Jean d'Acre, on account of its being the residence of the knights of Jerusalem, which they defended against the Saracens. It is the last and most southern city on the Phœnician coast. It was a considerable place, so early as the Israelitish judges, since we find that the tribe of Asher could not drive out its inhabitants. After being in the possession of the emperor Claudius, it fell into the hands of the Turks and Arabs, who kept it till the holy war, when it was retaken by the Christians, in the year 1104. The Turks took it a second time, under Saladin. It was wrested from them a second time, in 1191, by Guy, King of Jerusalem, Richard I. King of England, and Philip, King of France. It was then given to the knights of St. John, who held it about one hundred years, with great bravery. But a dispute, concerning the possession of it, among the Christians themselves, gave an opportunity to Sultan Melech Seraf, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, to reduce it again under the Ottoman yoke, in the year 1291. The greater part of the inhabitants fled, for refuge, to the island of Cyprus. Acre was immediately entered and plundered by the Turks, who made a horrible slaughter of those who remained in the city, rased its fortifications to the ground, and destroyed all its noble edifices, as if they could never take sufficient revenge upon it for all the blood it had cost them, or sufficiently prevent such slaughters for the future. It was in this city that our Edward I. then a prince, received a wound with a poisoned arrow.

Acre, by its excellent situation, seems to enjoy all the advantages to be derived from sea and land, being encompassed, on the north and east side, by a spacious and fertile plain, on the west by the Mediterranean, and on the south by a large bay, extending itself from that city to mount Carmel. These advantages pointed it out as a fit *entrepôt* for commerce, to Faccardino (not improperly called the great), chief of the Druses, who, towards the end of the fifteenth century, threw off the Turkish yoke, fortified Acre with additional towers, and, also, that it might be inaccessible to the Turkish gallies, deposited large masses of stones in the deepest parts of the entrance into the harbour. Without the harbour, in the bay, there were roads where vessels lay at anchor, and to and from which the commerce with Acre was carried, in lighters, or boats. The Druses, like the Arabs, maintain an independence,

almost total, on the Ottomans. These people, inhabiting the woody, as well as mountainous parts of Syria, Libanus (or Lebanon), and Antilibanus, &c. claim their descent from the crusaders that went to conquer the Saracens, and take Jerusalem. They profess themselves Christians, are enemies of the Turks, and have their particular princes, called emirs. Faccardino was the chief of the Druses, or emir. Their submission to the Porte is rather nominal than real. Tribute, very irregularly paid, is the only proof or symbol of subjection. The Marconites, a sect of Christians anciently distinguished by the appellation of Nestorians (a term well known in ecclesiastical history), live among, and, indeed, form a part of the Druses. The Marconite Christians have, in the present day, a college, even in the Vatican, in Rome, where there is a society for propagating and cherishing all sects of Christians acknowledging the Roman catholic religion. The Marconites, in external matters and ceremonies, are the same with the ancient Syrian church; in articles of belief, or speculation, the same with the Romish. In the times of Faccardino (who carried on a correspondence and commerce with India, as well as the Grecian islands and Italy), the most opulent and commercial, and, indeed, the most accomplished, noble-minded, and princely family in Europe, was the Medici, who gradually arose, through the usual gradations in democracy, to the sovereignty of Florence, and the dependent districts, under the names of the great dukes of Tuscany. Faccardino paid a visit to Cosmo de Medici, at Florence: he was received, at the court of Cosmo, with the most elegant hospitality, and returned to Syria, and St. John d'Acre, accompanied by all manner of artists from Italy.—Bridges, highways, palaces begun, (though, unfortunately, not finished), improvements in navigation and fortification, and agriculture and commerce, as well as some approaches towards literature and science, in Syria, were the effects of the visit, paid by Faccardino the great, to Cosmo de Medici. Soon after the death of Faccardino, Acre fell again under the dominion of the Turks.

On the eighteenth of March, the French army, having crossed the little river of Acre, encamped upon an insulated eminence, that was near to, and parallel with the sea. On the twentieth, the trenches were opened, at about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the fortress.

A project for a general attack on Bonaparte, by sea and land, had been concerted between the British and Turkish governments. A descent was to be made, by the bashaw D'jezzar, on the frontiers of Egypt, on the side of the desert of Syria. D'jezzar was to be supported by an army, which was to march across Asia Minor, from Damascus; and the combined operation of these armies, from Syria, was to be favored by a diver-

sion, towards the mouth of the Nile, by Mourad Bey, who, though forced to retreat before the advances of the French, was yet in considerable strength, and would be joined by bodies of Arabs. It was to direct the execution of this plan, and to contribute towards its execution, by maritime co-operation, that Sir Sidney Smith had left Portsmouth in the preceding autumn, on board the *Tigre*, of eighty-four guns, and sailed for the Levant, where he endeavoured to hasten the preparations for this campaign in Egypt. Commodore Hood continued to block up the port of Alexandria, and the mouths of the Nile. He had experienced the impracticability of burning and destroying the fleet of transports, and French frigates, without a debarkation of troops considerable enough to attack Alexandria. Sir Sidney, informed of the first movements of Bonaparte, endeavoured to detain him, by making attempts on Alexandria, which he bombarded, without farther injury to the French than sinking two transports.

In the mean time, D'jezzar sent timely notice of the approach of Bonaparte, to Sir Sidney Smith, on whom the command of the British naval force in the Archipelago had devolved, after the departure of Commodore Trowbridge.

Sir Sidney, on the 7th of March, 1799, proceeded towards the coast of Syria, and, on the eleventh, arrived before Caiffa. On the fifteenth, he steered for St. John d'Acre, to concert measures with D'jezzar, having got the start of the enemy by two days, which he employed in making preparations for the defence of the place.

On the sixteenth, about eight in the evening, after a chase of three hours, the commodore, Sir Sidney, took, off the cape of Carmel, the whole French flotilla, under the command of Eydoun, chief of division, laden with heavy cannon, ammunition, platforms, and other articles, necessary for Bonaparte's army to undertake the siege. This artillery, consisting of forty-four pieces, was immediately mounted on the ramparts of Acre, against the lines and batteries of the enemy, as well as on gun-vessels. The latter were employed with the greatest success, against the enemy's fire. The nature of the ground, however, permitted the French to carry their trenches within half a musket-shot of the ditch of the place.

The French, on the thirtieth of March, having effected a breach in the wall, on the north-east part of the town, endeavoured to take it by assault, but were vigorously repulsed by the garrison, with considerable loss. The ditch was filled with dead bodies. The troops of D'jezzar afterwards made three successful sorties. The object of the last was to destroy a mine, which the enemy had constructed under the covered way, to the northward, in order to fill up the ditch, near the breach. The English undertook

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this enterprize; and while two thousand Turks took charge of the sortie, they jumped into the mine, and, finding that the works were not quite finished, tore down the supports, and destroyed the whole construction. After this, an uninterrupted fire was kept up, from the fortress of Acre; the artillery being served by English and Turkish artillerymen, who had set out for Acre, from Constantinople, on the fifth of March. These men were placed under the immediate command of Colonel Phelippeaux, the chief engineer in the place, to whose councils, plans, and unwearied exertions, the safety of Acre, and the important consequences that followed, were, by the most intelligent part of the Anglo-Turkish garrison, principally attributed. As the town of Acre stands on a rectangular point of land, in the form of a square, of which two sides are washed by the sea, the British ships, in the bay of Acre, were enabled to contribute the protection of their guns to the garrison, and to the working parties, detached from those ships, who were employed in throwing up two ravelines, or half-moons. These, taking the enemy's nearest approaches (advanced within stone's cast, in flank), considerably impeded his operations. The enemy having nearly made a lodgment on the crown of the glacis, and mined the tower forming the inward angle of the town-wall, which is composed of curtains and square towers, after the manner of the twelfth century, Bonaparte, who had transported the cannon he found at Jaffa, and effected a breach on the fourteenth day of the siege, attempted to storm, but was repulsed. Repeated assaults were equally unsuccessful.

It was judged to be the best mode of defence by the garrison, to make frequent sorties, in order to keep the enemy on the defensive, and to impede the progress of their covering works.

Agreeably to the plan of operation already mentioned, and in the execution of which D'jezzar was very active, a number of Mamelukes, who had followed Ibrahim into Syria, the janissaries of Damascus, troops from Aleppo, Maugrabins, and others, advanced with an intention of joining the Arabs and Naplousians (inhabiting the ancient Samaria), and attacking the French army at Acre, on one side, while the troops of D'jezzar, supported by the fire of the British ships, should attack them on the other. Neither a detachment of Kleber's division, under General Junot, which had taken post at Nazareth and Saffat, in order to watch and oppose the progress of the enemy, and cover the siege of Acre, nor the remainder of that division, under Kleber himself, sent for his support, were found adequate to that object. General Junot, surrounded and attacked by nearly three thousand cavalry, was forced to fall back upon Caffcana. Kleber had, on the eleventh of April, reached Sedjarra, within four miles of

Cana, when four thousand Turkish and Arabian cavalry, supported by four or five hundred foot, coming down from the hills, surrounded the French, and were preparing to charge them. Kleber attacked the village of Sedjarra, and routed the Turkish cavalry, which fled across the Jordan. But by this time, or within a day or two after, the whole Syrian army, having passed the Jordan, in different divisions, at the bridge of Jacob, and at that of El-mecana, encamped on the plains of Fouli (the ancient Esdreton), where they formed a junction with the Samaritans, or Naplousians. The united army amounted from 15,000 to 18,000 men, and (as was computed by the French generals), together with the armed inhabitants of the country, by whom, as is usual in Asia, they had been joined in their march, and after their arrival in the plains of Fouli, to above 40,000. At the same time, Simon, the commandant of the party of French at Saffat, had been obliged to retire within the fort, where he was attacked by the enemy, who attempted to carry the place, by scaling it. They were repulsed, with great loss; but the French still held it in a state of blockade, with very little of either ammunition or provisions.

Bonaparte, informed of these circumstances by General Kleber, who, at the same time, intimated his intention of making an attempt to get behind, and surprise the enemy, immediately determined to attack at all points, and come to a decisive engagement with a multitude, by whom he might be attacked and harassed, at their pleasure. He gave orders to Murat, general of brigade, to leave the encampment before Acre, with a thousand infantry and a regiment of cavalry, by forced marches, to seize possession of Jacob's bridge, to fall on the besiegers of Saffat, in rear, and, having raised the siege of that place, to join General Kleber. This general, retarded by the difficulty of the roads, and the defiles through which he had to pass, could not reach the Syrian camp till about two hours after sun-rising. The enemy, warned of his approach, by their advanced parties, from the heights of mount Hermon, was quickly on horseback, and marched forward, as far as the village of Fouli, which they occupied with the Naplousian infantry, and two small pieces of cannon, carried on the backs of camels.

Bonaparte, leaving only two divisions to keep the trenches, and carry on the siege of Acre, with what remained of his cavalry, after detaching General Murat to Jacob's bridge, the division of Bon, and eight pieces of artillery, hastened to the relief of Kleber. Having marched from Acre, on the fifteenth of April, he reached and took post on the heights of Saffuria, in the evening of that day, and, on the next morning, at day-break, marched towards Fouli, along the Gorges of the Samaritan mountains. From the last eminence

that he had to pass, he saw Esdrelon, or Fouli, and Mount Tabor; and, at the foot of this mountain, General Kleber in close action with the enemy. The general had drawn up his men, in number 2000, upon some ruins where he had deposited his baggage, and where he maintained a resistance to 20,000 cavalry, by whom he was nearly surrounded. Bonaparte formed his troops into three square bodies, of which one was cavalry, and made proper dispositions for turning the enemy, at a great distance, and cutting off their communication with their camp, as well as their retreat; and, with the assistance of General Murat, destroying or overthrowing them in the Jordan. The cavalry, with two field-pieces, were sent to take the enemy's camp; the infantry proceeded to turn their army. When it had advanced within the distance of half a league of Kleber, Bonaparte dispatched for his support General Rampon, with a demi-brigade, and General Vial with another, to cut off their retreat towards the mountains of Naplousia; while he himself ordered his foot-guides to lead him to the proper places for intercepting their retreat to their magazines at Jenina. The enemy then, for the first time, began to perceive that the approaching forces were Frenchmen. Their great mass of cavalry was thrown into disorder. The discharge of an eight-pounder announced the arrival of the French to Kleber, who, thus assisted, charged the Turkish cavalry with the bayonet, and attacked and carried the village of Fouli. The enemy, perceiving that they were cut off both from their magazines and camp, were struck with consternation. They threw themselves behind mount Tabor, and, having gained, during the night, the bridge of Gizelmecana, retreated towards Damascus in great disorder and with great loss.

In the mean time, General Murat had surprised the son of the general of Damascus at Jacob's bridge, had taken his camp, putting all who had not fled to the sword, raised the siege of Saffat, and pursued and harassed the enemy's retreat for several leagues. Murat, having left a party to guard the post of Jacob's bridge, and thrown provisions into the castle of Saffat, on the 17th of April took possession of the fort, situated on the lake of Tiberias, where he found a year's ammunition and provisions.

The column of cavalry sent to attack the Syrian camp, under the command of the adjutant-general Le Turcq, having completely surprised it, taken 500 camels, with tents, stores, and provisions, killed a great number of men, and made 250 prisoners, Bonaparte gave orders that all that was found in the villages of Noures, Jenina, and Fouli, should be destroyed by fire and sword. After reproaching his Naplousian prisoners for having taken up arms against him

without provocation, he restrained his vengeance and promised them his protection, on the condition of their remaining quietly in future in their mountains. The loss of the enemy, according to their reports on their return to Damascus, exceeded 5000 men. They could scarcely conceive that, at the same juncture of time, they had been beaten on a line of nine leagues. With military combinations, on plans of any extent, those barbarians are unacquainted: they are to be considered, indeed, not as warriors but as hordes of robbers.

General Kleber, with his division posted in different stations, was left to guard the Jordan; Bonaparte, with the division under General Bon, and the cavalry under General Murat, returned to the camp at Acre.

New works were pushed with great vigor on both sides. Fresh assaults were made by the besiegers, and sorties by the besieged. The French, on the 28th of April, were encouraged by the arrival of three pieces of battering-artillery, 24-pounders, brought to Jaffa by the frigates under the Vice-admiral Pernée, and six pieces of eighteen, sent from Damietta; and, on the 7th of May the English, by the appearance in the bay of Acre of a fleet of corvettes and transports, under the command of Hassan Bey.

The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Bonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hope to get possession of the town, before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark. The gun-boats being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution: still, however, the enemy gained ground, made a lodgment on the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins of the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Day-light, on the morning of the 8th of May, discovered the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened in comparison with that of the besiegers; and the flanking fire of the former from the ravelines was become of less effect, as the enemy had covered themselves in the lodgment beforementioned; and the approach to it by two traverses were now seen, composed of sand-bags and the bodies of the dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, but as yet only half way on the shore. This was a most critical point of the contest; and an effort was necessary to preserve the place for a short time, till their arrival. Sir Sidney, therefore, landed the boats at the Mole, and took the crews armed with pikes up to the breach. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at the sight of such a reinforcement, at

such a time, was not to be described. Many troops returned with the very opportune reinforcement to the breach, which was defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones: these, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both. The muzzles of their muskets touched one another, and the spear-head of the standards were locked together.

D'jezzar, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket-cartridges with his own hand. The energetic old man, coming behind, forcibly pulled them down, saying, if any harm happened to his English friends, all was lost. This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan's troops. It became necessary to combat the bashaw's repugnance to the admission of any troops, but his Albanians, into the garden of his seraglio, now a very important post, as occupying the terre-plein of the rampart. There were not above 200 of the original 1000 Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate: his objections were over-ruled. A regiment, called the Chifflick, was introduced, consisting of 1000 men, armed with bayonets, and disciplined after the European method, under Sultan Selim's own eye, and placed, by his orders, under Sir Sidney's immediate command.

The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot; and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, Sir Sidney proposed to the bashaw to get rid of the objects of his jealousy, by opening his gates to let them make a sally, and then to take the assailants in flank; a request with which he readily complied. Orders were given to the colonel, to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench. The gates were opened; the Turks rushed out, but were driven back to the town with loss. The sortie, however, had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets; so that the flanking fire of the besieged brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach: the small number, therefore, remaining in the lodgment, were killed or dispersed.

The group of generals and aids-de-camp which shells, from 68-pounders, had frequently dispersed, was now assembled on a mount, called Richard Cœur de Lion. Bonaparte was distinguished in the centre of a semi-circle; his gesti-

lations indicated an intention to renew the attack, and his dispatching an aid-de-camp to the camp shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. A little before sun-set a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The bashaw's idea was, not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of warfare. The French column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the bashaw's garden, where, in a few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses; the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet. The rest retreated precipitately; and the officer commanding the column, who, as afterwards appeared, was General Lasnes, while he was manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, was severely wounded. General Rambaud was killed.

During this contest, immense multitudes of spectators, on the surrounding hills, waited only, according to the manner of Asia, to see how it would end, to join the victors.

Sir Sidney Smith, conceiving the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistibility of the French, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. He sent them, at the same time, a copy of Bonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boasted of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied with a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian knight and that of an unprincipled renegade. This letter had all the effect that he could desire. They immediately sent him two ambassadors, professing not only friendship but obedience; assuring him, that, in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp; and putting eighty prisoners of this description into his hands, and to be at his disposal. Bonaparte's career farther northward was thus effectually stopped by a warlike people, inhabiting an impenetrable country.

The Turkish Chifflick regiment made a fresh sally, the next night, the 9th of May, the lieutenant-colonel, Soliman Aga, being determined to retrieve the honor of the regiment, by the punctual execution of the orders he had received, to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, which he did most effectually: but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench,

where they lost some of their standards; though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Bonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to waste its time and strength in recovering its trenches; in which, after a conflict of some hours, it succeeded.

A flag of truce was now sent into the town, by the hand of an Arabian dervise, with a letter to the bashaw, proposing a cessation of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which had become intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of the armies on both sides, many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shots and shells on a sudden announced an assault; which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the French general, who thus disloyally sacrificed them. Sir Sidney saved the life of the Arabian dervise, who had come with the flag of truce, from the effects of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off with himself to the Tigre, from whence he sent him back to the general with a message, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such merited reproof. It must have been extremely painful to Sir Sidney, whose humanity was equal to his extraordinary intrepidity and bravery, and who had exerted himself, with success, to soften the fate of the French prisoners at Constantinople, to behold the multiplied horrors which were committed under his inspection, and these under the united flags of the Sublime Porte and of Great Britain. The French wounded and prisoners were massacred by the Turks, in cold blood. As they have a savage satisfaction themselves in slaughtering their enemies, and even their women and children, they place no faith in capitulations, and think the only way to be secure against any future attacks from their prisoners of war is to put them to death. They bound two and two of them together in one sack, having first cut off their heads, and threw them into the sea.

All hopes of success having vanished, the French had no alternative left but a retreat, which was put in execution on the night between the 20th and 21st of May, after a siege of sixty days. Their battering train of artillery, amounting to twenty-three pieces, fell into the hands of the English cruisers. Their howitzers, and the medium 12-pounders, originally conveyed by land with great difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach at Acre, were embarked in the country-vessels, at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise, together with the worst

among the wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected; Sir Sidney Smith, (the British commodore,) therefore, took care to be between Jaffa and Damietta, before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea, without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered straight to his majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity; in which they were not disappointed. He sent them on to Damietta, to receive such farther aid as their situation required, but which it was out of his power to give to so many. Their expressions of gratitude to the English sailors were mingled with execrations on the name of their general, who had, as they said, exposed them to peril, rather than fairly and honorably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that the English commander, Sir Sidney, had intentionally exposed the prisoners he had formerly taken to the infection of the plague.

The French army had not long begun to retreat, when it was harassed in rear by the Arabs, (a party of whom came down to the boats, and treated the English flag with every token of union and respect,) while the van column, in its march along the beach, was severely annoyed by rowing gun-boats.

Ishmael Bashaw, Governor of Jerusalem, entered the town of Jaffa by land, at the same time that the English squadron brought their guns to bear upon it by sea, in case of resistance. The plunder and massacre of the helpless inhabitants, begun by the Naplousians, was stopped by the united efforts of Ishmael Bashaw and the English commodore. The English flag, re-hoisted on the consul's house, and under which the Bashaw of Jerusalem met Sir Sidney, served as an asylum for all religions, and for every description of the surviving inhabitants. Two thousand cavalry were dispatched to harass the French rear. But this, after all the losses it had suffered, and disadvantages under which it had labored, returned, at length, from an unfortunate and disastrous expedition, to Grand Cairo. In the course of his retreat, Bonaparte took signal vengeance on all the villages and towns in which assassinations had been committed on his troops, or where his convoys had been interrupted. Many of them he ordered to be reduced to ashes, carrying away all their camels, cattle, or whatever provisions they possessed, for the use of his army. He visited all the forts on the Egyptian side of the desert, (having previously demolished those on the side of Syria,) directed new works to be constructed, and garrisoned the most important with troops.

CHAPTER XII.

Return of the French Army to Cairo.—Battle of Aboukir.—Impetuosity of the French.—Valor of the Turks.—Success of the former.—Bonaparte's Declarations.—His Desertion of his Army, and Return to Paris.

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THE various seeds of discontent, jealousy, and resentment, that prevailed among different tribes and classes of men in Egypt, during the absence of the commander-in-chief and flower of the French army in Syria, threatened to break out into open insurrection and revolt. Soon, however, after his return, all things were reduced to their former state of tranquillity. But ideas of re-conquering Egypt, as Bonaparte had foreseen, were inspired into the councils of the divan, by the victory of Lord Nelson, and the consequences naturally resulting from that event; and, also, by what Bonaparte probably had not foreseen—the brave and successful defence of St. John d'Acre.

The following is an account of the loss sustained by the French upon this occasion, according to the statement of General Berthier:—

Died of the plague	700 men.
Killed in battle	500
Wounded	1800
	—
Total	3000
	—

Immediately upon his return to Cairo, Bonaparte directed his attention to the formation of different corps. He soon put the army in a state to march to new combats. He had destroyed one part of the general plan of attack, combined between the Porte and England, and he every moment expected that he would have to attack the other parts.

He was informed, by General Desaix, that the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt had divided their forces; that a part had proceeded to the passes of Sababier, with the intention of joining Ibrahim Bey, who had gone back to Ghazah; and that Mourad Bey descended, by the Fayoum, to gain the passes on the lakes of Natron. He was of opinion, that it was the intention of the latter to form a junction with a body of Arabs already assembled in that quarter; but that General Destaing would disperse them with the moveable column under his command.

General Le Grange, with a moveable column, left Cairo on the 10th of July, and arrived at Sababier, where he surprised the Mamelukes in their camp. They had scarcely time to escape, and abandoned all their baggage and seven

hundred camels. Fifty of their horses were taken. The Mamelukes fled into the desert.

General Murat, with another moveable column, received orders to proceed to the lakes of Natron, disperse the Arabs collected there, second the operations of General Destaing, and cut off the retreat of Mourad Bey. General Murat arrived at the lakes of Natron, took a kiaschef and thirty Mamelukes, who were pursued, along with some Arabs, by General Destaing. Mourad Bey, when near the lakes of Natron, learned that the French were there, and made a retrograde movement. On the 13th of July he rested near the pyramids of Ghazah, on the side of the desert.

In the beginning of July, a Turkish army, under Mustapha Bashaw, supported by the Anglo-Russian and Turkish fleets, advanced against Aboukir, the bulwark of Alexandria and Egypt. The Turkish troops, under Mustapha, and those on board the united fleets, were computed from 30 to 40,000 men. On the 11th of July, Seid Mustapha Bashaw anchored, with all his forces, in the road of Aboukir. On the 16th they effected a landing, without opposition; and an attack was immediately made on the castle and redoubt. After a heavy cannonade, which was continued from ten in the morning till three in the afternoon, the redoubt ceased to fire, and offered to capitulate; but the Turks, heated by the battle, would listen to no proposals; they scaled the redoubt, and cut in pieces the whole garrison, amounting to 700 men. The French in the castle, 400 in number, fearing a similar fate, surrendered prisoners of war.

Bonaparte, informed by a letter from Alexandria, that this Turkish fleet, of 100 sail, had anchored at Aboukir, and indicated hostile intentions against Alexandria, having made the proper dispositions for the defence and peace of Upper Egypt and Cairo, and also for keeping up the communication between Cairo and Alexandria, moved with the main army from Rhamanie, and, on the 23d of July, took a position at Birket. The head-quarters were fixed at Alexandria. The miners were sent to Leda to dig wells; springs were discovered, and the wells formed and guarded. Three battalions of the garrison of Alexandria, under the command of General Destaing, were ordered to reconnoitre the enemy,

take a position, and see wells cleared at midway between Alexandria and Aboukir. This attention to wells is as great a point in warfare, in hot countries, as the establishment of stores and magazines in other countries.

Bonaparte employed the morning of the 24th in viewing the fortifications of Alexandria, and in preparing every thing for attacking the enemy at Aboukir; where, according to the report of spies and reconnoitering parties, Mustapha Basha, commanding the Turkish army, landed with about 15,000 men, a great quantity of artillery, and a number of horses, and was engaged in erecting fortifications. In the afternoon, Bonaparte left Alexandria with the main army, advanced parties being sent to various posts, in different directions, and took a position between the wells of Alexandria and Aboukir. The army began to move forward toward Aboukir, at day-break, on the 25th of July. A brigadier-general, with two squadrons of infantry and 100 dromedaries, was ordered to take a position between Alexandria and the army, in order to oppose the Arabs and Mourad Bey, who were every moment expected to arrive, with the design of joining the Turkish army, and in order to preserve the communication with Alexandria. A division of the army, which had proceeded to Rosetta, was directed to take post, by day-break, at the extremity of the bar of Rosetta, at Aboukir, and near the entrance of the lake of Madie, in order to cannonade such of the vessels of the combined fleet as might be found on the lake, and to harass the enemy's left.

The first line of the Turks was posted about half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir. About 100 men occupied a mount of sand, defended on its right, towards the sea, by intrenchments, and supported by a village at the distance of about 300 toises, which was occupied by 1200 men and four pieces of cannon. The left was upon a detached sand-hill, to the left of the peninsula, and about 600 toises in front of the first line. This position was very badly fortified; but the Turkish army occupied it in order to cover the most plentiful wells of Aboukir. Some gun-boats were stationed so as to protect the space between this position and the second line; which was also occupied by 2000 men, provided with six pieces of cannon. Their second position was about 300 toises in the rear of the first village; their centre, at the redoubt which they had taken from the French; their right, behind an intrenchment extending from the redoubt to the sea, a space of about 100 toises; their left was posted between the redoubt and the sea, on some low sand-hills and the shore, commanded by the fire from the redoubts and the gun-boats. In this position there were about 700 men and twenty-two pieces of cannon. About 100 toises behind

the redoubt lay the village and fort of Aboukir, occupied by nearly 1500 men.

The train of the bashaw, who had the chief command, consisted of eighty horsemen. The squadron came to anchor in the road, about a league and a half from the shore. After a march of two hours, the advanced guard of the French came in sight of the Turks. These being attacked by the French with the bayonet, retreated towards the village. Two squadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides, on horseback, cut off their retreat, and killed or drove into the sea this body of 200 men, of which not one escaped. The same division of the French army then marched upon the village, which formed the centre of their second line, and turned it; while another corps attacked it in front. The whole second line, including the village, was carried. The French cavalry killed many with their sabres, and drove many into the sea. The rest made their escape to the redoubt, which formed the centre of the second position. This second position was very strong, the redoubt being flanked by a ditch of communication, which secured the peninsula on the right, as far as the sea. Another ditch of the like kind stretched along on the left, to a small distance from the redoubt. The remaining space was occupied by the enemy stationed on the sand-hills and in the batteries. In this position the enemy had from 8000 to 9000 men.

While the French troops halted to take breath, the general-in-chief ordered some pieces of artillery to be planted in the village, and along the shore, on the left. A fire was opened on the redoubt, and the right of the Turks. The French cavalry, on the right of their line, attacked the enemy's left, which it repeatedly charged with great impetuosity, cutting down, or driving into the sea, all who came in their way. But they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being put between its fire and that of the gun-boats. Hurried by their impetuosity into this terrible defile, they fell back at each charge, and the Turks made a stand with fresh forces on the dead bodies of their companions. A reinforcement was sent of infantry. The Turks at this instant made a sally. The heads of the hostile columns fought body to body. The Turks endeavored, by their superiority of bodily strength, to wrest the bayonets from the French; they slung their muskets behind them, and fought with their sabres and pistols; for every Turk carries a musket, two pistols in his girdle, and a sabre. A French regiment at length reached the intrenchment; but the fire from the redoubt, which every where flanked the intrenchments, obliged them to retire.

The Turks, notwithstanding the dreadful fire from the village, darted from their intrenchments to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded,

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that they might receive the rewards which the Turkish government bestows for the encouragement of this barbarous custom. Another corps of the French was sent to advance, for the support of their friends, on the Turks. They leaped on the parapet, and were soon within the redoubt. Another party of the French rushed forward upon the Turks at the charging step. General Murat, who commanded the advanced guard of the French, seized the moment when the redoubt was attacked, to order a corps of infantry to charge, and reverse all the Turkish positions, as far as the ditch of the fort of Aboukir. This movement was executed with so much impetuosity, and so opportunely, that, at the moment the redoubt was forced, this column had already reached its destination, and entirely cut off the retreat of the Turks to the fort of Aboukir. Confused and terrified, they now found every where only the bayonet and death. The cavalry cut them down with their sabres. They believed that they had now no resource left but to flee to the sea, into which 6 or 7000 precipitated themselves in total despair. Mustapha Bashaw was taken, with about 200 Turks: 2000 men lay on the field of battle. All the tents, the equipage, and twenty pieces of cannon, (two of which were English, having been presented by the court of London to the grand seignior,) fell into the hands of the French. The English gun-boats saved themselves by flight. It was computed that about 10,000 Turks were drowned. The fort of Aboukir ceased to fire: the garrison was struck with terror.

A flag of truce was soon followed by the surrender of the fort of Aboukir. Bonaparte, foreseeing the certainty of this, retired, even before it took place, to Alexandria.

At this place he issued a declaration, dated, Army of the East, general orders, July 27.

"The general-in-chief, wishing to give a mark of his approbation to the brigade of cavalry of General Murat, which covered itself with glory at the battle of Aboukir, orders the commandant of artillery to send to the brigade the two English pieces of cannon, which had been sent, by the court of London, as a present to Constantinople, and which were taken in that battle.

"On each cannon there shall be engraven the names of the three regiments composing that bri-

gade, as well as the name of General Murat, and that of Adjutant-general Roire: there shall be written round the touch-hole, 'Battle of Aboukir.'"

Another declaration, dated, general orders, August 1st, Bonaparte, general-in-chief.

"The name of Aboukir was fatal to all Frenchmen. The 25th of July has rendered it glorious. The victory which the army has gained accelerates its return to Europe.

"We have conquered Mentz, and the limits of the Rhine, by invading a part of Germany. We have now re-conquered our establishments in India, and those of our allies, by a single operation. We have put into the hands of government the power to force England, notwithstanding its maritime triumphs, to a peace glorious for the republic.

"We have suffered much; we have had to fight enemies of every kind; we have them still to conquer; but, at length, the result will be worthy of you, and we shall merit the thanks of our country."

So close had been the blockade of Egypt by the British fleet, and so difficult, at this time, all communication with other countries, that the affairs of Europe were but imperfectly known to Bonaparte. Having received some intelligence of a new war, and being apparently disgusted with his present expedition, this brave general planned the desertion of his army, notwithstanding his repeated declarations—"I am with you!" Resolving to return secretly to France, he was accompanied by Berthier, (to whom alone he is said to have communicated his intentions anterior to the event,) and also by the Generals Lasnes, Murat, Andreossi, the Chief of Brigade Bessieres, a company of guides, several Mamelukes, and Mongé, Berthollet, and Arnauld, members of the Egyptian institute. All but the first officer went on board, in consequence of sealed instructions, which they were to open on the beach. Thus Bonaparte suddenly embarked, August 24, on board two armed vessels, prepared for that purpose; and, after wonderfully escaping from the vigilance of the English cruisers, landed first at Ajaccio, then at Frejus, and reached Paris on the 16th of October. The consequences of his unexpected return, and the wretched state of the French army in Egypt, shall be the subjects of other chapters.

CHAPTER XIII.

Proceedings of the Allied Courts against France.—Dilatory Conduct of the Congress at Radstadt.—Preparations for War.—State of the Armies.—Jourdan, the French Commander-in-chief, crosses the Rhine.—Commencement of the Campaign in Germany.—Capture of Manheim.—Declarations issued by the contending Parties.—General Massena's Success.—The Austrians keep Possession of Feldkirch.—Successes of the Archduke.—Battles of Pfullendorff and Stockach.—Retreat of Jourdan.—Massena succeeds as Commander-in-chief.—The Archduke crosses the Rhine.—Capture of Schaffhausen, Petershausen, and Coire.—Battle of Zurich.—The Austrians enter the City.—Dissolution of the Congress at Radstadt.—Assassination of the French Ministers.—Conduct of the Directory on the Occasion.—Consequent Dissensions.—Abbé Sieyès chosen Member, in the place of Rewbel.

DURING the transactions recorded in the preceding chapter, wherein mention has been made of a new war, hostilities had re-commenced in Germany and Italy. The two contracting powers, Great Britain and Russia, conscious of the advantages likely to be derived from the concurrence of Prussia, held out the most alluring offers to Frederick William III.; and the cabinet of Petersburg even tendered a succour of land-forces, amounting to 45,000 infantry and cavalry, together with a proportionate quantity of artillery, all the expences of which were to be defrayed by a subsidy from England. The young prince, however, refused his participation; preferring the certain advantages of a neutrality, to the precarious benefits arising from war.

The allied courts still persisted in their resolution to humble the ambition of France; and the Emperor of Germany, dissatisfied with the treaty of Campo Formio, and being now assured of powerful assistance, no longer concealed his hostile intentions. The acquisition of Piedmont, the conquest of Switzerland, and the recent revolution at Naples, were events in which he was nearly interested; and he had already exhibited dissatisfaction, by marching a column of troops into the mountainous regions occupied by the Grisons, and taking possession of their country. His imperial majesty also gave orders for assembling a powerful army between the Inn and the Lech, which was to be joined by a body of troops under the Prince of Condé; while his ministers, at the congress of Radstadt, were instructed to check the too-eager wishes of some of the co-estates for peace.

The congress of Radstadt had, from the beginning of this year, become a mere form and mockery of negotiation, serving only as a pretext for delay. The emperor Paul, in conformity to his recent engagements, had immediately put his troops in motion. Austria waited with impatience

the arrival of the Russians, and the approach of that season in the year, when the operations concerted between the imperial courts, on the side of Italy and the Tyrole might commence; while France was solicitous to replace, by military conscriptions, the dreadful void which appeared in all the armies of the republic. The renewal of the war was, however, regarded with aversion by all classes of the nation. Every degree of confidence in the government was lost, the most gloomy apprehensions were entertained, and defeat and disaster were already anticipated.

General Jourdan, having been appointed to the command of the French forces destined to enter Germany, and who were to assume the appellation of the "Army of the Danube," as that river was expected to be the theatre of their exploits, began his march into Suabia at the end of February; but the French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt acquainted Count Metternich, who was at the head of the deputation of the empire, "that the march of the army ought to be considered as a precaution, rendered necessary by circumstances; and that the directory persisted in the intention of concluding peace with the empire, if the empire would declare itself against the march of the Russians." The deputation, as a majority of them wished for peace, came to an *ultimatum*, that the note in question should be sent to the diet, accompanied by a declaration, stating the urgent necessity of such an answer as would enable them to resume the negociation. The Austrian minister, in a note, dated March 4, signified, in explicit terms, how much this proceeding was disagreeable to his imperial majesty; and that all further declaration should have been suspended till the ulterior decision of the emperor and the empire, agreeably to the former *ultimatum* of the deputation.

A peace would assuredly have taken place, but for the interposition of the Emperor Paul. As

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In the course of a few days, the same ministers notified to the plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty, "that in granting a free passage to the army of a power which has declared war against France, and in permitting it to traverse his dominions, the emperor reduces the republic to the necessity of regarding this act as a rupture of the ties which unite the two states; and that, in consequence, a concise and satisfactory explanation is demanded."

No direct answer was given by the court of Vienna; but a memorial, transmitted by Count Metternich to the college of princes, plainly indicated the approaching rupture. After complaining of the capture of Ehrenbreitstein, and the overthrow of the governments of Rome, Switzerland, and Piedmont, it was intimated, that the present situation of affairs "did not afford the least hope of such a prospect of peace as was compatible with the true interests of the Germanic body; and it was considered as imprudent to refuse the assistance of a powerful court, which had manifested a sincere regard for the interests of the empire."

In the mean time, the armies of the contending powers had taken the field. The Austrian forces, assembled between the Inn and the Lech, to the amount of 65,000 men, were confided to the Archduke Charles, whose gallantry has been recorded in the seventh chapter of our second book. The generals, Count Starray and Hotze, headed about 20,000 more in the Palatinate and the country of the Grisons; Bellegarde, with about 25,000, occupied the Tyrole; and an army of at least 60,000, prepared to enter Italy, and reconquer Lombardy.

The army of the Danube consisted of 40,000 men; and Jourdan, relying on the speedy arrival of succours, addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated, that the Austrians had passed the line of demarkation. "The emperor," he observed, "deceiving the pacific disposition of the French government, has called into the bosom of Germany armed strangers, less known for their military success than their ravages in former wars; and while, scrupulous observers of the faith of the treaties, you remained in a firm, but

peaceable attitude, this prince dared to concert hostile movements with his new allies, and avail himself, under favor of a perfidious silence, of the advantages resulting from your security."

Jourdan having made the necessary dispositions, crossed the Rhine, March 1, at Kehl and Basle. A secondary army, styled the army of observation, under General Bernadotte, advanced into the Palatinate. This general, having summoned Philipsburg, which was resolutely defended by the Rhinegrave of Salm, immediately formed the blockade of that fortress; while Mannheim readily obeyed the mandate of another body of troops, and opened its gates to the invaders, on the 2d of March.

By this time Jourdan had advanced through the valley of the Kintzig, entered Suabia, and hoped, with the assistance of Massena, who intended to penetrate by the side of the Tyrole, to enable France to anticipate the arrival of the Russians, and force the emperor again to sue for peace, under the walls of his own capital. Numerous and powerful armies, however, barred the passage to Vienna; and the gallant Archduke was prepared to meet an enemy, over whom he had triumphed but three years before, near the same place.

The Archduke published a proclamation at his head-quarters at Fribourg, in reply to the declaration issued by the French commander-in-chief. After paying many compliments to the valor of his own troops, he impeached the faith of the directory, and complained, that immediately after the conclusion of the most solemn treaties, "the peaceable people of Switzerland were subjugated, and violent means adopted by the French, to change the country into a slavish ally, for the purpose of establishing themselves on the flanks of Germany." He also intimated, that a design had been formed "to extend the limits of the Helvetic Republic as far as the Danube, and to make that river and the Lech its boundaries."

At the same time, his imperial majesty circulated a declaration, denouncing the powerful levies which had taken place in Switzerland, and the military conscription, for raising 200,000 men in France. It was also stated, that the house of Austria had been obliged to extend its preparations, and adopt measures of precaution, not only against the dangers to which the empire was exposed, but also for the safety of its hereditary dominions.

On the 13th of March, the directory thought proper to appeal to the two councils and the nation at large, by means of a message, containing a formal complaint of the violation of the treaty of Campo Formio. Having entered minutely into all its provisions, it was observed, that Austria had been anxious to defer and elude its stipulations, particularly by keeping garrisons in

Ulm and Ingolstadt, and maintaining 100,000 men in Bavaria, which duchy was to have been evacuated, in conformity to an express agreement. It was added, that the French ambassador at Vienna had been at first received with coldness, and afterwards treated with insult. Instead of the reparation promised at Seltz, and the appearance of a minister-plenipotentiary at Paris, the imperialists had seized on, and kept possession of, the territories of the Grison league, with a view of attacking either Helvetia or the Cisalpine republic; while the Grand Duke of Tuscany not only displayed his enmity to France, during the contest with the King of the Two Sicilies, but had since armed his subjects, for the express purpose of aggression. This enumeration of grievances concluded with the assertion, that the troops of Russia were now quartered in the hereditary states, where they had been joyfully received by the emperor, who left his capital for the express purpose of testifying his satisfaction at their arrival.

The grand object of Jourdan was to prevent the junction of the Austrian and Russian armies on the Adige; and for this purpose his army was supported by the troops under General Massena, who had gained the heights of the lake of Constantine. But any communication between these generals on the eastern side of this lake was impracticable, as the imperialists remained masters of Feldkirch. The French commander made a furious attack on the Austrians in their entrenchments, under the gallant General Hotze, March 12, but was repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged to fall back on Villengen, or Dillengen, while hotly pursued by the Archduke.

As the approximation of the rival armies rendered an action inevitable, the Archduke Charles made his head-quarters at Umerdorf, near Ribnach, and determined to give battle immediately to the French, who had now reached Pullendorff and were posted in a line, with the right at Salmansweiller and Mandorf, their centre near Stockach, and the left at Ming.

The hostile armies were within sight of each other, being only separated by a narrow valley or rivulet. One of the adjutants of Jourdan presented himself before the camp of the Austrians, in order to inquire if the dispatches had arrived from Vienna, as the answer to the demands of the directory was to be contained in them? Being answered in the negative, the rupture of the armistice was instantly proclaimed. This was immediately followed by an attack on the vanguard of the Austrian army, which retreated to the main body. The Austrians next day, March 20, attacked the French with equal vigor and intrepidity. The battle of Pfullendorff continued until night, when Jourdan, taking ad-

vantage of the darkness, assumed another position near Engen.

On the 25th of March, the sanguinary battle of Stockach was fought in the plain of Leiblingen, in the midst of woods; and so great was the eagerness on both sides, that the two commanders-in-chief, after reconnoitering in person, instead of assuming, as usual, a central position in the rear, fought at the head of their respective troops. The French were at first successful, in consequence of a spirited attack on the right wing of their antagonists: Count de Nauendorff and Prince Schwartzberg were both forced to fall back, while General Van Damme succeeded in intercepting the communication with Pfullendorff. The left wing was afterwards assailed, and the Princes of Furstenberg and Aulbalm Bernberg, who commanded divisions, were killed: the little town of Leuzingen was also taken possession of; but that of Walwis and the batteries on the Nellenberg resisted all their efforts; while the Archduke, by detaching two battalions on the flank and rear of the assailants, obliged a half brigade to surrender. Night alone put an end to the horrid carnage, when 10,000 men were left dead or dying in the field.

On the subsequent morning, Jourdan continued his retreat towards Schaffhausen and Basle, which was rendered both precipitate and disorderly, as the Archduke had ordered the enemy to be attacked on all sides, in consequence of which some of the posts in the valley near Villengen were forced.

On Jourdan's return to Paris, he threw the whole blame of his miscarriage on the directory; and, it must be confessed, with some reason; for, though unsuccessful on former occasions, this general had to contend with an army far superior to his. One portion of the vanquished troops, notwithstanding they were closely pursued, found means to cross the Rhine at Lautemburg and another at Strasburg.

In the mean time, General Massena had taken the field at the head of the army of Helvetia, consisting of 45,000 men, for the purpose of driving the Russians from the mountainous regions inhabited by the Grisons. In his address to the inhabitants, he observed, "that the enemies of their independence having called in a foreign power to support tyranny, the friends of their liberty had deemed fit to invoke the assistance of the French republic." He accordingly marched against the imperialists, and established himself at Alstatten, in the Reinthal, threatening the entrance into the country of the Grisons. He at length approached Sargans, and summoned Auffenberg to evacuate the Grisons; the imperial general refused to comply, and Massena gave orders to make a vigorous but feigned attack on

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Feldkirch, to conceal his operations and prevent Hotze from granting aid to General Auffenberg, at Coire. He also sent a division to turn Coire by the heights, and assault the bridges on the forks of the Rhine, five miles farther up the river than Coire. The centre of his army crossed the river, got possession of Baltzars, and cut off the communication between Feldkirch and the Grisons. The posts of Meyenfeld and Zollbruck were forced; the fort of Luciensteig was carried by assault, and the French having got possession of the castle of Holdenstein, General Auffenberg being in a situation which precluded any assistance, surrendered Coire, and his whole division became prisoners, to the amount of 7,000 men.

Though the French had in vain attacked Feldkirch with great loss, they made a similar attempt two days after, March 14, but with no better success. Having but one opportunity before the return of General Hotze, the French general attacked Feldkirch again in different points with a body of grenadiers; forming a junction with the troops of Oudinot. This was conducted by Massena in person, who was driven back with great loss. General Oudinot crossed the Rhine, occupying Rheineck, at the confluence of that river into the Lake of Constance, which made General Hotze resume his position at Feldkirch.

Having obliged the Austrians to evacuate the country of the Grisons, Massena had sent detachments, under Generals Lecourbe and Desolles, into the Tyrole, towards the sources of the Inn and the Adige, and thus secured a double entrance into Italy and Germany at the same time. The defeat, however, of the army of the Danube converted the contest from an offensive to a defensive warfare. General Jourdan had been superseded, and the chief command conferred upon General Massena.

The Archduke Charles now resolved to enter Helvetia, partly for the purpose of supporting General Hotze in the war he was carrying on in the mountainous regions adjoining the Tyrole, and partly to prevent any forces being detached into Italy to strengthen the French army there.

As soon as the season became fit for military operations, the Archduke dispatched Count Nauendorff against Schaffhausen: he likewise threatened the left of Massena's army under Colonel Ernou, who occupied the defiles of Kentzie, which obliged General Massena to retreat by Kehl, and fix his head-quarters at Basil. He was master of the Rheimthal and Rheineck, at the upper end of the lake of Constance, and kept possession of Schaffhausen till the posts on the left side should be fortified. Basil was strongly garrisoned. General Nauendorff invested Schaffhausen on the 13th of April: he entered the

place sword in hand, when the French burnt the beautiful bridge across the Rhine, in order to secure their retreat. On the ensuing day, Major-general Piaezec having attacked Petershausen, obliged the enemy to abandon that place also; and in the course of a week the French were dislodged from the town of Eglisau, by a detachment under Prince Schwartzenberg.

General Massena attacked the Swiss of the small cantons on the lake at Schwitz, and forced them to lay down their arms; and at Altorf 4000 men were either dispersed or cut to pieces. General Soult followed this patriotic army to the valley of Urseren, to prevent their gaining the pass of St. Gothard. As the Valteline was left exposed, more was necessary to defend the left wing of the French army in Switzerland, than the re-establishment of its interior communications. General L'Orison made good his retreat into the Grisons, being forced to abandon part of his artillery, and Lecourbe crossed from the Lower Engadin to Bellinzona, to protect the pass of St. Gothard, by destroying the communication between the small cantons and the Swiss Italian baillages. Lecourbe took a position at Bellinzona, while the head-quarters of General Massena were at Zurich, performing a variety of manoeuvres with his left wing to delude the Archduke; but his royal highness, adhering to his original intention of gaining the Grisons before he attempted any thing on the Rhine, sent reinforcements to Feldkirch.

A new attack was planned between Hotze and Bellegarde, who had reached Lentz, in pursuing the republicans on their retreat from the Upper Engadin, where the Austrian commanders were joined by numbers of the Grisons in arms. The Swiss troops were eager to form the vanguard of the column to act against Luciensteig, now made remarkably strong by the French. This fort was situated in a narrow defile, formed by awful rocks, whose summits, to the eastward, embraced the steep heights inclosing the valley, half a league in length.

General Hotze, in conjunction with a numerous corps of armed Swiss and Grisons, succeeded in becoming master of Luciensteig, the key of the Grisons, which occasioned an immense waste of blood and treasure, May 14. The first of his four columns was ordered to make a feigned attack at the upper end of the defile; the second to secure the mountains above Mayenfeld, and to render easy the attack on the front, by a descent on the rear, as the signal for a serious attack. The third column was to free the Seeviser Alps on the north and north-east; and the last, with the artillery and cavalry, was to storm the passage on the east, by the Slapiner-Joch. The front column was headed by Hotze, in person;

and the other three by General Jellachich; and, not till after twelve hours march with excessive fatigue, did the Austrians arrive at the rear of the republican intrenchments, the only place where they could form a junction. General Hotze forced the pass, and, having blown up the gate, in defiance of the republican army, he took the fort commanded by General Humbert, and eight pieces of cannon. The French 4th demi-brigade were taken prisoners, amounting to 3000 men.

The French column, in retreating from the Grisons, were closely pursued by the Generals Bellegarde and Hotze. Towards the end of May, the Archduke passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen, with a view to join the corps of General Hotze; which, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the French commander, he successfully effected. General Bellegarde, in the mean time, seconded by divers of the hardy mountaineers of the lesser cantons, had taken possession of Glaris; and, appearing to menace Lucerne, the members of the Helvetic government withdrew from that city to Berne. General Massena was now obliged to concentrate his forces in his intrenched camp before Zurich. After much skilful manœuvring, and the attack of various posts with various success, the Archduke, on the 5th of June, bore down with his whole force upon the intrenchments, which the French defended with obstinate valor. The approach of night, at length, compelled the Austrians to retire. Orders were issued to re-commence the attack early the next morning; but Massena took advantage of the darkness to assume a new position on the heights of Mount Albis; and the Archduke took triumphant possession of the city of Zurich, June 6. General Massena left behind him thirty-five pieces of cannon, three howitzers, with a number of ammunition-waggons.

Previous to these latter events, Count Metternich had informed the French ministers, at Rastadt, that he had received a formal order from his imperial majesty, in his quality of chief of the empire, to take no further part in the negotiations for peace, since the circumstances and relations under which the congress had assembled were totally changed; and that he should immediately leave the place of congress. The deputation of the empire, however, refused to concur in this resolution, and contented themselves with referring the decision to the general diet. Divers members, nevertheless, of the deputation left Rastadt immediately on the departure of Count Metternich. The bark retained for the conveyance of the French ministers having been cut away by an Austrian patrolle, and complaint being made of this infraction of the law of nations to the grand chancellor of the empire, Baron D'Albini, answer was returned, that he would not be responsible for the events of war, nor promise any

further security to the congress. The deputation, on this, gave notice to the ministers of France, that the course of negotiations should be suspended; and they, in their turn, protesting against the violations of public right, declared that they should retire, in three days, to Strassburgh, where they would wait for the renewal of the negociations, and receive whatever propositions of peace should be offered them.

In consequence of this notice, the Baron D'Albini, grand chancellor, wrote to Colonel Barbaczy, the commander of the *cordon* of the Austrian advanced posts, demanding escorts for the deputies of the empire, and safe conduct for the French plenipotentiaries. Colonel Barbaczy, on the 28th, addressed a very extraordinary note to the French ministers, informing them, "that, as it did not accord with military plans, to tolerate citizens of the French republic in countries occupied by the royal and imperial armies, they consequently should not take it ill that the circumstances of war forced him to signify to them to quit the territory of the army in the space of twenty-four hours." It is remarkable, that the plenipotentiaries would actually have quitted Rastadt on the preceding day, had not the deputies of the empire prevailed on them to wait the return of Baron D'Albini's messenger. The demand was for a safe conduct; and, when it was observed to the Hungarian officer who brought Barbaczy's letter, that it contained nothing relative to the object of the demand, he answered, that a doubt on that head would be injurious to the honor of an Austrian officer. At the same moment, 400 hussars, of the regiment of Szeckler, entered Rastadt, took possession of the posts and gates of the town, with an order to suffer no person to enter or go out. The French ministers hastened their departure, and, at eight in the evening, they were in their carriages. On coming to the gates, they were surprised to find a passage refused them; and it was not without an express permission from the military commandant of the place, that they were at length suffered to pass. It was then two hours after sun-set; and, when they had advanced about 500 paces from the gate, a troop of Szeckler's hussars, or of persons exactly resembling them, suddenly burst out from a wood that skirted the road, and surrounded the first carriage, in which was Jean Debry, with his wife and children. Thinking them to be some patrolle, he exhibited his passport from the window, and mentioned his name and quality. "You are the minister Jean Debry!" was the reply; and immediately he was dragged out of his carriage, and fell, covered with blood, from repeated strokes of the sabre. The hussars proceeded to plunder the carriage; and, returning to see if he was actually dispatched, raised up his arm, which falling again,

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as perfectly destitute of sensation, they exclaimed, "Oh, for him, he is dead enough!" In the second coach were the secretary and other domestics of the minister, who were suffered to pass, after the pillage of their property. In the third carriage was Bonnier alone. They asked if he was the minister Bonnier. On his answering in the affirmative, the hussar opened the door of the carriage, dragged him out, and he was instantly murdered with many mortal wounds. The secretary of the legation, Rosenstiel, who was in the fourth coach, seeing, by the light of a flambeau, what was passing, jumped out of the carriage, and fortunately made his escape. In the fifth coach was the minister Roberjot with his wife. They attempted to drag him out; but Madame Roberjot holding him fast clasped in her arms, they massacred him in this position; and, having thus executed their commission of pillage and slaughter, the hussars rode off. The carriages, immediately turning back to Rastadt, were freely re-admitted within the walls. The secretary Rosenstiel, having wandered about for some time, gained a narrow path, which led safely to Rastadt; and Jean Debry, with much difficulty, making his way to a neighboring wood, bound up his wounds in the best manner he was able, the coldness of the night contributing happily to stop the effusion of blood. He continued there till day-light, and then, venturing out, crept slowly and unobserved into the town.

The indignation and horror excited by this atrocious and unexampled act of barbarity, pervaded every mind susceptible of the feelings of humanity. The Prussian legation wrote immediately a letter to Colonel Barbaczy, expressed in terms which strongly marked their suspicions of that officer; and demanding an effectual escort and safeguard for what remained of the French legation. It appeared, indeed, incredible that this crime could have been committed without his knowledge. Had the ruffians who perpetrated these bloody deeds been prompted merely by the motives common to such wretches, would the ministers have been the only persons sacrificed by them? Would they have carried the effects and papers pillaged, as was openly affirmed to be the case, to the Austrian commandant at Rastadt? Would they, in a word, have practised that sort of discrimination which marks a premeditated design? It was imagined by many, that Barbaczy was but the instrument of this abominable crime; in proof of which it was alleged, that, when the directorial minister of Mentz complained to that officer of the insults offered by the Austrian troops during the last days of the congress, Barbaczy did not venture to give any answer himself, but sent the letter to the commandant of Freudenstadt, who, in his turn, waited the orders of a superior.

Jean Debry, and the other survivors of the legation, left Rastadt the following day, under an Austrian escort, accompanied by another, and much stronger, furnished by the Margrave of Baden. Colonel Barbaczy was subsequently arrested, by order of the Archduke Charles, with the professed view of undergoing a trial by court-martial; which, however, did not eventually take place. It was pretended (by those who wished to perplex what the vilest of mankind dared not to palliate) in express contradiction, not only to the oral evidence of the parties, but to the solemn judicial depositions taken at Carlsruhe, that the murderers were not Austrians, but French emigrants in disguise. How far the court of Vienna was implicated, directly or indirectly, in this black and mysterious business, cannot easily be ascertained. Against the Archduke, indeed, a prince of unblemished virtue, and of the highest honor, or even the emperor, *personally*, no suspicion could possibly attach; and supposing, contrary to all previous probability, any persons possessing the imperial confidence capable of so horrid a design, it still remains to point out what motives of sufficient magnitude, public or private, existed, to excite them to the commission of it. The circumstances, nevertheless, attending this catastrophe, were such as called for the most anxious investigation, in order to remove all possibility of imputation from the Austrian government, which ought to have been as free from suspicion as from guilt; but, most unfortunately, the coldness and apathy apparent in its whole conduct, on this occasion, was very ill calculated to efface the jealous and invidious surmises of those who yield a ready assent to all that is told of "the crimes of cabinets."

The French directory hesitated not, publicly and peremptorily, in a message to the two councils, to ascribe the murder of the plenipotentiaries to the command or contrivance of the court of Vienna. But a charge of this nature, from such a quarter, can carry with it very little weight. The councils, in return, resolved "that this act should be denounced, in the name of the French nation, to all good men, and to the governments of every country, as committed by the cabinet of Vienna, and executed by its troops, on the 9th of Floreal, 7th year, with their reliance on the courage of the French to avenge it; that a funeral *fête* should be celebrated in honor of the murdered deputies throughout the republic; and that the government, guilty of this assassination, should be consigned to the vengeance of nations, and the execrations of posterity." Such was the tragical termination of a congress, which, at its opening, seemed as if it were destined to restore peace and happiness to Europe.

This event, for a moment, averted the torrent of public indignation from the directory. The

elections of the renewed third of the legislative body once more excited the passions of all parties; and the choice of new members, notwithstanding the threats and artifices of the directory, was by no means favorable to their wishes. Among the directors themselves, the lot of secession had fallen upon Rewbel, whose conduct in office had been such as to cover him with opprobrium; insomuch, that, when this public despoiler subsequently took his seat in the council of elders, the bench where he placed himself was instantly deserted by all the other members of the

council. The person fixed upon as his successor was the famous Abbé Sieyès, then ambassador at the court of Berlin. This choice, made in avowed opposition to the utmost exertions of the directory, portended some great and important change in the political system. The power of the directory received, from the impression of public opinion, an alarming shock; for the sentiments of Sieyès were well known to be in the highest degree inimical, not merely to the conduct and to the persons of his colleagues, but to the whole plan of the directorial constitution.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Campaign of Italy.—Scherer invested with the Command of the French Army.—Invasion of Tuscany.—Battles of Verona and Magnan.—Arrival of the Russians.—Biographical Sketch of Field-marshal Suwarrow.—Moreau succeeds Scherer.—Surrender of Brescia.—Battle of Cassano.—The Allies enter Milan.—Success of Suwarrow, and Retreat of Macdonald.—Consequent Occurrences in Italy.—Character of Cardinal Ruffo.—Surrender of Fort St. Elmo.—Immediate Execution of the Neapolitan Patriots.—Counter-revolution in Tuscany and Rome.—Successful Career of Macdonald.—Surrender of Alexandria and Mantua.—Joubert appointed Moreau's Successor.—Battle of Novi and Death of Joubert.—Renewal of the Campaign in Germany.—General Championnet succeeds Joubert.—Recovery of Zurich by the French.—Defeat of the Allies.—Death of General Hotze.—Suwarrow marches into Switzerland.—Action at Muten.—Defeat of Korsakow.—Surrender of Ancona and Coni.—Death of General Championnet and of Suwarrow.

THE campaign in Germany appeared to be closed, by the retreat of Jourdan, before that in Italy had been well opened; and the army of the Danube became a sacrifice to the incapacity and corruption of the directory. So impolitic was their conduct, and so rapacious were their agents, that the commonwealths, recently established by France, actually meditated their infranchisement. Their dependence on the French republic was rendered too conspicuous not to be mortifying, and the sudden and arbitrary changes, imposed upon them by force, and without even the appearance of necessity, rendered their situation equally precarious and disgraceful. Several commotions accordingly took place, and many plans were conceived, with a view of meliorating their condition. A secret league was formed for guaranteeing the independence of Italy, into which many of the ablest inhabitants of Genoa, Milan, Turin, and even of Rome and Naples, readily entered.

Scherer, minister at war, but who was finally dismissed from his post, was, to the grief and astonishment of thousands, appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Lombardy, in the place of Championnet. General Scherer was not deficient in courage, as he had already distin-

guished himself in the armies of the North and the Pyrenees; but, as he was accused of the most bare-faced dilapidations during his late administration, and exhibited the most scandalous profusion amidst the general misery, the choice of this officer was exceedingly unpopular, and particularly among the Cisalpines, as he was supposed to be the author of all the rigorous measures lately adopted against their state.

While the exactions of Rivaud in anterior Italy, and of Faypoul at Naples, tended to cast an odium on the French republic, the new commander-in-chief crossed the Alps, and began his operations by demanding an extraordinary contribution of 600,000 livres from the provisional government established at Piedmont. By this exaction, the Italians learned what they had to expect; and, although many of them persevered in their wish for a complete infranchisement from foreign bondage, others rejoiced at the present critical state of affairs, because it seemed to presage the return of the Austrians, whose yoke was far more agreeable to them than that of their present masters.

The invasion of Tuscany was General Scherer's first military operation, having seized on Florence, March 25. The grand duke, instead of

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making any resistance, published a declaration, requesting, as a proof of "the attachment and affection of his faithful subjects, that they would respect the French army." At the same time, General Miollis became possessed of the port of Leghorn; and all the property belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and the states of Barbary, was subjected to sequestration. The victors, however, thought proper to furnish his royal highness and his family with a guard of honor, and to permit them to pass through the quarters of the French, unmolested, on their journey to Vienna. The aged pontiff, Pius VI., was, indeed, treated with extraordinary rigor. Having been permitted to retire to the Tuscan territories, he was now arrested by order of Scherer, and, with about forty attendants, conveyed to the fortress of Brancón, whence he was removed to Valence, where he soon after died, August 29.

Although the invasion of Tuscany enabled the French, by means of requisitions, to maintain and pay the soldiery; still it contributed to enfeeble the army, in consequence of the number of troops required to garrison the respective towns. The number of the Austrians, too, had by this time increased; and as those in the Tyrole, under General Bellegarde, were no longer needed since the defeat of Jourdan by the Archduke Charles, a numerous army was marching towards Italy to oppose the French.

The commander-in-chief, Scherer, having collected his troops, and established his head-quarters at Mantua, held a council of war, when it was determined to attack the enemy, before they received any new reinforcements from Suabia, and had effected a junction with the Russians.

The command of the Austrian army had been entrusted to General Melas, an aged officer, who now occupied Verona and the neighbourhood of that city, with a body of 20,000 men; from 8 to 10,000 were posted at Porto-Legnano; the heights of Pastringo, Cyse, and Calmasino, were carefully fortified; and while the right wing extended to the lake of Garda, the left was posted on the Adige, over which were thrown two bridges of boats; with the double view of preserving a communication, and facilitating a retreat.

Between lake Garda and the Adige, the whole Austrian line was attacked on the 26th of March, by six divisions, three of which endeavored to force the posts on the lake, that they might take Verona in the rear; a plan which was concerted by General Moreau, who headed those divisions, and completely succeeded in as far as the plan related to himself. The redoubts and intrenchments were carried; the French made themselves masters of Rivoli, and having passed the Adige, they cut the lines of the Austrian troops, part of which retreated a long way into the valley. The

remaining divisions, commanded by Scherer in person, attacked the outposts of Verona with great fury; but with such intrepidity did the Austrians receive them, that the fort of St. Maximin was taken and re-taken no less than seven times. General Kaim, who was wounded, observed in his report, "that there was no former example of so deadly a fire of musket-shot having been maintained without interruption during the space of eighteen hours." The battle continued from sun-rising until night. The Generals Victor and Grenier, after repeated attacks, obtained possession of St. Lucia, whence they were twice driven out by General Hohenzollern.

The French having been finally repulsed, Moreau proposed to evacuate the territories of Tuscany, Rome, and Naples, for a time; but the commander-in-chief resolved to re-pass the Adige, and retreat to Peschiera: which retrograde movement was strongly condemned by the former.

By this time General Kray had arrived with a large body of troops, intending to drive the French behind the Mincio, in order to be able afterwards to besiege Peschiera and Mantua. The action, called the second battle of Verona, accordingly commenced, March 30, by an attack on the right wing of the French, while a large body of the imperialists advanced against the left, where Moreau was posted, with the divisions of Hatry, Montrichard, and Serrurier.

Having thrown bridges over the Adige, Gen. Scherer renewed his attack on the Austrian line, but was again defeated with great slaughter; and the bridges being demolished by a detachment which took the French in the rear, the retreat of many thousands was cut off, or they were dispersed among the mountains in the vicinity. The loss sustained by the French upon this occasion was estimated at 7000 men.

Thus vanquished in all his endeavours, Scherer drew off his forces on the first of April, from the lake of Garda, after placing a strong garrison in Peschiera, and collected his army below Villa Franca, in the neighbourhood of Magnan, the right division being encamped before Porto Legnano. In the mean time, the Austrian army crossed the Adige, occupied Castel Nuovo, and pressed on the left of the French army, after masking Peschiera. General Scherer determined to hazard a third general engagement on the 5th of April, that the Austrians might thus be prevented from turning his left flank; for which conflict General Kray was well prepared, and resolved not to let pass the favorable opportunity of engaging a retreating enemy. The battle was long and desperate, as every point of the line on which the combatants met was obstinately disputed. Moreau forced his way through the enemy's centre, and fought under the walls of Verona. The left column of the Austrian army,

having turned the right of the French, threw them into confusion, and in the issue decided the victory. Scherer next day retreated towards Roverbello, and passed the Mincio at Goito.

The fate of Italy still hung in suspense, when, on the 18th of April, Marshal Suwarrow reached the heart of Lombardy, much earlier than the most sanguine expectations could have ventured to presage. Having been dispatched by the emperor Paul, he took upon him the direction of the Austro-Russian army, estimated at 100,000 men.

Field-marshal Suwarrow, who had risen from the ranks, through all the intermediate gradations, to that of general-in-chief, brought with him a reputation established by more than fifty campaigns. He first distinguished himself as a partisan, at the head of a body of light troops, during the seven years war; and afterwards acquired considerable fame by his exploits against the Poles, the Tartars, and the Turks. His greatest fame, however, was the victory he obtained at Ryminik, which, in addition to the title of Count, conferred by two emperors, had obtained for him the surname of Ryminiski; while his sanguinary feats at Ismailow and Praga, although demonstrative of consummate bravery, excited the dread more than the applause of mankind.

As he lived among his troops, like an Arab chief with his tribe, he won their affections by participating in all their hardships. Finding that the Greek cross was capable of inspiring its followers with fanaticism, he seized every opportunity to arouse the valor of his soldiers, by recurring to the popular superstitions of his country; and, though unacquainted with war as a science, he was passionately fond of all its stratagems and dangers.

No time could have been more favorable for the new commander than the present, as the French, having been successively defeated by the generals Melas and Kray, were obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Mantua, and had become so weak in point of numbers, that nothing but a sudden retreat could save them from captivity. At this critical period, Scherer, overwhelmed with shame, after having ruined the army of Germany by dilapidations as a minister, and the army of Italy by his ignorance as a general, resigned the command, and obtained an escort to shelter him from the indignation of the people. Moreau was immediately appointed his successor; but his forces did not exceed 35,000 men. A retreat having become absolutely necessary, Isola Della Scala, and Villa Franca, were abandoned in succession; the Mincio was crossed, and the strong fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua being abandoned to their fate, the generals Kray and Klanau formed the blockade of both with a body of 25,000 men.

Suwarrow having taken the field, in order to pursue the French, his commencement was exceedingly auspicious; for, two days after his arrival, April 20, the town and citadel of Brescia, with a garrison of 1000 men, capitulated to a detachment commanded by Field-marshal Lieutenant Otto.

The Russian field-marshal immediately took measures for pushing forwards. Having crossed the Oglio, and advanced to the Adda in three columns, the French were found strongly posted on the other side, as they had fortified Cassano, and made all the necessary preparations for an obstinate resistance. During the night of the 27th, General Vukassowich found means to cross the river Adda on a flying bridge, after which he immediately took post on the right bank near Brivio. In the course of the succeeding morning, an Austrian column, under General Otto, passed over near the castle of Trezzo, and falling in with Grenier's division, which was advancing against Vukassowich, at length forced it to give way. After this, the village of Pezzo, or Pozzo, was carried sword in hand. General Melas also marched with artillery against Cassano, and obtained possession of the bridge, while a division of French at Bertero was beaten, after an obstinate engagement, and forced to capitulate.

The battle of Cassano, during which Moreau had several of his aides-de-camp killed by his side, decided the fate of the Cisalpine republic. The directory having learned the fate of the action, immediately left Milan; the two councils followed on the succeeding morning, April 28, and in the course of the same forenoon, a body of the allies entered and took possession of the city.

On the 26th of May, Peschiera surrendered to General Count St. Julien, after a short siege; Mantua was closely pressed; the capital of Piedmont was at the same time threatened by a column of the allies, and Moreau was obliged to abandon his strong position between the Po and the Tonaro.

When Suwarrow became master of Milan, he determined to embrace a variety of objects by a loose and injudicious partition of his army. Accustomed to fight against the Poles and the Turks, he supposed that one victory produced the entire discomfiture of the enemy, and that nothing remained but to reap the immediate fruits of his success. His intentions therefore were—First, To prosecute his operations against Moreau, that he might oblige the French commander to hasten his retreat, and evacuate Piedmont and Genoa before he could procure reinforcements.—Secondly, To penetrate above the lakes, which would enable the Archduke more easily to pass with his left wing beyond St. Gothard.—Thirdly,

BOOK III. Behind him, on the south-east, General Kray laid siege to Mantua with 25,000 men, while Ferrara and Bologna were blockaded by Klenau; the defence of these places was favorable to the retreat of the troops commanded by General Macdonald.

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—Fourthly, He sent General Ott to assist Klenau to check General Macdonald in gaining the passes of the Appenines on Upper Tuscany, and cut off all intercourse with that country and the Ligurian republic on its north-west. He also sent a vanguard to reduce Novarra, and such places as the republicans had abandoned, and to march up the Po as far as Turin, and thus call the attention of General Moreau to his rear, by flanking his left wing. General Hohenzollern proceeded towards Placentia, with a part of the combined army, and drove back the republican vanguard beyond Voghera. To gain the passes into Genoa, by way of the Appenines, Suwarrow took a station at Bobbio, on the road from Placentia to Genoa.

When General Kray was master of Peschiera, he went on to Burgoforte, and assembled the whole of his troops around Mantua, the garrison of which made frequent sorties. General Latterman opened the siege of Milan, May 5, the trenches before Pizzighitone having been opened at the time by General Kaim, which, after four days, was forced to surrender. This last place surrendered on the 9th, after an explosion of a small magazine of powder. The garrison, consisting of 600 men, were made prisoners of war. The castle of Milan, which was garrisoned with 700 troops of the line and about 600 natives, held out only a short time, under General Bechaud.

After Moreau retreated beyond the Adda, he advanced his army towards the territory of Genoa, in three columns; repairing in person to Turin, in order to make provisions for the eventual evacuation of that city, and the preservation of the citadel, fixing his head-quarters at Alexandria, on the 7th of May. Suwarrow, in the mean time, had advanced to Pavia; but, by the divisions of his army, had weakened his main force, which General Moreau could not possibly have withstood, had his strength been consolidated. That officer took an excellent position between Valenza and Alexandria, behind the Po, fortifying himself on the Adda, within a kind of intrenched camp. A Russian division crossed the river below Valenza, on the 12th of May, attacking, with great fury, the left of the French; but they were driven back with prodigious slaughter.

Suwarrow now determined to march the main body of his army along the left bank of the Po to Turin, to force the French general either to fall back on the French frontier, or take refuge in the territory of the Ligurian republic. As General Moreau saw the movements which were made to render this design easy, he threw a bridge,

during the night, over the Bormida, near Alexandria, which he crossed next morning, in person, at the head of a strong column, attacking and breaking the chain of Austrian and Russian posts of Marenzo, Guiliano, and Garrasols, and retreating in safety to Alexandria. But, though thus successful, he deemed it proper to evacuate Valenza and Alexandria, Casal having been captured by General Vukassowich; and he retreated by the way of Coni, still preserving his communication with Finale, and the other posts on the coast of Genoa. The schemes of Suwarrow were thus rendered abortive by the superior generalship of Moreau, which made him march towards Turin, that place instantly surrendering to the allies, and the garrison retiring to the citadel on the 27th of May. Scarcely had ten weeks passed away from the commencement of hostilities on the Adige, till Marshal Suwarrow had led his troops from the foot of the Rhetian Alps, across the plains of Lombardy, nearly within sight of the vineyards of Provence.

Though Suwarrow had made this astonishing progress in front, there was still an army in his rear, to oppose which a very considerable force was absolutely necessary. General Macdonald, being apprised of the retreat from the Adige, had departed from the kingdom of Naples. A camp was previously formed at Caserta, and at Naples was erected a strong national guard. Fort St. Elmo was provided and garrisoned for a siege, as were likewise Capua and Gaeta; the government was organized; and the patriots of Naples (as they were styled) appeared fully determined to defend themselves against every effort of the court of Palermo. When General Macdonald, however, departed from the camp of Caserta on the 9th of May, they were seized with astonishment; and the Roman republicans were scarcely less confounded.

Although Ferdinand IV. had abandoned his capital, he was not wholly forsaken by his subjects: the inhabitants of the provinces, in particular, still retained an affection for their absent king, and were ready to sacrifice their lives in his defence.

Cardinal Ruffo was very assiduous in cherishing these loyal sentiments. This ecclesiastic, one of the most extraordinary characters of the age, had, in consequence of some disputes with the pope, taken refuge in the court of Naples, where he was appointed Intendant of Caserta, an appointment by no means suitable to the dignity of the Roman purple. Having accompanied the king to Palermo, at a period when all the courtiers despaired of the restoration of the monarchy, he obtained leave to repair to Calabria, on purpose to erect the standard of royalty there. Although accompanied by five persons only when he landed at Scilla, viz. Spasiani, a priest, who acted as his

secretary; his brother, a commander of one of the orders; a valet, and two domestics; this fortunate adventurer was soon joined by a number of inhabitants, headed by Don Reggio Renaldi, rector of Scalca, who had already organized an insurrection, and waited only the arrival of a chief!

The warlike cardinal, after collecting a number of new levies, in the capacity of general, resorted to his sacred functions as a priest, on purpose to arouse the fanaticism of a people whom he knew to be both superstitious and barbarous in the extreme. In virtue of his spiritual authority, he excommunicated all those who would not take up arms, while he enjoined every true catholic to wear a red cross in his hat, as a signal of faith, and promised such as might die in battle the immediate enjoyment of paradise. In addition to many of the peasantry, his eminence was soon joined by a multitude of galley-slaves, criminals imprisoned in the gaols, and robbers who had infested the highway; these were immediately formed into divisions, under three chiefs; the first of whom was called Fra' Diabolo, a monk, who, after being expelled from his convent, became the leader of a desperate band of freebooters; the second was the gaoler of Salerno, who marched at the head of his prisoners; and the third, Pauzanera, who, as reported, had committed fourteen homicides. Such, as asserted by some writers, were the troops under Cardinal Ruffo; but, be it recollected, that those styled *criminals* had been imprisoned by the revolutionists, and were probably more worthy characters than those whom they now opposed. The royalist army, though chiefly composed of Lazzaroni, or beggars, consisted of some hundreds of Calabrians and Russians, and amounted to upwards of 20,000 men. The martial prelate, having bestowed on them the appellation of "The Christian Army," attacked and seized the port of Avigliano, and the towns of Cotrone and Cantanzaro.

Having defeated the republican levies of men which were sent against him, Cardinal Ruffo marched against the capital, which, on the 20th of June, surrendered by capitulation.

Castel-a-mare, about eighteen miles from Naples, was summoned, by the members of the Neapolitan government, to surrender. The patriots fought with incredible valor, having, at first, formed the resolution of burying themselves under the ruins. They were summoned a second time, and, as they had no hope of obtaining any succours, they surrendered to a British squadron, under the command of Commodore Foote. The capitulation was signed on the 22d of June, and ratified by Cardinal Ruffo, Commodore Foote, and the commanders of the Russian and Turkish squadrons, the last of whom affixed his mark and

seal. Those who capitulated amounted to 1500, and declared their intention of emigrating.

Soon after, a coalesced army of English, Russian, Turkish, Portuguese, and Italian troops, came into port, animated by the activity, and directed by the talents, of Lord Nelson, and his meritorious second, Captain Trowbridge. To the treaty which the cardinal had agreed to with the Prince of Caraccioli and some other members of the revolution, Lord Nelson refused to accede.

A body of English, Russian, and Portuguese troops having obtained possession of the castles of Ovo and Nuovo on the 26th, under the command of Captain Hood, another detachment, led by Captain Trowbridge, invested the castle of St. Elmo on the 29th. This was a work of great difficulty; seven batteries, armed with cannon of the largest bore, were successively erected; and, on July 11, thirty pieces of ordnance were ready to play on the fort. This arduous task was chiefly accomplished by the exertions of a body of British seamen. The garrison persisted in a vigorous defence; but the batteries of the place being almost all dismantled, and the works very much shattered, Mejan, the commanding officer, thinking the place was about to be stormed, at length consented to a capitulation. The terms were agreed to and signed on the 12th. The garrison, after having laid down their arms, were to be embarked for France, on the condition of not serving again until an exchange should take place; and all the subjects of his Sicilian majesty were to be delivered up to the allies.

The King of the Two Sicilies had arrived from Palermo, July 10, and, having repaired on board the *Foudroyant*, the English admiral's ship, where the royal standard was hoisted, saw also his flag waving once more over his capital. Lord Nelson and Captain Trowbridge did not confine their efforts to the restoration of the king, but extended them to that of the papal chair. The fate of the unfortunate Pius the Sixth had been unknown, even to the Austrians, who had entered Parma twenty-four hours after the pontiff had been torn from thence.

The only towns not yet reduced, under the authority of the Neapolitan government, were Capua and Gaeta. The former surrendered to Capt. Trowbridge, June 28. The French garrison laid down their arms on the glacis on the 29th, and marched towards Naples, to be there embarked for France. Capua surrendered, July 1, on the same conditions.

The King of the Two Sicilies formally disavowed the authority of Cardinal Ruffo to treat with subjects in rebellion. Ferdinand entertained exalted notions of his prerogative, having lately imprisoned the viceroy, Prince Pignatelli, on account of his negotiation with General Championnet; his letter to that prince, which we have given

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in the ninth chapter, is a sufficient test of his Sicilian majesty's jealousy; and it seems that, having anticipated, he had absolutely prohibited, at this time, a similar compromise of the royal authority. He accordingly put an end to the truce, and instantly blockaded the convoy destined to carry the members and adherents of the late government to France. However, as the honor of the English nation was immediately implicated, in respect to the prisoners at Castel-a-mare, which had surrendered to the squadron under Commodore Foote, the articles of that capitulation were strictly enforced, and considered as inviolable, amidst all the convulsions that afterwards ensued.

It was hoped that the magnanimity of the allies would have protected the patriots from the burst of royal vengeance; but Ferdinand looked upon those patriots (who were probably *mistaken* lovers of their country) as traitors, and, disregarding all treaties, his majesty was determined they should be treated as such. A special commission was appointed, which pronounced sentence of death, without much formality, on such as had taken an active part in the late revolutionary government.

For this conduct of his Sicilian majesty, the character of the hero of the Nile has been most wantonly and shamefully traduced. The prisoners on board the ships in the bay had addressed a letter to Admiral Nelson, which, as impartiality directs, we here subjoin:—

"After the arrival of the British fleet in this road, commanded by your excellency, the capitulation was begun to be put in execution. The garrison of the forts, on their part, set at liberty the state-prisoners and the English prisoners of war, and gave up, to the troops of his Britannic majesty, the gate of the royal palace which leads to the new fort; and, on the other side, the troops of his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, attended the march of the garrison, with all the honors of war, out of the forts. It is now twenty-four days that we are lying in this road, unprovided with every thing necessary for existence. We have nothing but bread to eat; we drink nothing but putrid water, or wine mingled with seawater; and we have nothing but the bare planks to sleep on. Our houses have been entirely pillaged, and the greater part of our relations either imprisoned or massacred. We are persuaded that all the treatment which we suffer, after having capitulated, and after having, on our side, put the articles of the capitulation religiously into execution, is entirely unknown to your excellency, and to his Sicilian majesty, your fidelity and his benevolence being engaged in our deliverance. The delay of the execution of the capitulation gives us room to claim and implore his and your justice, in order that a treaty, concluded with

four of the most civilized powers of Europe, who have always appreciated the inviolability of treaties, should be executed as speedily as possible. We hope that, by means of your good offices with his Sicilian majesty, due execution will be given to the articles of a capitulation which has been signed with good faith, and religiously fulfilled on the part of the garrison."

The following was Lord Nelson's answer:—

"I have shewn your letter to your gracious king, who must be the best and only judge of the merits and demerits of his subjects."

His lordship *showed* the letter, no doubt, with a compassionate view; for what could more powerfully plead the cause of those wretched men than their own pathetic address? Can it be supposed that he, who was equally renowned for piety and philanthropy, and who afterwards solicited in vain for the life of a traitor (Despard) in his own country, could have been an advocate for the immediate execution of so many in Naples? He styled the Sicilian king *gracious*, it being an epithet generally applied to majesty, and similar epithets are frequently abused through form or courtesy. The lady of the English ambassador was calumniated too, because she was unavoidably present at the scene; but of that lady we shall record an anecdote in our next book, which will fully demonstrate her natural benevolence. The Queen of Naples has been also accused as the secret instigator of the vengeance which ensued after the capture of the fortresses. It has, however, been asserted, by a person of rank, actually present on the occasion, that her majesty in vain interceded, *on her knees*, for the life of Cirillo: if the queen, then, had no influence, could it be presumed that the intercession of an English admiral would have prevailed?

The executions commenced with the Chevaliers Massa, Serra, Julian Colonna, and the Prince de Strongoli, who suffered death in the castle of Ceuf. Belloni and Pistici, two priests, were hanged near the Vicaria; the Adjutant-general Grimaldi burst from the hands of the guards, and perished, fighting against them; Menthone, the minister at war, suffered after a short and memorable speech. Dominico Cirillo, on being interrogated as to his condition, replied, "Under the despotism I was a physician; in the time of the republic, a representative of the people; at present, a hero!" Prince Carraccioli, general and chief of the Neapolitan marine, was executed on board a Neapolitan frigate. Marcello Scoti, Paschal Buffo, Joseph Luogoteta, and several others, suffered. Nor was the softer sex exempt from this terrible proscription; for Eleonora Fonesca, and eighteen ladies of distinction, were executed by the cord; while the Duchesses of Cassano and Popoli were shut up for life in a penitentiary-house.

These are a few only of those who were put to death by the sentence of the state inquisition, and who chiefly consisted of Sicilians: some perished by their own hands, to avoid the disgrace of a public execution; others were burnt within their palaces; hundreds were torn to pieces by a frantic populace; and, if we are to give credit to some of the few who escaped from this scene of general carnage, the Lazzaroni frequently disputed with each other the bleeding members of their victims, which they were accustomed first to broil on the smoking ruins, and then devour. We trust, for the sake of humanity, that this account has been exaggerated.

The original number of those who had capitulated was from 1500 reduced to 500. These, who continued on board the transports, were allowed to sail for a French port, on condition of perpetual banishment, and the total confiscation of all their estates: they sailed from the bay of Naples on the 12th of August.

Caudor must acknowledge that the King of the Two Sicilies carried his rigor too far; he vindicated his conduct, indeed, by insisting that the treaty had not his royal sanction—that such examples were absolutely necessary in times of rebellion; and that the French, in their civil war with the Vendéans, had paid no regard to their treaty. His majesty, however, notwithstanding he was supported by a British fleet, a body of confederates, and an army of Calabrians, and still further strengthened by a new alliance, offensive and defensive, with the court of Vienna, and the promise of 60,000 Austrians, in case his dominions should be again invaded, did not deem himself safe in Naples, but thought fit to return to Sicily, and fix his residence again at Palermo.

The rabble, or the Lazzaroni, appear to have been the most strenuous supporters of royalty; while the great families, or nobles, seem to have countenanced the late revolution. Even the clergy were advocates for republicanism. Ruffo, and all his adherents, were solemnly excommunicated in the cathedral of the capital; the cardinal archbishop had enjoined, by means of a pastoral letter, that the name of the republic should be substituted for that of the king in the prayers of the church; and all who refused obedience to the new constitution had been threatened with ecclesiastical censure. Such was the infatuation which provoked royal indignation and vengeance.

Although the retreat of the French armies had been no where attended with such terrible consequences as in the kingdom of Naples, this event was, however, felt throughout the whole of Italy.

The archdukes of the house of Austria had always exhibited great mildness as sovereigns of Tuscany, and the reign of Leopold was particularly celebrated for his virtue. No less than 40,000 of the inhabitants of the mountains, on

learning the disasters of Macdonald and Moreau, immediately flew to arms, and attacked the French on every side. The garrison, alarmed for its safety, immediately abandoned the capital; on which the populace felled the tree of liberty, and the ancient magistrates resumed their respective functions.

Soon after, a column of Austrians and Aretins obliged the invaders to abandon Lucca. Leghorn also was evacuated, in consequence of a capitulation between Darcoubet and General de Lavilete, the former governor.

The same effects in the Roman republic as in the other states of Italy, had resulted from the fortune of the campaign. In retreating from the city of Naples, Macdonald had left at Rome about 3500 men of all descriptions, civil and military. The Roman state regarded the defeat of the French army on the Trebia as the signal of insurrection, as had been the case in the city of Naples. When, in the beginning of August, the insurgents approached, the government seemed to be totally disorganized. There was no money in the treasury, nor arms in the magazines; and the city was wholly unprepared for a siege, an event which was by no means expected. The insurgents constantly increased in numbers, having received reinforcements both from Tuscany and Naples. Two different sallies were made by General Garnier, the commandant, but he was repulsed with loss. He resolved, however, to defend the city to the last extremity.

The inhabitants received the greatest molestation from the post of Frescati, in consequence of which the Roman national guard, with the Princes Santa Croce and Borghese at their head, having united themselves with the French, determined on a third assault, on the 20th of August, which was accompanied with very flattering success, the intrenchments being forced; and the triumph of the conquerors was testified by the capture of twenty pieces of cannon, and other trophies of war. In a short time, the post of Frescati was re-taken; different bodies of Austrian and Russian troops approached the city, and the British squadron blocking up the port of Civita Vecchia summoned Rome to surrender. A council of war was held, when it was finally determined to negotiate with the British, the squadron belonging to this country being under the command of Commodore Trowbridge. By virtue of the positive orders which he received from Naples, this officer made a formal demand of the French governor, to deliver up the Neapolitan patriots who had taken refuge in Rome. General Garnier replied, "that he would never consent to an action so unworthy; but that the French would rather sacrifice their own lives with those of their friends."

The first name on the sanguinary list was that

BOOK III. of the Princess de Belmonte; and when the commodore became acquainted with the resolution of the French commandant, it is said that he made no secret of his approbation, as he was no stranger to what had happened at Naples. He considered the honor and dignity of a British officer as superior to all orders and instructions whatever. This being well understood, a capitulation was signed on the 27th of September, agreeably to the articles of which, ROME and its dependencies surrendered to the arms of BRITAIN for the first time since the foundation of that celebrated metropolis of the world.

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It was agreed on by the twelfth article of capitulation, that "such citizens of Rome as shall now form, or have heretofore formed, a part of the constituted authorities of the Roman republic, and those also who shall have served the republican cause by their patriotic works, or taken up arms for that purpose, shall be at liberty to depart with their property at the same time with the French troops, and on the same terms as they do." It was agreed on by other articles, "that transports should be provided by the English commander, and victualled, for the conveyance of the above descriptions of persons to Villa Franca, Antibes, or Toulon; and that such Romans as chose to remain shall suffer no molestation." It was stipulated by the last article, that, "in case of any difficulty arising with respect to the interpretation of the articles, they shall be explained in favor of the French and their allies."

During the short existence of the Neapolitan republic, the Duke of Cansano had been sent as ambassador to Rome, and many Neapolitans of high rank were residing in that city at the time of its investment. Even before its surrender, the British commander took a deep interest in the fate of these unfortunate exiles. He hastened their departure from the port of Civita Vecchia; and when inevitably forced back to that place, the invincible humanity of Commodore Trowbridge again enabled the vessel to put to sea, and the proscribed fugitives at last reached Toulon. In this manner the honor of the British name was vindicated.

General Macdonald having arrived at Florence on the 24th of May, speedily endeavored to form a junction with the troops that were stationed in Tuscany, which formed an army of 40,000 effective men, including Macdonald's original force, and the reinforcements under the command of General Victor, by whom he was joined with his division. General Macdonald transferred his headquarters to Lucca, seemingly with the design of entering the Genoese territory by the way of Sarzana; but finding himself possessed of such strength, he unexpectedly commenced his march towards Modena, on the 8th of June, making a fierce attack upon the Austrians on the 12th,

who were encamped in great force near that place, under the command of General Hohenzollern, who was obliged to abandon Modena to the republicans, and retreat to Mirandola, after a sanguinary conflict. General Macdonald now made preparations for marching to the relief of Mantua; but Kray having given orders, that the bridges on the Po should be demolished, he posted himself on the opposite bank of the river, determined to oppose the passage of the French. General Macdonald, although wounded in a recent action, continued his march, and turning to the westward, made his entrance into Parma on the 14th of June, and Piacenza on the following day, immediately investing its citadel, and obliging General Otto to fall back on the castle of St. Giannis. General Moreau in the mean time marched his army to Genoa, where he joined the Ligurian division under General Perpignan, in order to commence offensive operations along with Macdonald.

Suwarrow, alarmed at the career of Macdonald, threatened to storm the citadel of Turin; but having been gallantly repulsed by Fiorella, who commanded in that place, he left General Kaim to continue the siege; and, collecting his troops at Alexandria, which consisted of seventeen battalions of Russians, twelve of Austrian dragoons, and three regiments of cossacks, he contrived, by forced marches, to arrive with his advanced guard to the support of General Otto, then in full retreat, after experiencing a considerable loss. Having reinforced the right wing of the imperialists, by means of a body of troops under Prince Pangrazion, a sudden attack was made with fixed bayonets, June 17, on the left of the French, while their right wing and flank were assailed with equal impetuosity by the Russian general, Prince Korsakow. Hereupon Macdonald, who had advanced against the centre, and was proceeding in pursuit of the fleeing Austrians, perceiving himself assailed on all sides, after a furious contest, fell back behind the Tydone, where he received the enemy with a brisk fire of artillery and small arms.

Early the next morning, the allies crossed the little stream, on the banks of which they had encamped the preceding evening, and advanced in four columns against the French, who were drawn up in a line of battle along the course of the Travia, one of the most rapid rivers in Italy. As the country was intersected with hedges and ditches, the march was tedious, and the attack difficult. At length the vanguard, under the command of Prince Pangrazion, with four squadrons of the Karaczay horse and four regiments of cossacks, reached the left wing a little after noon, and having turned the flank, immediately assailed it with fixed bayonets. So terrible was the charge, and so copious the effusion of human

blood, that numbers of the republicans remained dead on the field of battle, while the adjutant-general, two colonels, and 600 privates of the Polish regiment of Dembrowsky, were made prisoners, and two pieces of cannon taken. A fresh attack having been made on the centre, the French were driven over the Trabia; Macdonald, however, soon after re-crossed the river, but was so gallantly received by a Russian column, that he was forced to retire to, and remain on the opposite bank, by an uninterrupted fire of cannon and musketry, which continued until eleven o'clock at night. The whole country between the Trabia and the Tydone was covered with the dead and the dying, and the carnage was on all sides terrible.

The third day's battle did not commence until two hours before noon, June 19; as the French waited for the assistance of a regiment of Ligurians, under the command of General Lapoype. The expected reinforcements not having arrived, Macdonald resolved to lose no further time; and the republicans being put in motion, the left wing attempted once more to cross the river, but was driven back by Prince Pangrazion. The assault was renewed soon after with redoubled violence on the column commanded by General Sweykowsky, on which the action became equally obstinate and bloody. In the course of two subsequent attacks, the French at length found means to ford the Trabia, under cover of their numerous batteries, and the fate of the combat was for some time doubtful. At length, after a horrible slaughter, a column, which had been ordered to assail the flank of Marshal Lieutenant Ott, was forced to return; and Prince Pangrazion, having advanced with a body of infantry, while the Austrian general, Melas, brought up the artillery at a critical moment, Macdonald retreated to the right bank of the Trabia. On this occasion, upwards of 12,000 of the enemy lay extended in the field, 700 were taken prisoners, and three stands of colors and several pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the allies. The vanquished army retired during night, in two columns, to Piacenza, where the four generals, Olivier, Rusca, Sulm, and Cambran, with several field-officers and near 5000 soldiers, who had been wounded in the late actions, were left behind. The rest evacuated Piacenza, and marching in two columns, the first under General Victor, ascending the Val de Taro, took the road of Sestri, and resumed its wonted position in the territory of Lucca, to secure the passes of the Apennines on the side of Sarzana; and the second, commanded by General Macdonald in person, marched for Modena. Both these generals, Victor and Macdonald, had been wounded during the conflicts on the Trabia.

Suwarrow continued his pursuit of the enemy, whom he followed to Fiorenzello, where he rested

a night, and received the first intelligence of his having been foiled by his rival. When a compliment was made to this field-marshal, respecting his victory on the Trabia, it is said that he made answer in the words of the Sovereign of Epirus—"Such another, and we are undone!"

In the mean time, General Moreau advanced as far as Tortona, and suddenly, on the 20th of June, engaged the Austrians, under the command of General Bellegarde, who had been left to superintend the blockade of Alexandria. He maintained his position for some time, but was driven with precipitation beyond the Bormida. Finding that the plan of co-operation had been defeated, which he and Macdonald had concerted between them, he again retreated into the Ligurian territory, about the end of June.

When the Russian field-marshal was informed of this event, he abandoned the pursuit of Macdonald. He was, however, gratified to hear that the citadel of Turin, which for a considerable time had engrossed the attention of a large detachment of his army, had surrendered on the 22d of June. Never was the superiority of the modern art of war more conspicuous than upon the present occasion; for, though this fortress, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had resisted a formidable army, it was now obliged to capitulate, after the trenches had been opened only a few days, in consequence of the irresistible fire of 300 pieces of cannon, which dismounted the artillery within the place, and rendered all the efforts of the besieged unavailing.

In the mean time, Macdonald pursued his march towards Tuscany. Klenau, who had been left by Suwarrow in pursuit of the retreating enemy, had come up with the rear at Bologna, June 30; but General Hulin, instead of laying down his arms, entered into a treaty, by which he was permitted to evacuate that city with his detachment and baggage; after which he joined his commander, who, by this time, had surprised Modena.

General Macdonald resolved to evacuate the Tuscan territory, being pressed by the Austrian Generals Ott, Klenau, and Hohenzollern; and, retiring to Lucca early in the month of July, he sent his heavy cannon to Leghorn, under a strong escort, and commenced his march to the Genoese through the difficult defiles of Sarzana. Klenau marched into Florence on the 8th of July, and the capitulation of Leghorn (before mentioned) took place on the 16th, which was the more valuable acquisition, as the artillery and camp equipage of Macdonald, who at length effected a junction with Moreau, was there deposited.

The Italian fortresses, being now destitute of a covering army, were obliged to yield. Fort Urbino and St. Leon capitulated in succession, and the citadel of Alexandria, in which General

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Gardanne had made a stout resistance, also changed masters, July 21, as soon as the second parallel had been completed by Field-marshal Bellegarde.

On the 23d of July, the batteries against Mantua were furnished with 111 heavy cannon, and a most formidable and tremendous fire was opened upon that city. General Kray was soon enabled to employ near 500 pieces of different kinds, including mortars, and, being reinforced by a body of the allies, this strong fortress, garrisoned by more than 10,000 men, was surrendered on the 28th, by General Latour Foissac, who commanded there. This general had served under, and was supposed to be attached to, the old government; consequently, his surrender was ascribed, by the Parisians, to treason. It is therefore evident, that the republican government was not so mild as it was represented. By the articles of the capitulation, the garrison was allowed to march out with the honors of war, and six pieces of cannon in front; while the non-commissioned officers and soldiers were to be sent to France, under condition of not serving until exchanged. The governor was to be permitted three waggons, "which were not to be examined;" and he was also presented with a pair of colors, "in consideration of the energy of his defence." By the fall of Mantua, the investment of which required such a considerable force, Kray and Suwarrow regained the perfect freedom of action.

Nothing decisive or important took place in Switzerland, between the Archduke and Massena, during this interval; on the eastern frontier of which country a second Russian army made its appearance, early in the month of August, which was commanded by General Korsakow. Before they formed a junction with the Austrians, Massena repeatedly attacked the Austrian posts from Zurich to Mount St. Gothard, with no inconsiderable advantages; and Lecourbe eminently distinguished himself on this, as on many former occasions, by a spirit full of activity and enterprize. The Archduke being strengthened by the union of the first Russian columns at Schaffhausen, the momentary triumphs of the French were effectually checked; and the martial balance still continued to be doubtfully suspended.

The troops of the republic occupied the Bochetta, confined and nearly besieged within the narrow limits of the Genoese territory in Italy, bounded and protected by a continued chain of mountains. The caprice of the directory transferred the chief command of the French army from General Moreau to General Joubert, who, when he took upon him the command, expressed the high opinion he entertained of the talents of his predecessor, whom he requested to defer his departure for some time, that he might concert with him his subsequent plan of operations. Mo-

reau readily agreed to this proposal, consenting to act as a volunteer under Joubert's orders;—a remarkable instance, on both sides, of that magnanimity which rises superior to all personal jealousies.

The two generals resolved to march into the plains, after reconnoitering the position of the enemy. In virtue of this resolution, the corps of Bellegarde, at Trezzo, was furiously attacked on the 13th of August. General Joubert, at the same time, marched in person along the right side of the Scrivia, while Moreau descended by the defiles of the Bochetta, to co-operate in raising the siege of the citadel of Tortona.

Suwarrow, forming a proper judgment of their designs from these movements, determined to attack them without loss of time, which took place early on the morning of the 14th, in the vicinity of the town of Novi. The vast and extensive plain of Piedmont terminates at this place in a long ridge of hills, which rise so suddenly, and are so very steep, that, although the height be not great, the ascent is very difficult. The French were strongly intrenched on these hills. Scarcely had General Kray commenced the action on the left of the enemy, when General Joubert, eager to animate the charge of infantry by his presence, advancing forward with rather too much rashness, was pierced through the heart by a musket-ball, and he expired almost without a sigh. He still continued to animate his men to the last, exclaiming, after he had fallen, "March! march! and fight for the republic." In point of situation, the French had, no doubt, the advantage, but, in numbers, were greatly inferior to the forces of the combined powers. The slaughter was truly terrible, and no impression could be made on either side. Suwarrow personally charged the centre of the enemy three different times, and the unconquerable valor of the French as often repulsed him.

Moreau, having resumed the command on the death of Joubert, was now opposed to Suwarrow, and accomplished deeds the most astonishing. General Melas, in the mean time, gained the heights of Novi on the side of Pietalle, and, marching along the banks of the Scrivia, by indefatigable labor, at last succeeded in turning the right flank of the republican army, by which manœuvre the victory was decided. The French generals quitted the field to the enemy, from the danger of being surrounded, retreating by the way of Ovada, with the loss of the greater part of their artillery. In an attempt to cover this retreat, the rear-guard suffered severely, and night alone rescued them from destruction. It is probable that a more sanguinary contest never took place during the whole of this horrid war, as the loss on both sides was moderately computed at 20,000 men, in killed and wounded.

The French once more retired within the line of their posts; and Suwarrow ordered the troops under his own immediate command to Asti, leaving Melas and Klenau to watch the motions of General Moreau; his design being to cover the siege of Coni, and to stop the progress of Championnet, who was then on his march to succeed Joubert, with large reinforcements.

When Suwarrow left Italy, in virtue of a new arrangement in the imperial courts, the main object of Kray and Melas was, to prevent the premeditated union of Moreau and Championnet before Coni. The army of the latter, being nearly insulated, was attacked near Fossano, on the 18th of September, by the Austrian commanders, Bellegarde, at the same time forcing his way through the chain of posts above Turin. This combined operation was so successful, that the greater part of the French were under the necessity of retreating to Suza with considerable loss. Championnet, however, went to Genoa in person, to receive from Moreau the command of the army of Italy.

To relieve Massena from the joint pressure of the Austrians and Russians, the army of observation, formerly commanded by Bernadotte, received orders to penetrate once more into Germany. Having encamped in the neighbourhood of Mentz, General Muller, to whose charge this army was now confided, accordingly established his head-quarters at Mannheim, and pushed his advanced guards as far as Heydelberg; while Baraguay D'Hilliers, advancing with a body of troops drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, imposed a contribution upon Frankfort, passed the Maine, and joined his countrymen in the territory of Darmstadt, August 28.

When the Archduke Charles was informed that the French were preparing to seize on the rich harvests of Germany, now left defenceless by his absence, he immediately sent forward a strong detachment; and, having conferred the command on General Hotze, prepared to recross the Rhine in person. General Stzarray was sent to the relief of Phillipsburg, now bombarded by a column of the French army, but who immediately retired on his approach.

Suwarrow made preparations for attacking the passes of Mount St. Gothard, and ascending the valley of the Levantine, with the Austrian generals Auffenberg and Laudohn; also, for repulsing Lecourbe, and pressing on Lucerne and Berne, to force Massena to abandon his position and cross the Aar, with the view of securing his rear. Lecourbe, surrounded on all hands, was obliged to abandon the important posts which he had held so long, the Russians extending themselves along the Lake of Zurich. Massena's army was superior to the enemy, before the arrival of Suwarrow; and of that superiority, while it remained, he de-

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termined to avail himself. He therefore ordered, on the 24th of September, a division of the army to cross the Limmat, where the Russians, under Korsakow, lay encamped. Another division was directed to storm the heights on the west of Zurich, and a third to engage the Austrian advanced posts on the Linthe. Here General Hotze lost his life while reconnoitering the enemy, which threw the Austrians into confusion, when they fell back hastily towards Lichtenstein and St. Gall, thus separating themselves from the centre of the army. The attack on Zurich was equally successful. The Russians were forced to abandon the heights with terrible slaughter, and the town was carried sword in hand. Korsakow retreated to Schaffhausen by the way of Bulach, with the loss of his artillery and baggage. The French following up their advantages, the allies were under the necessity of crossing the Rhine, the lake of Constance being placed between them and the enemy.

Suwarrow, enraged at the news of this total and unexpected defeat, thus wrote to General Korsakow—"You shall answer with your head, if you make another retrograde step: I am coming to repair your errors." Having arrived in the valley of Muten, the Russians took possession of the bridge, after a most obstinate resistance, October 3. With much difficulty and constant fighting, the commander-in-chief penetrated as far as Schweitz, and carried the post of Brunnen by assault the next day, (October 4,) after meeting with a desperate opposition from Lecourbe, which was the last of his triumphs. Had he ventured through the valley of Glaris, he would have found Massena with a superior army, and the danger of his being surrounded would have been imminent. He left, indignantly, the cantons of Schweitz and Glaris, retreating into the valley of the Grisons, by the Flemsthal, with the Austrian divisions under Auffenberg and Iellachich. This retreat was not accomplished without prodigious labor and loss, as the French closely pursued him behind, harassing and nearly destroying the rear-guard, and taking part of the baggage and heavy artillery, which it was not possible for Suwarrow to carry off.

The Archduke having received information of the death of General Hotze, and the reverse of fortune in Switzerland which followed that event, abandoned his project of crossing the Rhine, instantly marching to the southward with the greater part of his army, and only leaving behind him sufficient to cover Mannheim and Philippsburg. He held a council of war at Donaueschingen, on the 4th of October; and the Austrian army re-entered Switzerland in a few days after. General Muller again crossing the Rhine in a few days after the departure of the Archduke, recovered

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BOOK III. Frankfort, and dispersed the levies of armed peasantry, which were left nearly destitute of military support by the late movements.

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AS SOON as Massena had ascertained that the haughty spirit of Suwarrow was humbled, by a retreat, he marched, with the utmost speed, against Korsakow, hitherto kept in check by General Ferino; and, having come up with the allies, commenced a terrible attack. The right wing, partly unable to withstand the shock, and partly intimidated by the late events, immediately gave way; but the left, chiefly composed of emigrants, and led on by the Duke D'Enghien, displayed their wonted valor, and proved that the French nobles, when brought into the field, were the most formidable adversaries of the French republicans. No sooner had the retreat of this portion of the army become inevitable, than the corps of Condé acted as the rear-guard; while Bauer, a Russian general, who had formerly distinguished himself in Poland, burst through the French infantry with his cavalry, and rejoined his countrymen, after leaving Constance, for the third time, in the possession of the enemy.

At length, the Russians rapidly retired from the field of action. Korsakow filed off by the lake of Constance, with the principal part of his forces; and Suwarrow, on the other side, who had for some time established his head-quarters at Coire, marched to Feldkirch, uniting the cordon on the right side of the lake, and joining the different divisions of his army at Lindau, more than a third of which had been sacrificed by the caprice of their commander, in a distant climate and foreign quarrel, far from their friends, families, and native home. After prodigious efforts, the armies on both sides being almost equally exhausted, were compelled to a kind of suspension of hostilities, waiting in silent expectation for the arrival of reinforcements, to renew these dreadful scenes of carnage, desolation, and death.

On the news of the first successes of Suwarrow, and rejoicings of the court of St. Petersburg, the Emperor Paul was highly offended that the states of Germany were not actuated in the defence of the same cause, with zeal similar to his own; in consequence of which, he issued an official notification, dated from St. Petersburg, on the 15th of September, addressed to all the members of the Germanic empire, and representing, "that, having been constantly animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and desirous of putting an end to the devastations and disorders carried into the most distant countries by the impious government under which France groaned in silence, he had taken the firm resolution of sending his forces by sea and land to succour the oppressed; to re-establish, without suffering the least division, the monarchy of France; the ancient government

of the United Provinces and the Helvetic Cantons; to preserve the integrity of the Germanic empire; and find his recompence in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe. Providence blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops had triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order; and he invites all the members of the Germanic empire to unite their forces with his, and rally round him; in which case he will not sheathe his sword till he has seen the downfall of the *monster* which threatens to crush all legal authorities." This declaration, however, could scarcely be received by those to whom it was addressed, till the victories mentioned in it were changed into sad defeats.

The hostile armies were nearly in the same situation, in the beginning of November, which they had occupied about six months before. The head-quarters of the Archduke were at Schaffhausen and Donaueschingen, and his former situation at Basle was resumed by Massena. Suwarrow fell back to Memmingen, having collected his troops in the vicinity of Lindau; and Coire, with the other posts, were evacuated, which he held in the Grisons. The Voralberg was still occupied by General Linken, who succeeded Hotze, and he kept up his communication with Feldkirch by means of the post of Mayenfeld.

The retreat of the Russians being resolved on, the Archduke Charles, determining to act in Switzerland on the defensive, sent what reinforcements he could collect, in the Tyrole and Carinthia, to strengthen Melas and Kray, the former of whom had invested the important fortress of Coni, hitherto regarded as impregnable, while the covering army was under the command of the latter officer, and Klenau was employed in the blockade of Genoa. Championnet, at last resolving to make one grand effort for the relief of Coni, endeavored to attempt the cutting off of the right wing of the Austrians on the side of Genoa, for which he made a number of feigned attacks on the left. General Melas, however, apprehending his design, added strength to the posts which were most in danger; and, on the 4th of November, the hostile armies prepared for a general engagement. The utmost bravery was exhibited by the combatants on both sides, and the mutual charges were furious, and sustained with firmness, none of them being gainers, and none of them willing to yield the advantage. Grenier's column, being overpowered by superior numbers, was broken by the exertions of General Ott; and the whole republican army were forced back to Valdizcio, after falling into confusion, which was wholly inevitable. General Melas having attacked them in the afternoon, Championnet retired to Contala, with additional loss, which place he abandoned in the night, leaving Coni to de-

fend itself, after losing 8000 men in this bold attempt, although it was not crowned with any success.

The French, under St. Cyr, had been severely checked by General Kray, while on his march to form a junction with Championnet, forcing him to retreat beyond the mountains of Novi. The account of the fall of Ancona was received about the same time, which had been blockaded by Russian and Turkish ships on sea, and on land by a body of Austrians under General Frolich, being strengthened by a numerous corps of insurgents. General Monnier surrendered to Frolich, who took possession of the place only in the name of the Emperor of Germany, which, when it came to be reported, was extremely offensive to the court of St. Petersburg.

The trenches before Coni were now formally opened, and a tremendous fire was kept up on that fortress, from nineteen batteries, mounting 200 pieces of cannon. A powder-magazine was set on fire, by a bomb accidentally falling upon it, which blew up a redoubt. The flames spread with rapidity, all hope of extinguishing which ex-

pired, in consequence of the uninterrupted explosion of bombs and shells. As the French commandant had not the most distant expectation of relief, and as a prolongation of hostilities must inevitably destroy the place, he at last resolved to submit; a capitulation was signed, and the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. Coni, in this manner, justly considered as the key of Piedmont, fell into the hands of the Austrians, and nothing of the splendid conquests of the French in Italy now remained, but the Ligurian territory.

Suwarrow, having assembled the scanty remains of his own troops at Coire, ordered the wreck of the army of Korsakow, and the corps of Condé, to form a junction with him. After some delay, he proceeded to Bohemia, where he spent the winter. Afterwards, this veteran field-marshal, having lost 60,000 of his best warriors, retired to his native country, where he soon perished, either by poison or a broken heart.

General Championnet died at Nice, in consequence of a contagious malady, which had swept away a multitude of the French soldiers in Italy.

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CHAPTER XV.

Expedition to Holland.—Preparatory Declarations.—Surrender of the Dutch Naval Force.—Actions at Bergen, Alkmaar, and Baccum.—Failure of the Expedition.—Transactions in India.—Tippoo Sultan's Intrigues.—Successes of the English Army.—Investment of Seringapatam.—The Sultan sues in vain for Peace—His Rage and Despair.—Seringapatam taken by Storm.—Heroic Death of the Sultan.—Capture of Surinam.—State of St. Domingo.—Naval History.—Captures by the English.—Surrender of Corfu.

NOTWITHSTANDING the desolation of other republics, Holland still remained under the new government, supplying France with loans and resources of every kind; by which means she continued to support her own declining credit. Therefore, in the grand plan of military operations, concerted between the confederate courts, it was determined that Great Britain should attempt a powerful diversion of the French arms, by the actual invasion of Holland, aided by a body of about 20,000 auxiliaries, to be furnished by Russia, exclusive of the force employed by the Emperor Paul in Italy and Switzerland. The benefits to be derived from this expedition were great and obvious: the ancient alliance between the two states would be renewed; the power of France diminished; and the Prince of Orange, at this time in exile, on account of his attachment to England, restored to the rank of stadtholder

and captain-general of the forces by sea and land.

Though apparently of the utmost consequence that this expedition should have been undertaken at an early period of the campaign, the convention between Great Britain and Russia was not signed at St. Petersburg till the 11th of June. By article IV. it was stipulated, that, on the arrival of the corps of 17,593 men at Revel, the sum of 44,000*l.* sterling was to be advanced immediately, and 44,000*l.* more paid in two months: the same sum was also to be furnished at the commencement of every month. By Article VI. his Britannic majesty engaged to provide and maintain, at his own expence, the necessary number of horses. And by Article VIII. it was agreed, that two months additional subsidies should be paid for the troops after their return to their own country.

BOOK III. It was agreed, in a separate article, that the emperor should lend his ships, frigates, and transports, on the following conditions, viz.

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1. Upon their quitting the port of Cronstadt, the sum of 58,927*l.* 10*s.* sterling was to be advanced for the expences of equipment for three months, over and above the subsidy of 19,642*l.* 10*s.* per month, to be paid always on the first day thereof.

2. As the squadron was already furnished with provisions for three months, the same was to be paid for by estimate.

3. The officers and sailors were to be fed at the expence of Great Britain; and

4. The officers were to be indemnified for the preparations made for the campaign.

Instead of keeping the object in view a secret, it was publicly known; and a considerable body of troops having been assembled on the coast of Kent, the necessary dispositions were made for effecting a descent. It was determined that there should be two successive expeditions, by two divisions of the army. The first, under General Sir Ralph Abercromby, an officer of great reputation and experience, sailed from the Downs early in August; and the other, under the Duke of York, whose rank as commander-in-chief, and dignity as prince of the blood, were calculated to confer splendor on the intended enterprise. These two divisions were composed of thirty battalions of infantry, besides cavalry and artillery, making, in conjunction with the Russians, an army of 45 or 50,000 men.

In the interim, the hereditary prince of Orange repaired to Lingen, on the Emms, where he assembled all the Stadtholderian party capable of bearing arms; magazines were at the same time formed at Bremen, and an active intercourse kept up with the partisans of his family. His serene highness, the Prince of Orange, had also prepared a proclamation, (dated at Hampton Court, July 28, 1799,) in which he informed his "dear countrymen," that the long-wished-for moment had arrived, when they were to be delivered from their several calamities. "His majesty, the King of Great Britain," he observed, "moved by his affection and friendship towards the republic of the United Provinces, and pitying your misfortunes, has taken the generous resolution, as soon as the general circumstances of Europe would admit, to employ, in concert with his allies, vigorous measures for your deliverance." He stated, that the troops sent to their assistance did not repair as enemies, but as friends and deliverers, in order to rescue them from the odious oppression under which they were kept by the French government, and to restore to them "the enjoyment of their religion and liberty; those invaluable blessings for which, with the divine protection, they and their ancestors had fought and

conquered. Hesitate not, therefore," he added, "brave inhabitants of the United Provinces, to meet and assist your deliverers. Receive them among you as friends, and protectors of the happiness and welfare of your country. Let every difference of political sentiments and opinions vanish before this great object. Do not suffer the spirit of party, or even the sense of the wrongs you have experienced, to induce you to commit any acts of revenge or persecution. Let your hearts and your hands be united to repel the common enemy, and to re-establish the liberty and independence of your common country."

His serene highness concluded by assuring them, that as soon as the first efforts, which they were making towards their delivery, had acquired some consistency, "his dearly-beloved son, who was in possession of all his confidence, and deserving of theirs, would put himself at their head, and, following the steps of his illustrious ancestors, spare neither his property nor his life, in order to assist, for their sakes, in bringing this great undertaking to a successful issue."

The hereditary prince soon after published a declaration, nearly similar in substance to his father's, in which he promised forgiveness to all who should return to their duty, and assist in liberating their country. He also warned the present rulers not to offend any one, either belonging to the ancient legal government, or who should have distinguished himself as a partisan of the house of Orange; and so sanguine were the expectations of success, that "all who had been formerly employed in the departments of police, finance, and justice, were enjoined to take upon them the provisional administration of their former offices."

The first division of the army embarked on board 140 transports, and, on the 13th of August, sailed from Margate, Ramsgate, and the neighbouring ports; after which they proceeded, under the convoy of Vice-admiral Mitchell, to join Lord Duncan, who was cruising in the north seas. Two grand objects were embraced upon this occasion; the first was the possession of the Helder, which would not only confer on the invaders a sea-port and arsenal, but contribute greatly to the attainment of the second object, namely, the possession of the Batavian fleet, most of the seamen and some of the officers of which were discontented with the new government, while the naval commander himself was supposed not to be wholly averse from the cause of the Stadtholder.

From the first moment of embarkation, the weather proved so adverse to the designs of the English, that apprehensions were entertained of a deficiency of water, and a certain period was actually fixed, on the expiration of which it would not have been deemed prudent to hazard

an attack. Five days, however, before this fixed period, the weather became so favorable, that the fleet was enabled to stand in for the Dutch coast.

Notwithstanding a landing could not be immediately effected, General Abercromby seized on this opportunity to disperse the proclamation of the Prince of Orange, as well as another of his own, in which it was stated, "that his majesty, the King of Great Britain, the ancient ally of the United Provinces, had entrusted him with the command of a body of troops," and that it was not "as enemies, but as friends and deliverers, that the English now entered their territories. This undertaking," he continued, "had no other object in view, but to deliver the inhabitants, heretofore free and happy; from the oppression under which they groaned; to protect their religious worship against the persecuting intolerance of incredulity and atheism; to rescue their administration from the violence experienced from anarchy and rapaciousness; and to re-establish them in the possession of their ancient liberty and independence, so closely connected with the privileges of that constitution, by means of which their ancestors fought and conquered under the standards of the Princes of Orange—privileges, whose influence had proved to the United Provinces a perennial source of prosperity, under the auspices of the amity and alliance of Great Britain."

At the same time, his excellency found means to transmit a summons to the commanding officer of the Dutch troops; while Lord Duncan sent a letter to the admiral of the Batavian fleet, on the supposition that the forces were about to land immediately, stating, that as more than 20,000 men had disembarked at the Helder, "he had now an opportunity of manifesting his zeal to the Prince of Orange, by declaring for him, together with all the ships that might choose to follow his example." The answers were, however, unfavorable; the former having replied, "that he would oppose the progress of the army with the brave troops under his command;" and the latter, "that the enemy might expect a defence from him worthy of his nation and his honor."

Although the squadron had been once more forced to sea, yet, through unceasing efforts, the shore of the Helder was again descried, and the troops began to disembark by day-light, August 27, all the bomb-vessels, sloops, and gun-brigs, being stationed so as to open a well-directed fire, in order to scour the beach, and prevent all opposition from the enemy.

General Daendels having assembled a body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, near Callanstorg, made repeated attempts to dislodge the right of the British, now posted on a ridge of sand-hills, stretching along the coast from north to south,

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and incapable of forming more than a battalion in line of battle; but the narrowness of the position was, upon the whole, favorable to troops entirely destitute of horse and artillery; so that the enemy, instead of being able to make any impression, were, after a sharp but irregular engagement, which lasted for some hours, obliged to retire to another position, six miles in the rear. According to the official account, the English lost 500 men.

General Abercromby determined immediately to attack the Helder; and the brigades commanded by the Major-generals Moore and Burrard were accordingly destined for this undertaking. Late, however, in the evening, the garrison of the fort, consisting of about 2000 national troops, was withdrawn, and the English took possession of the works next morning, August 28.

This was but a prelude to the great success which followed. Having shipped pilots at the Helder, Vice-admiral Mitchell, who succeeded to the command in the absence of Lord Duncan, got under sail with his squadron, for the purpose of reducing the Dutch fleet, which he was determined to follow to the walls of Amsterdam, unless they surrendered to the British flag, or capitulated to the Prince of Orange. Accordingly, August 30, he formed the line of battle, as follows:—

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Glatton . . .	Capt. Charles Cobb . .	54	343
Romney . . .	Capt. John Lawford . .	50	343
Isis . . .	{ Vice-admiral Mitchell } { Capt. James Houghton }	50	343
Veteran . . .	Capt. A. C. Dickson . .	64	491
Ardent . . .	Capt. T. Bertie . . .	64	491
Bellequeux . .	Capt. R. Bulteel . . .	64	491
Monmouth . .	Capt. George Hart . .	64	491
Overysse . . .	Capt. J. Bazeley . . .	64	491
Mistisloff . .	Capt. A. Moller . . .	66	672
Melpomene, Latona, Shannon, Jano, and Lutine,			
frigates.			

At five o'clock in the morning, orders were given to prepare for action; and, notwithstanding two ships and a frigate ran on shore, the English passed the Helder point and Mars Diep, continuing their course along the Texel, in the channel that leads to the Vleiter, the Dutch being then at anchor at the Red Buoy.

The Dutch government had not been inert in preparing the means of defence and resistance. Their naval force consisted of nine ships of the line, and a great number of frigates, under the command of Admiral Story, who had saved himself by an early flight from the battle off Camperdown. Their military did not exceed 20,000 men, to which must be added about 15,000 French, under General Brune, the directory not

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BOOK III. being able to allow these provinces a larger force.

CHAP. XV. The English admiral sent Captain Reinnie, of the *Victor*, with the following summons to the Batavian commander:—
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*Isis, under sail, in line of battle,
August 30.*

"SIR,

"I desire you will instantly hoist the flag of his serene highness, the Prince of Orange. If you do you will be immediately considered friends of the King of Great Britain, my most gracious sovereign; otherwise take the consequences.—Painful it will be to me for the loss of blood it will occasion, but the guilt will be on your own head.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

"ANDREW MITCHELL,

"Vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships employed on the present occasion."

To Rear-admiral Storey, or the commander-in-chief of the Dutch squadron.

An hour was allowed, but in less than that time the following answer was returned, the sailors on board the Dutch fleet having mutinied, in consequence (as supposed) of the proclamation of the Prince of Orange and the successful exertions of his adherents:

On board the Washington, anchored under the Vleiter, Aug. 30.

"ADMIRAL,

"Neither your superiority, nor the threat that the spilling of human blood could be laid to my account, could prevent my showing to you, to the last moment, what I could do for my sovereign, whom I acknowledge to be no other than the Batavian people and its representatives, when your prince's and the Orange flags have obtained their end. The traitors whom I commanded refused to fight, and nothing remains to me and my brave officers but vain rage, and the dreadful reflection of our present situation. I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I commanded. From this moment it is your obligation to provide for the safety of my officers and the few brave men who are on board the Batavian ships, as I declare myself and my officers prisoners of war, and remain to be considered as such.

"I am, with respect,

"S. STOREY."

To Admiral Mitchell, commanding his Britannic majesty's squadron in the Texel.

Thus one ship of 74 guns, four of 68, two of 54, two of 44, a frigate, and a sloop of war, were surrendered by Rear-admiral Storey.

No sooner were the intentions of England known, than the executive power published a proclamation to the "Batavian people;" in which, after intimating that this was the moment in which they ought to render themselves "worthy of their ancestors," it was stated, "that the safety of the state imperiously required all those to be treated as foes who, by their speech or conduct, should appear to approve of enterprises directed against the commonwealth."

The French government, now alarmed at recent events, transmitted a letter, in which it was observed, "that the republic, so far from ceasing to respect the independence of its first ally, was resolved to defend it against all attacks, and by every means in its power."—"Receive, citizens, directors," added Sieyes, then president, "this solemn assurance, and transmit it to your fellow-citizens. They know how to distinguish the sincere, the constant ally, whom policy, as well as liberty, attaches to the success of Batavia, from the jealous nation, from the inimical government, which, wishing to usurp the commerce of the universe, and fearing the efforts of the industrious Dutchman, endeavors to reduce Holland once more under its dependence, by destroying the association to which she is indebted for her prosperity, and entailing upon her all the calamities and opprobrium of slavery."

Great consternation prevailed throughout all the United Provinces in consequence of the surrender of the fleet. The president of the directory repaired to the legislative assembly, and made a speech upon this occasion, in which he expressed his indignation at "so infamous a treason."—"Have the Batavian people," he exclaimed, "so long cherished those monsters in order that they should at last be betrayed in so base a manner! May the enemy always receive such vile wretches, whom we do not acknowledge, either as Dutchmen or as fellow-citizens! May the punishment of the crime fall upon the heads of those who were the authors of it! Revenge will assuredly overtake them in due time. Meanwhile, my fellow-citizens, deeply as it may be felt by every patriotic heart, it ought not to render us dejected. We know the duties which we owe the country and the people; these we will fulfil; and sooner shall the land of our forefathers, and the soil on which we stand, be converted into a heap of ruins, than the enemy triumph over our firmness. The Batavian soldiers, united with our French brethren, at this moment fighting for the defence of their country's liberties, will soon prove that generous valor boils in their veins. On these our expectations rest."

General Brune now published the following

ridiculous address, which was immediately circulated in the Dutch and French languages:

"Magistrates of the Batavian republic, behold the shades of Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and Barneveld, burst through their sacred tombs, that you may be animated by their spirit, and denounce death against those who are traitors to their country! Be on your guard respecting the emigrants; oppose yourselves to the impious Orange faction; unite with the people, and overwhelm the English!"

While the Dutch and French were thus exerting themselves to make an obstinate defence, the British flag was flying in the Texel, and the colors of the Prince of Orange were displayed from the steeple of the Helder, and the squadrons in the Nieuvo and Mars Diep.

General Abercromby, who had hitherto occupied the sand-hills, advanced, on the 1st of September, and assumed a position, with the right to Petten, on the German Ocean, and the left to the Oude Sluys, on the Zuyder Zee. By this evolution a more fertile country was open to the English, who consequently obtained plenty of fresh provisions, while the canal of Zuype, immediately in front, contributed greatly to strengthen their position.

While General Abercromby was waiting for reinforcements, General Brune, who had collected a large body of forces, marched by Haerlem to Alkmaar, in three columns, at which place he arrived September 2. That on the right, composed of Dutch troops, led by General Daendels, directed its attack on the village of St. Martin; the centre, commanded by General Demonceau, marched against Krabbendam and Zuyper Sluys; while the left, which was the only one composed of French, commenced its operations against the position occupied by the second brigade of guards. These operations took place on the 10th, by the dawn of day, when they were every where repulsed, "owing," said the British commander, in his dispatches, "to the strength of our position, and the determined courage of the troops." About ten o'clock the enemy was obliged to retire towards Alkmaar, leaving behind many of their dead and wounded, besides one piece of cannon, a number of waggons, pontoons, and portable bridges.

Although two of the enemy's detachments had penetrated, upon this occasion, within a few yards of the positions occupied by the British troops, they experienced a degree of resistance that reflected great honor on the army. Major-general Moore, who commanded on the right, and received a slight wound during the action, exhibited equal spirit and judgment: Colonel Spencer also defended the village of St. Martin with great gallantry; while Lieutenant-colonel Smyth, who commanded two battalions of the 20th, stationed

near Krabbendam and Zuyper Sluys, evinced a degree of fortitude worthy of record. Perceiving that the enemy was likely to obtain possession of his post, notwithstanding the blood was flowing in a copious stream, in consequence of a severe wound in his leg, he ordered his attendants to support him, and, in this position, intreated the regiment "to remember Minden." His soldiers, ignorant of the allusion, but at the same time charmed with the undaunted resolution of their commander, received the proposition with three cheers, and immediately charging with the bayonet, completed the rout of the foe.

On the day of this engagement the Duke of York sailed from Yarmouth with the second division, being soon followed by most part of the Russians under Generals Herman and Tchertchekoff. The hereditary Prince of Orange had, during these transactions, made a feeble attack on the frontier of the province of Overijssel, summoning the fortress of that name, but his small army was hastily dispersed on the approach of the national guards of Arnheim and Oldenrad; he then embarked at Embden, to join the commander-in-chief.

On the arrival of the Duke of York at the Helder, he had the satisfaction to witness the landing of eight battalions of Russians, consisting of 7000 men, under General Herman: he also found the hereditary prince collecting and forming the deserters from the Batavian troops, as well as volunteers from the Dutch ships, into regular battalions.

When his royal highness had reached the headquarters at Schagen-Brug, the army appeared to be in high spirits. Being determined to embrace the first opportunity of making an attack upon the whole of the enemy's positions, the British field-marshal issued orders for that purpose the moment the reinforcements had arrived. After the necessary arrangements, the allied army moved forward in four columns, about two hours before day, September 19, through a country which, in every direction, presented the most formidable obstacles, being cut and intersected with wet ditches and deep canals, while the bridges were all removed, and the roads either rendered impassable, or obstructed by felled trees half interred in the earth, and placed in a horizontal position. The enemy was strongly posted on the heights of Camper Duyn, Walmenhuysen, Schorledan, and along the high sand-hills which extend from the sea, in front of Petten, to the town of Bergen; while several of the intermediate villages were strengthened by means of intrenchments. The column under General Herman commenced an attack about three o'clock in the morning, and, by eight, obtained possession of Bergen; but the Russians, by rashly advancing too far, were in danger of being surrounded; and Gene-

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ral Van Damme, at the point of the bayonet, recovered the village of Bergen, having obliged the late captors to evacuate it, after a most vigorous resistance, in the course of which General Herman was taken prisoner, and General Tchertchekoff was dangerously wounded.

His royal highness the commander-in-chief expressed himself in the following manner, relative to this event:

"The Russian troops, advancing with an intrepidity which overlooked the formidable resistance with which they were to meet, had not preserved that order which was necessary to preserve the advantages they had gained; and they were, in consequence, after a most vigorous resistance, obliged to retire from Bergen, and fall back upon Schorel, which village they were also forced to abandon, but which was immediately retaken by Major-general Manners' brigade, notwithstanding the very heavy fire of the enemy.

"Here this brigade was immediately reinforced by two battalions of Russians, which had co-operated with Lieutenant-General Dundas, in the attack of Walmenhuysen, by Major-general D'Oyley's brigade of guards, and by the 35th regiment, under the command of his highness Prince William. The action was renewed by these troops, for a considerable time, with success; but the *entire want of ammunition*, on the part of the Russians, and the exhausted state of the whole corps engaged in that particular situation, obliged them to retire, which they did in good order, upon Petten and Zuyper Sluys."

It is understood that this candid statement gave great offence to the monarch who then swayed the Russian sceptre; and a feeble attempt was made at recrimination, by stating that the troops had been brought into the field immediately on being landed from the transports, and before they had recovered from sea-sickness, &c.

Some writers have declared, that General Herman's troops were not supported by the commander-in-chief as they had reason to expect, and that they were consequently destroyed, and not defeated. This assertion has never been proved; and, from his royal highness's statement, it is evident that this detachment was more valiant than wary. Its failure decided the fate of the action; for, although Lieutenant-general Dundas succeeded in his attack on the village of Walmenhuysen, while Sir James Pulteney carried Ouds Carspel, at the head of the Lange Dyke, by storm, and Sir Ralph Abercromby had captured Hoorne nearly at the same time, yet the troops, thus victorious on every other point, were recalled, the army being under the necessity, in consequence of one partial failure, of resuming its former position. The capture of sixty officers, upwards of 3000 men, and sixteen pieces of artillery, the last of which were destroyed, on account

of the intricate nature of the country, afforded some consolation for this unpropitious event.

After this expedition had been deferred some time, it was determined to resume offensive operations; for which purpose the army was once more put in motion, and an attack took place on the whole of the enemy's line. The troops were again divided into four columns, under the Generals Abercromby, Essen, Dundas, and Pulteney; and the plan was combined in such a manner as to enable the principal corps to communicate with each other by means of intermediate detachments; but the chief effort was directed against the enemy's left, consisting entirely of French, with an intention of procuring the total evacuation of North Holland. After an obstinate engagement, which commenced at six o'clock in the morning, October 2, and lasted during the space of twelve hours, the Gallo-Batavian forces, estimated at about 20,000, and commanded by the Generals Brune, Van Damme, Boutet, and Daendels, the last of whom was slightly wounded upon this occasion, were obliged to give way. The Russians conducted themselves with their accustomed spirit; and, though all the British troops fought with their wonted valor, yet those led by the Lieutenant-generals Sir Ralph Abercromby and Dundas sustained the brunt of the action; the former having advanced against Egmont-op-Zee, to turn the enemy's left flank, while the latter marched straight to Bergen.

On the succeeding morning the result of this attack was visible; for the enemy during the night had evacuated the strong positions on the Lange Dyke and the Koe Dyke, as well as the extensive range of elevated sand-hills. On the 4th of October, the allies took possession of Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, and Bergen. The town of Alkmaar, the head-quarters of the French general, and the seat of the states of North Holland, opened its gates, while a number of troops deserted to the standard erected by the Prince of Orange; but it is painful to add, that, in express disobedience to the orders of the commander-in-chief, many of the inhabitants were plundered.

On the 6th of October, the Duke of York, anxious to improve these advantages, and afford no repose to the enemy, renewed the attack, for the purpose of driving him from Beverwyck and Wick-op-Zee. The advanced posts were accordingly pushed forward, and the villages of Schermerhoorn, Acher-sloop, and Limmen, occupied without resistance by the British; but the column of Russian troops, under Major-general Essen, in attempting to gain a height near Bacum, was attacked by a strong body of the enemy. Sir Ralph Abercromby having advanced to its support, found himself opposed by General Brune's whole force; on which a general action ensued, which only terminated with the day.

Both sides fought with desperate valor, and the Anglo-Russians remained masters of the field: still the engagement proved indecisive in point of complete success, for the enemy was not driven from his position between Beverwyck and Wick-op-Zee. This last conflict was as severe as any of the former; and, in proportion to the numbers engaged, attended with as great loss. Of the British 1200 were killed, wounded, or taken; of the Russians, about 700. The enemy's loss was also very great in killed and wounded, though never ascertained, as it was never acknowledged: 500 were made prisoners. From these the Duke of York obtained information of the enemy's having been reinforced by 6000 infantry, and of his having strengthened the position of Beverwick, and strongly fortified, in the rear of it, points which it would be necessary to carry, before Haerlem could be attacked. The enemy had also a large force upon Purmirind, which, as the allied army advanced, would be placed in the rear.

These obstacles would have been overcome, had not the state of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and the total want of the necessary supplies, presented difficulties which required serious consideration. The Duke of York, therefore, having maturely weighed the circumstances under which his army was placed, thought it advisable, with the concurrence of General Abercromby and the lieutenant-generals, to withdraw the troops from this advanced position to their former station at Schagen-Brug, from whence, on the 9th of October, his royal highness dispatched his secretary, Colonel Brownrigg, to London, in order to give a circumstantial account of affairs in Holland, and to receive his majesty's further instructions.

In the mean time, the enemy had crossed the British line of defence at Schagen-Brug, by daily, though partial attacks, the most serious of which was made by General Daendels in person. This general, on the 10th, attacked the right wing of the British forces, upon an advanced post near Winkle, under the command of Prince William of Gloucester, with 6000 men and six pieces of cannon, endeavouring to force this post by every exertion. To resist this formidable attack, the prince had only 1200 men and two pieces of cannon; yet he obliged the Dutch general to retreat, with the loss of 200 men killed, and one French general. But General Daendels being almost immediately reinforced by 4000 Dutch troops, the Prince of Gloucester was under the necessity of falling back to Cohorn. The loss of the English in this action did not exceed three killed, and about twelve wounded. The prince, during the engagement, had his horse shot under him, but he received no injury himself, though exposed to the greatest personal danger, under a

heavy fire, being frequently in front of the line, animating the exertions of his troops by his example. It is probable that it was in this action, which has been entirely omitted by former historians, that Daendels was wounded. These writers, it is remarkable, have dwelt only upon the *losses* sustained, and not the *advantages* which were gained by the British commander-in-chief. On the other hand, the government scribblers betrayed equal folly and partiality: one of them, mentioning this expedition, thus wrote: "To an enemy of 45,000 men, full of emulation, from the general to the last soldier; to a squadron commanding the Zuyder-Zee; to the support which there are hopes of obtaining from a great portion of the inhabitants, and to the ancient and unalterable attachment of the Dutch regular troops to the Stadtholder, what do the Batavian directory, the revolutionary faction, and their extravagant guardians on the banks of the Seine, oppose? About 20,000 French, commanded by a *printer's boy* of Limosin—by that Brune who juggled and pillaged Switzerland, who received his military and political education in the tennis-courts of the French revolution." It is true, Brune was a printer; but candor, which should always guide the historian's pen, must allow, that the *printer* (no matter where he received his military skill) was a match for a *PRINCE*. The Dutch general, Daendels, over whom Prince William triumphed, was an attorney.

Prudence dictated a return to England, to the great regret of the allied troops, who were unacquainted with the obstacles that opposed their career. As they could not be embarked in the face of a superior army, without considerable loss, the commander-in-chief, in conjunction with the vice-admiral, entered into a negotiation with General Brune, in consequence of which, after a variety of discussions, an armistice was at length agreed upon. The articles, nine in number, were signed October 18, by Major-general Knox, duly authorised by his royal highness the Duke of York, and General Rostollan, duly authorised by Gen. Brune. On this occasion it was stipulated, that the combined English and Russian army should evacuate the territories of the Batavian republic by a certain period, (November 30); that the Dutch admiral, de Winter, should be considered as exchanged; that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored in their present state; that "eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be restored, without condition, to their respective countries;" and finally, that Major-general Knox should remain with the French, to guarantee the execution of this article.

These terms, although justified by the critical situation of the troops, were doubtless humiliat-

ing; but the proposition of restoring the Batavian fleet, surrendered by Admiral Storey, was received with just indignation by the Duke of York, his royal highness having threatened to cut the sea-dykes, and inundate the whole country, if this point should be any further urged.

Thus terminated an expedition which threatened the total subversion of the Batavian government, and from which so many important advantages were anticipated; but its failure may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the publicity that attended the preparations. The Duke of York said, "that he had, from day to day, additional reason to apprehend that any attempt towards a prosecution of the campaign in Holland could not be attended with decisive advantages," &c.: he declared his conviction "that the most advisable measure to pursue was, to remove with the army to England, resting confident that he shall have the satisfaction of knowing that his conduct, in not waiting for previous instructions from home, has met with his majesty's gracious approbation."

Though unfortunate in this instance, the British arms were peculiarly successful in another quarter. In the east, England not only obtained a considerable accession of strength, and a large extent of dominions, but she at the same time added greatly to her security by the extinction of a powerful rival.

Hyder Ali, a soldier of fortune, after rising from the ranks to a high station in the army of one of the native princes, by a bold and successful usurpation, acquired the sceptre of the Mysore, and founded a new dynasty. Possessed of most of the great qualities befitting an able general and an enlightened sovereign, his treachery to his prince inspired but a transitory horror in a country where *power* alone is supposed to constitute *right*; and the able manner in which he governed his newly-acquired dominions, seemed a sufficient apology for the means by which he had attained them. At his death, his son and successor, Tippoo, who assumed the appellation of sultaun, or emperor, found himself in possession of extensive territories, a full treasury, and an army which had dared, more than once, to contend even with the English, by far the most powerful European nation settled in Asia. Though his father's success originated in his natural genius alone, Tippoo is said not only to have received the best education that could be obtained in the East, but also to have imbibed a tincture of the arts and sciences of Europe.

Two great principles of action seem to have influenced the life and fortune of the King of Mysore; the first was a flaming zeal, bordering on fanaticism, for the religion of Mahomet; the second an invincible hatred to the English, whom he affected to denominate polytheists, and considered as a mercenary band of commercial spoilers,

who, by uniting intrigue with trade and the profession of arms, had obtained an alarming preponderance in the East. Tippoo, however, found his rage unavailing; for his dominions were invaded, his capital besieged, his sons taken as hostages, and a partition-treaty executed by his enemies under the walls of his own palace, in consequence of the plans of the East India Company, and the exertions of its servants.

Deprived of part of his treasures, stripped of a large portion of his territories, humbled, but not subdued, the Mysorean prince determined on revenge. Not content with augmenting his army, and collecting able officers from all parts, he intrigued, by means of his ministers, in most of the neighbouring courts, and solicited, by turns, every Mahometan power in Asia to enter into a holy war for the extirpation of the enemies of all true believers. Nor was he inattentive to the affairs of Europe; for he courted the friendship of the republic of France with the same assiduity as he had formerly sought that of the monarch, Louis XVI. But the French revolution, which at one period seemed auspicious to the views of the sultaun, proved, at this time, fatal to his hopes; as the conquest of Egypt, although it denoted the approach of a victorious ally, was the signal for his destruction.

The dissimulation of the sultaun was carried to an extraordinary length, but his intrigues against the English became at last notorious. The governor-general, Lord Mornington, disdaining to wear the mask of friendship, wrote to him in a style of great displeasure. "In no age or country," remarked his lordship, "were the baneful and insidious arts of intrigue ever cultivated with such success as they are at present by the French nation. I sincerely wish that no impression had been produced on your discerning mind by that dangerous people; but my situation enables me to know that they have reached your presence, and have endeavoured to pervert the wisdom of your councils, and to instigate you to war against those who have given you no provocation." The governor-general concluded this judicious letter with informing the sultaun "that the peshwa and the nizam concurred with him in the observations now offered and recommended to his most serious consideration; and he proposed, in their behalf and his own, to send Major Doveton (an officer well known to the sultaun) to explain more fully and particularly the means of removing all existing distrust and suspicion, and of establishing peace and a good understanding on the most durable foundations."

No answer arriving from the sultaun for more than a month, Lord Mornington addressed a second letter, urging the necessity of taking the contents of his former one into the earliest consideration. Five days after the second letter, a

dispatch from the sultaun reached Calcutta, filled with the most treacherous professions of attachment, and complaints of the military preparations by the English; and, after another long interval, an answer was received by Lord Mornington to his two letters, in which this faithless prince congratulated the governor-general on the glorious victory of Aboukir, and expressed his firm hope "that the English, who ever adhere to the paths of sincerity, friendship, and good faith, and are the well-wishers of mankind, will at all times be successful and victorious; and that the French, who are of a crooked disposition, faithless, and the enemies of mankind, may be depressed and ruined." He positively denied that any secret correspondence had ever been carried on between him and the French, and expressed his surprise at the military preparations avowedly made by the governor-general; but declined to receive Major Doveton, declaring, "that no means more effectual than the engagements already entered into, could be adopted for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony."

Lord Mornington returned an immediate reply to the sultaun, January 9, 1799, informing him, in very explicit terms, of the accurate advices which he had received, of his secret transactions with the French, and of his flagrant violations of the subsisting treaties. "Even under all these circumstances of provocation," said his lordship, with laudable moderation, "we are ready to renew and confirm the bonds of amity on such conditions as shall preclude the continuance of those jealousies which must subsist so long as a final and satisfactory adjustment of all the causes of suspicion shall be delayed." He then called upon the sultaun to assent to the immediate admission of Major Doveton, as a measure advantageous to all parties.

After waiting, with exemplary patience, twenty-five days for an answer, the governor-general at length, on the 3d of February, ordered the army to begin its march towards the Mysorean territory. The reply of Tippoo Sultaun was received at Madras, February 13. After the usual professions of attachment, he declared himself (but in cold and distant terms) willing to admit Major Doveton's embassy, but desired that he might come unattended.

On the 22d of February, the governor-general published a declaration, very ably re-capitulating the reasons which compelled him to engage in hostilities with the Sultaun of Mysore. It stated, "that the governor-general waited with the utmost solicitude for an answer to the reasonable and distinct proposition contained in his letter of the 9th of January; that the sultaun, however, remained silent, although apprised that dangerous consequences would result from delay. In the mean while, the season for military operations

had already advanced to so late a period, as to render a speedy decision indispensable to the security of the allies. It must be evident to all the states of India, that the answer of the sultaun has been deferred to this late period of the season, with no other view than to preclude the allies from the benefit of those advantages which their combined military operations would enable them to secure. The allies are therefore resolved to place their army in such a position as shall afford adequate protection against any artifice or insincerity, and shall preclude the return of that danger which has so lately menaced their possessions. Retaining, however, an anxious desire to effect an adjustment with Tippoo Sultaun, Lieutenant-general Harris, commander-in-chief of his majesty's and the honorable company's forces on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, is authorized to receive any embassy which Tippoo Sultaun may dispatch to the head-quarters of the British army, and to concert a treaty on such conditions as appear to the allies to be indispensably necessary for the establishment of a secure and permanent peace."

A very fine and well-appointed army was now, through the indefatigable exertions of the governor-general, seconded by the efforts of the civil and military departments, not only formed, but put in motion. This army was commanded by officers of great courage, skill, and experience; and, being in a short time joined by the troops of the nizam, they marched forward in full confidence of success. But, while General Harris approached the eastern frontier of Mysore, the sultaun had himself commenced hostilities on the western side, by the attack (March 6) of General Stuart, who commanded the Bombay army, while yet in the territory of the peshwa, and encamped on the high mountain of Sedaseer. Upon this occasion the sultaun received a severe repulse; and, on being informed that General Harris, with the grand army, had entered Mysore, he forthwith returned to the defence of his own country.

By this time the allies had penetrated as far as Bangalore. On the 23d, as the British commander approached Sultaun-pettah, a cloud of dust to the westward announced the vicinity of the Mysorean army; retiring, as the allies marched forward, the enemy attained, on the 27th, the heights of Malavelly, from which they were, on the same day, driven with considerable loss. On the 3d of April, the army came within sight of the lofty towers of Seringapatam, having hitherto experienced, to the general surprise, a resistance altogether trivial. By reports from the sultaun's camp, it was understood that he was extremely dejected and undetermined; and that his plans of defence had been as suddenly abandoned as they were hastily formed. On the 5th, the Bri-

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tish army encamped at the distance of 3500 yards from the western fort of the city, which was soon after completely invested. Till this period the sultaun had shown no disposition to submit to terms; still, in all probability, cherishing the delusive hope that powerful succours from France would arrive in time to rescue him from this humiliation.

On the 9th of April, being apparently alarmed at his situation, Tippoo Sultaun had the effrontery to write, in the following terms, to the commander, General Harris:—"The governor-general, Lord Mornington, sent me a letter, the copy of which is inclosed—you will understand it. I have adhered firmly to treaties: what, then, is the meaning of the advance of the English army, and the occurrence of hostilities? Inform me." In reply, the sultaun was properly referred to the previous letters of Lord Mornington, and the declaration of war on the part of the allies.

On the 14th of April, the Bombay army, under General Stuart, crossed the Cavery, and took a strong position on its northern bank. That river, which separated the camp from the fort of Seringapatam, was at this time almost dry, and its bed a naked rock. The armies of the allies having now formed a complete junction, and the enemy's advanced works beyond the river being taken, the sultaun made another attempt to arrest the progress of the siege by negotiation, and wrote a second letter to General Harris, desiring him to nominate commissioners, and open a conference for peace. In answer to this overture were sent the preliminary articles of the only peace that would now be granted him. These were, to cede half his territories in perpetuity to the allies; to pay two crores of rupees by way of indemnification for the expences of the war; to renounce all connection with France; to receive ambassadors from the allies; and give hostages for the performance of these stipulations. Such were the severe terms which the perverse obstinacy of the sultaun had now made it necessary for him to accept, or by the refusal to risk his life and crown. For some days he maintained a sullen silence; but, a vigorous sally of the garrison on General Stuart being repulsed, and the guns of two towers on the western side dismounted, the unfortunate sultaun, on the 28th, made another and last effort to retard the operations of the siege, by declaring, in reply to the notification of General Harris, "that he wished to send ambassadors to open a conference for peace.—The points in question," said he, "are mighty, and cannot be brought to a conclusion without the intervention of ambassadors. I am, therefore, about to send two gentlemen, who will personally explain themselves to you."

He was immediately informed, that no ambassadors would be now received, unless he sent a

part, at least, of the specie demanded, and the hostages required for his sincerity. The sultaun, reduced to despair by this answer, seemed determined to bury himself under the ruins of his capital; and, as if to shut every avenue to future negotiation, he barbarously ordered the prisoners he had taken to be put to death; a circumstance not mentioned in General Harris's public dispatches. The fire of the batteries, which began to batter in breach on the 30th of April, had, on the evening of the 3d of May, so much shattered the walls, that a general assault was deemed practicable. The troops were accordingly (early in the morning of the 4th) stationed in the trenches, that no extraordinary movement might occasion alarm; and, in order to take the enemy by surprise, it was determined to make the attempt in the heat of the day, the season of indolence and repose. At one o'clock, the troops under General Baird moved from the trenches, and, crossing the rocky bed of the Cavery, under a heavy fire from the stupendous works which defended this great and magnificent capital, passed the glacis and the fossé; then ascended the breaches with the most heroic gallantry, surmounting every obstacle which the valor of the enemy could oppose to their progress. In a short time all was confusion and consternation, and the British colours were displayed on the summit of the breach. Resistance continued, however, to be made from the palace of Tippoo for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, at length surrendered. It was at the same time reported that Tippoo Sultaun was slain. The most active measures were immediately adopted to put an end to the horrors of the assault, and diligent search was made for the body of the sultaun, which was with difficulty found, encompassed and almost covered with heaps of dead: it was conveyed to the palace, and, being recognized by the family, was the next day interred, with the honors due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father.

Thus, after a short but brilliant career, fell the house or dynasty of the celebrated Hyder Ali Khan. On the ensuing day, Kerim Saheb, the brother of the late sultaun; Abdul Khalic, the elder of the princes formerly hostages with Lord Cornwallis; and, in a short time, the remainder of the family of Tippoo, surrendered themselves, and demanded protection. The dominions of the sultaun were disposed of in conformity to an arrangement soon after concluded upon by the conquerors. To the company were allotted the province of Canara; the districts of Coimbatore and Daraporam, with an extensive district extending along the Malabar coast, including Mangalore; also the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam: to the nizam was assigned a large tract of country contiguous to his own dominions: and to

the Mahrattas, who had taken no active part in the war, were, by a liberal policy, given Soonda, Harponelly, and a portion of Bidenore: the fortresses belonging to the latter were, however, retained in the hands of the English, and a strong barrier opposed to the future incursions of that powerful and warlike people, extending from the eastern to the western Ghauts.

On a careful investigation it was found that the surviving representative of the ancient royal Hindoo family of Mysore, expelled by the high fortune of Hyder Ali from the throne, was a boy of five years of age. To him it was deemed both just and politic to restore the kingdom of Mysore, which was, by the late partition, comprised nearly within the same limits by which it was bounded previous to the usurpation of Hyder; and by an article of the treaty of Mysore, the dependency of that kingdom upon the British government was formally recognised, and the right of British interference distinctly acknowledged. Thus the interests of the infant Rajah Kishennai Wuddiar, were said to be identified with those of Great Britain; and, at all events, such interference were better exercised openly and avowedly than in the way of clandestine and unauthorized coercion. The family of Tippoo Sultaun were, in a short time, removed to Vellore, in the Carnatic, and an annual revenue, amounting to about 600,000 rupees, was allowed for their future maintenance.

In another hemisphere, the British arms were equally successful, and a flourishing settlement was wrested from the hands of the Dutch. A body of troops having been collected in the islands of Grenada, St. Lucie, and Martinico, by Lieutenant-general Trigge, were embarked soon after on board a small squadron, consisting of two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, under the command of Vice-admiral Lord Hugh Seymour. On their arrival off the mouth of the river Surinam, August 20, Governor Frederici was summoned to surrender that colony; but, as he had requested forty-eight hours to consider the proposal, measures were taken to force him to an immediate compliance. Accordingly, the depth of water not being sufficient for the line-of-battle ships, the troops were removed into the small craft; and these, with four frigates, having anchored two miles further up, a detachment landed and took possession of the redoubts and battery at Bram's-point, which had been previously abandoned. At length, the capitulation being signed and ratified, the armament proceeded to New Amsterdam, which was occupied immediately; and, in the course of two days more, the tower of Paramaribo and the neighbouring forts were garrisoned by the troops. Thus a flourishing and extensive settlement was obtained, by Great Britain, without firing a single gun; but the colonists reaped nearly all the advantages arising from this event;

for, while the English government was at the expense of their protection, they found a good market, and a ready conveyance for those commodities which would otherwise have remained in their possession.

The commercial relations of France, in reference to other countries, and even its own colonies, were become very difficult, owing to the superior naval force of Great Britain. The directory sent out General Hedouville to be governor of St. Domingo, soon after it was evacuated by the English; but this island still evinced indications of a spirit of independence, in order to the re-establishment of that authority which justly belonged to the parent country. The general finding, on his arrival, that all the genuine powers of government were vested in Toussant, very soon returned to France, having made some fruitless attempts to induce the people to rally round the constitutional act. When he departed, Toussant immediately sent his own aid-de-camp with dispatches for the directory, criminating Hedouville, maintaining his own attachment to France, and hoping that St. Domingo, "delivered from the dangers to which it had been exposed, would continue its progress under the protection of constitutional laws, and the auspices of that liberty which it had obtained." This native chief (who has been mentioned in a former book) succeeded in a wonderful degree in tranquillizing the island; but General Regaud, another native chief, whose influence in the southern departments was very great, and whose name has already appeared in this work, strongly opposed Toussant, when some bloody engagements took place between them, which having proved detrimental to Regaud, an order was received from the directory, making choice of the other as governor of St. Domingo, which immediately restored the peace of the island.

During this year, the British navy continued to display its wonted zeal and superiority; the names of St. Vincent, Nelson, Smith, and Mitchell, having made the English flag respected in Syria, Egypt, the Mediterranean, on the coasts of Spain, and in the ports and shallow seas of Holland. Notwithstanding the fleets of the two allied powers appeared at one time fearless of a contest, yet it was deemed more prudent to return to port, and be exposed to the mortification of a blockade, than to experience the vengeance of so formidable an adversary. Few actions, therefore, between single ships, remain to be recorded in the naval occurrences of this campaign.

On the 28th of February, an action was fought by Captain Edward Cooke, in the Sybille of 44 guns, off the sand-heads of Bengal river, against La Forte, of 50 guns. After a close and spirited engagement, of near two hours duration, at the conclusion of which the republican ship had lost

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all her masts, she struck her colors, and was immediately taken possession of; but it is greatly to be lamented, that the gallant English commander received a mortal wound during the fight, and survived his victory but a few days.

Another action was declared by Admiral Earl St. Vincent (a consummate judge of this species of merit) to be "equal to any enterprise recorded in the naval history of Great Britain." Captain Peard, of the *Success*, during a cruise in the Mediterranean, happened to chase a Spanish polacca into the harbour of La Selva; and, as there was no appearance of any batteries, it was determined to cut her out. He accordingly sent in his ship's boats for this purpose, under the command of Lieutenant Facey, who was in the barge, assisted by Lieutenant Stupart in the launch, and Lieutenant Davison, of the marines, in the cutter. On their arrival, June 9, they immediately attacked the enemy, which proved to be an armed vessel, called the *Bella Aurora*, mounting ten carriage guns, and having 113 men; surrounded by a netting, and supported by a small battery and a large body of musketry on the shore. Notwithstanding these formidable means of defence, the engagement commenced, in the face of day, on the part of only forty-two men, who, after entering the prize sword in hand, carried her out in triumph.

In the course of this year, five sail of the line, one ship of fifty-two guns, one of forty-two, and another of forty, were taken from the French, and two of thirty-six from the Spaniards, besides many vessels of inferior force, no less than twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers, belonging to France, and ten to Spain, being either taken or run on shore; but not so much as a single frigate or sloop of war was lost by the English.

Le Généreux, of seventy-four guns, and *La Ville de Marseilles*, were captured, with Admiral

Perée, by Rear-admiral Lord Nelson's squadron, in the Mediterranean. *Le Guillaume Tell*, *Le Athenienne*, and *Le Dego*, all of sixty-four guns, were taken at Malta; also *La Vengeance*, of fifty-two, by *La Seine* of forty-two, Capt. Milne, after a gallant action in the *Mona* passage.

The Dutch navy was almost extinguished this year. In addition to the twelve ships surrendered by the gallant *Storey*, and an equal number, which surrendered within the Texel, the Batavian republic lost a fifty-gun ship, viz. *Hertog Van Brunswick*, in the straits of Sunda; and as the sailors were obviously disaffected to the new government, all further exertions by sea were wholly interdicted.

While twelve ships, belonging to the Emperor Paul co-operated with the British fleet in the German ocean, the Turco-Russian squadron, commanded by the Captain Bey, Cadir Bey, and Vice-admiral Oreschakoff, after conquering *Cerigo*, *Zante*, and *Cephalonia*, appeared before *Corfu*. Having landed a body of men on the little island, called *Lo Scoglio di Vido*, it was carried after a short resistance; on which an attack took place on the out-works of the adjoining town, and fort *St. Salvador* was captured by the allies. A flag of truce was then sent by the commanding officer of the French garrison at *Corfu*, to the Russian vice-admiral, with proposals for delivering up the place; in consequence of which the garrison was admitted to a capitulation, March 2. The *Leander*, of fifty guns, which had been captured by a French seventy-four, soon after the action of the Nile, (1798) and which happened to have anchored in the harbour of this place at the time of the surrender, was soon after, in a very handsome manner, restored by the Emperor of Russia to the service of Great Britain.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Domestic Situation of France.—The Directorial Revolution.—Another Revolution.—The Consular Government established, and Bonaparte created First Consul.—His Letter to the King of Great Britain.—A spirited Reply.—Declaration of the French Government.—Debates in Parliament.—Union of England and Ireland.

WE shall now call the reader's attention to the domestic situation of France, which, during the progress of summer, seemed to be approaching fast to some eventful crisis. In the latter part of the preceding book, the directorial revolution has been slightly mentioned; as the particulars have been reserved for the commencement of this.

It had long been the subject of profound meditation to subvert the directorial government; but no method had yet presented itself which could be pronounced free from desperate hazard. It must be observed, that the liberty of the press had been placed under the *special protection* of the directory, in conformity to a law of the 19th Fructidor. The council of five hundred ventured at last to declare, that under this pretext many egregious abuses had been perpetrated, by the agents of those who were in power, and who from this security set denunciation at defiance. A message was sent to the directory on the motion of Boulay de la Meurthe, who had once been its zealous advocate, implying that the council fully expected such information as the constitution prescribed, at this critical and alarming juncture. An address to the nation at large was published at the same time, on the motion of Français de Nantes, which was considered in the light of an appeal to the country against the despotism and usurpation of the executive power. The directory were not blind to the approaching storm. The current of public opinion ran strongly against them; and their own destruction would probably have been accelerated by any fresh acts of violence against the councils. Sieyès was regarded as the head of the opposition, the vengeance of which was chiefly levelled against the directors Merlin, Lepeaux, and Treillard; for Barras, considering it more prudent to second the views of Sieyès, had already come to a good understanding with the leaders of the opposition, who like-

wise carried on a secret and confidential intercourse with the chiefs of the military force in and near the metropolis.

As the council had received no reply to their message on the 15th of June, 1799, it declared itself permanent, and nominated a commission of eleven members, to which it imparted very extraordinary powers. As the director Treillard was a man of a mild and pacific disposition, both unqualified and unwilling to take part in those scenes which appeared to be fast approaching, a pretext was devised for removing him from the office of a director, which he embraced with eagerness, and resigned his office, which was filled by Gohier, president of the tribunal of revision; and the council had now a majority even in the directory itself.

An act of accusation against Merlin and Lepeaux, the two refractory directors, was next proposed; but previous to the adoption of this measure, they were invited by the council to give in their resignation. This plan was adopted after some acrimonious language, and they left the palace of the Luxemburg amidst the curses of the people. Two persons, at once obscure and insignificant, were chosen in their room, viz. Roger Ducos, and Moulin, who, it was imagined, would neither dispute nor oppose the will of Sieyès, as might have been the case with men of more talents and consequence. Français de Nantes presented a report from the committee of eleven, in which was delineated in glowing colors the late directorial government, many of whose vile instruments were denounced, in a particular manner Scherer, who had fled from the just vengeance of the law and of the people. General Bernadotte succeeded him as war-minister, and Scherer, as the reader has been already informed, was promoted to the command of the Italian army.

The council received a message from the new

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directory on the 26th of June, giving a circumstantial account of the disorders and exigencies of the state, and inviting the council to adopt the speediest and most efficacious measures for warding off from the body-politic its impending dissolution. A levy of conscripts was decreed in consequence of this message, with a coercive loan of one hundred millions. An address to the nation was likewise published, in which they were invited to co-operate with their representatives, in the necessary, but difficult labor, of political regeneration. The restraints on the liberty of the press were considerably relaxed, in consequence of which, both jacobins and royalists attacked government with unlimited censure, of which the directory complained to the council, pronouncing it a conduct the direct tendency of which was to bring about the dissolution of the state; for the suppression of which grievance a commission was appointed.

Although the public voice was in favor of the proposition for accusing the four ex-directors, it was finally rejected. It was very plausibly insinuated, that if the first magistrates of the republic were to perish on a scaffold, the weight and dignity of government would be lost in the estimation of the country; faction would incessantly threaten their successors with a similar fate; and with such an example before them, it would not be possible to feel sufficient confidence for the execution of such bold and decisive measures as existing circumstances might often render necessary for the salvation of the republic. It was, however, a subject deeply lamented, that men should escape the punishment which their crimes unquestionably deserved, whether these were to be regarded as the result of treachery or of misconduct.

On the anniversary of the fall of that monster Robespierre, the jacobins had the audacity to hang their tribune with black, while it was justly celebrated by the constituted authorities, in the Champ de Mars, as a day of thanksgiving. Sieyes was at that time president of the directory; and in his public speech on this occasion, he drew a bold and animated picture of the horrid crimes of the chief actors in those dreadful scenes, which were so peculiarly characteristic of the reign of jacobins. When a message was soon after sent by the council to the directory, in which the jacobins were denounced, a report was sent to the council by Fouché, the minister of police, in which it was represented, that the societies of Paris and the departments were directed by foreign agents, who endeavoured to estrange the public mind by continual calumnies, and by openly violating the constitution.

The report of the minister was more completely developed in the speech delivered by the celebrated Abbé Sieyes, in the Champ de Mars, on

the anniversary of the 10th of August, when he exhibited the members of those societies, in a strain of the most fervid eloquence, as "traitors subsidised by the common enemy, or slaves only to their passions, anxious either for the speedy restoration of royalty, or preferring rather the return of that terror so justly abhorred by the French." The favorite topic of discussion in the societies, was the necessity of saving the country, which was not capable of saving itself; but while they were thus debating, the directory opportunely passed a decree, in virtue of which their doors were immediately shut, seals were put upon all their papers, and a military guard was stationed before each place of meeting. Domiciliary visits were likewise permitted for a month, in order to rid the metropolis of those swarms of wretches who had poured into it from all the departments, for the purpose of sharing in the new revolution, which was to be accomplished by the instrumentality of these old and inveterate enemies.

Measures so bold, filled the faction against which they were levelled with astonishment and rage. Movements of a revolutionary nature were excited at Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and different other places, although they were instantly repelled by the interposition of the military. The leaders of the party, however, in the council of five hundred, exerted every nerve, in order to regain their former ascendancy. Matters being put in a state of preparation, the dangers to which the republic was exposed was strongly represented by General Jourdan. According to him, Italy was lost, Batavia invaded, and the frontiers of France itself threatened by the enemy. A vast royalist conspiracy, which was ready to burst forth, existed within. He urged to the council the necessity of continuing the sitting, and recommended the revival of the celebrated plan of Barrere, that the country should again be called on to rise in a mass, for the purpose of defending its liberty and independence. He concluded by moving, that the republic should be declared to be in danger.

Lucien Bonaparte strenuously opposed this motion, who recommended that the fullest and most entire confidence should be reposed in the directory, protesting against the schemes of permanence, federation, and other measures of a revolutionary nature, which had been suggested by Jourdan and his associates. "Great as the evils were which the nation suffered, and greater still as were those which it apprehended, constitutional remedies were at hand; and he deprecated the adoption of such measures as were calculated to lead insensibly to the commission or sufferance of crimes, the bare idea of which would make the assembly start back with horror." Jourdan's motion was at length negatived by a majority of 74, there being 171 for, and 245 against it.

A prodigious majority of the people of Paris, who justly relied on the talents and firmness of Sieyes, were highly pleased with this decision; but the deputies who voted against the motion of Jourdan, were insulted by an abandoned mob, who surrounded the hall of the assembly, and whom the military found it difficult to restrain from acts of outrage and violence.

The full force of her past and present evils was felt by the whole of France, and the necessity there existed of establishing a better order of things, had become extremely apparent. She stood in need of a government qualified to restore the political edifice, or rather construct it afresh, on a more solid and permanent basis. But the grand question was, by what interposition, almost miraculous, could this be accomplished? By what means more than human could confidence be restored, courage re-animated, evil discord healed, and authority confirmed, since it was now every where spurned at and despised?

In the preceding book it has been mentioned, that General Bonaparte, resolving to leave Egypt, deserted his army, and suddenly arrived in Paris. Of the circumstances attending his unexpected return, we shall at present treat; and the state of the deserted army shall be the subject of another chapter.

No sooner had Bonaparte entered Paris, than all the different factions were eager to strengthen themselves by obtaining his suffrage. Urged on by his own lofty and ambitious hopes, he determined, in this perplexing situation, to sever the gordian knot by his sword, and to take the most prodigious responsibility on himself, by seizing on the slackened reins of the state with a firm and daring hand.

The period of action was fixed for the 9th of November; and, in conformity to the plan which had been pre-concerted with Sieyes and a small number of confidential friends, the council of elders, with the exception of the jacobinical members, were summoned to meet early in the morning; when it was decreed, on the motion of Regnier, to remove the sittings of the legislative body to St. Cloud, with the execution of which General Bonaparte was charged, who had also the legislative guard placed under his orders. Having received official information of this appointment, he went immediately to the palace of the Thuilleries, attended by Generals Berthier and Lefevre, declaring to the council, "that the decree their wisdom had issued, the arms of himself, and the generals his associates, would carry into execution. We will have a republic founded on the right basis, on civil liberty and national representation.—I swear it in my own name, and in that of my fellow-soldiers."

The gates of the Thuilleries were shut at eleven o'clock, and guards placed at the chief

posts in and about Paris. He next reviewed the troops in the courts and gardens of the palace, which had the appearance of a camp, and published a proclamation, addressed to the whole soldiery, inviting them to second him with their wonted courage, firmness, and energy. "In what state did I leave France? In what state have I found it? I left you peace, and I find war! I left you conquests, and the enemy are possessing your frontiers! I left you arsenals well supplied; you are without arms; robbery has been reduced to a system; the resources of the state are drained; and the soldiery is without the necessary means of defence.—Where are the hundred thousand comrades whom I left covered with laurels?"

The directory called an extraordinary meeting, when made acquainted with this unexpected sitting of the council of ancients. Gohier, then president, Moulins, and Barras, were at the palace of the Luxemburg; but Sieyes and Roger Ducos had previously gone to the Thuilleries. A message being sent to the military commandant of Paris, he appeared; and being desired to explain the cause of the tumult, he observed, that an irreversible decree had invested Bonaparte with the command of all the troops in Paris, which made himself nothing more than a subaltern; in consequence of which, they must apply to the general-in-chief for whatever information they required.

The adoption of violent measures first suggested itself to Gohier and Moulins, when a proposition was made to arrest Bonaparte in his own house; but it was soon found, that the guard had deserted to the Thuilleries, and that the directorial palace itself was invested by a troop of soldiers. These three directors being no longer supported, either by public opinion or public force, saw the supreme authority dropping from their hands. About noon, Barras sent in his resignation to Bonaparte, having obtained permission to retire under a guard, to his magnificent villa of Grosbois. He was the only individual who had continued a member of the directory since the first existence of the constitution; and his character was rather distinguished for dissipation and corruption, than for cruelty or oppression. Moulins and Gohier were confined to their apartments in the Luxemburg. The former, however, made his escape during the night, and the latter was next day permitted to retire to his own house.

At noon, the sitting of the council of five hundred was opened as usual. They knew nothing but from vague report of the causes by which the conduct of the elders had been determined. The *procès verbal* having been read over, every member was anxious to be heard; but Lucien Bonaparte, the president, and one of the general's brothers, shortened the debate, by reading the decree by virtue of which the council of elders, agreeably

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to the spirit of the 103d article of the constitution, transferred the sittings of the legislature to St. Cloud, and declared the meeting *dissolved*, in spite of every attempt at opposition.

General Bonaparte then issued two proclamations:—one informing the national guard, that the legislature had removed to St. Cloud, to protect it from the danger with which it was threatened by the disorganization of the administrative government, the other acquainting the soldiery that he had taken the command of the army, in order to execute measures for the substantial benefit of the people. A third proclamation recommended it to the inhabitants of Paris to remain quiet, declaring that the measures to be adopted were designed for the re-establishment of internal order, for restoring liberty, and fixing the republic on a permanent basis. The most profound tranquillity reigned throughout Paris, arising from faith in these public avowals, and a universally prevailing conviction that the result of these measures would be highly beneficial.

Next morning the senate assembled in the great gallery at the palace of St. Cloud, the orangery being occupied by the council of five hundred, which opened on the garden. Gaudin moved, that a committee of seven should be chosen, to make a report instantly on the situation to which the state was reduced; but as soon as he concluded, a violent clamor ensued; some urging a renewal of the oath of fidelity to the constitution, which was made in due form, and carried by acclamation.

In the mean time, Bonaparte was occupied in delivering an oration to the council of elders, and requesting them to associate their wisdom with his firmness. He maintained, that the constitution of the year 3 was nothing but a ruin, that it had been the sport of every party, who had in their respective turns trampled it under their feet; and he maintained, that every species of tyranny had been committed and sanctioned by the constitution. In the course of his speech, he made use of the memorable words, "*we will save the republic and liberty!*" when a voice inquired, "Who will answer for it?" Upon this Bonaparte turned to the military, and asked, with bold enthusiasm, "Soldiers! say if ever I deceived you when I promised you victory."

He next went to the council of five hundred, who, having renewed their oaths of fidelity to the constitution, were discussing with great warmth the questions relating to the election of a successor to Barras, making an appeal to the people, and of returning to Paris in a mass, when General Bonaparte presented himself at the door of the orangery, attended by a number of officers and soldiers without arms. Having advanced a few steps into the room, as if desirous to address the assembly, a hundred voices exclaimed, "Down

with the tyrant! down with the dictator! kill him! kill him!" Different members left their seats, and rushed forward with threatenings of immediate vengeance; and a man of the name of Arena, who was one of the deputies, aimed a blow at him with a poniard, which one of the grenadiers parried, and received on his arm. Bonaparte stood for a moment speechless, and struck with astonishment; for though he doubtless expected to meet with opposition, he was by no means prepared for a scene so frantic and violent. The officers in his train at length stepped forward to snatch him from danger, and he was prevailed upon to return to the soldiers, who were drawn up in the palace-court.

The president, Lucien Bonaparte, ascended the tribune at this moment, and proclaimed, that the general, his brother, had no design but to acquaint the council with the present alarming situation of affairs; and he insisted that he should be called into the assembly to explain the motives of his conduct. Exclamations and reproaches, however, swallowed up his voice; and so dreadful was the consequent confusion, that the president threw off his robes of office, and solemnly declared that he held it no longer. Poniards and pistols were instantly presented to his breast, in order to compel him to resume his office; when General Lefevre, who was commissioned by Bonaparte, being made acquainted with the imminent danger to which the president was exposed, entered the hall at the head of a military detachment, and having surrounded Lucien, conducted him into the court of the palace.

It must indeed be acknowledged, that the troops were animated by the presence of their general; but it is just at the same time to admit, that they were far from being unanimous or resolved in their sentiments. They listened to the president, however, with the most profound attention, whilst he declared, in very moving expressions, that both he and his brother had been threatened with assassination; that the assembly of five hundred had no longer any existence; that the minority had become rebels, and were holding the poniard of sedition and despotism over the heads of the unarmed majority; and he invoked the assistance of the military to drive those rebels from the council-chamber, where they were at that moment exercising acts of violence and despotism, and on the eve of subverting the republic. The president having concluded his speech, the soldiers instantly drew their swords, making the air resound with the cries of "*Vive la republique!*"

General Bonaparte resolved to turn this favorable moment to a good account, and therefore repeated aloud his order to march, which was instantly obeyed. The chamber was still the seat of anarchy and confusion, when the *pas de charge* was suddenly heard, and the voices of the speakers

were drowned in the noise of drums and clarionets. Officers and soldiers were instantly at the doors of the assembly, one of whom desired the deputies to withdraw, declaring that he would not be responsible for their lives; with which invitation many of them complied. Others continued to repeat their invectives; but, having sounded the *pas de charge* a second time, the hall was instantly cleared by the grenadiers at the point of the bayonet; the representatives flocking into the garden, and leaving the military in possession of the palace. The most jacobinical of the malcontents fled with precipitation to the metropolis.

The first vague accounts of these transactions filled the city of Paris with alarming apprehensions; but no sooner did they receive an accurate and circumstantial detail of facts, than the people of Paris rejoiced at the overthrow of the jacobins, and the pleasing prospect of a much better government, having justice and humanity for its basis, under the guardian care of which every citizen might find safety and protection, who wished to be obedient to the laws.

During the arduous conflict between Bonaparte and the council of five hundred, the elders were by no means unanimous in the adoption of measures which would subvert in the issue the directorial government; and it was believed that remedies might be found for the disorders of the state, without having recourse to extremities of such a dangerous nature. The contest, however, being at an end, they agreed to the propositions, that an executive provisional commission should be nominated; that the legislative body should be adjourned to the 21st of December; and that an intermediary commission should be formed, in order to preserve the rights of the national representation.

The council of five hundred, and that of the antients, met again in the evening; but the former now exhibited a conduct very different from what they manifested but a few hours before. Lucien Bonaparte congratulated the members then present on their happy deliverance from the yoke of jacobins and assassins, although the vanquished party were extremely anxious to extend a second time their horrible and sanguinary dominion over the affrighted country. Applauses were the only interruption he met with on this memorable occasion. Boulay de la Meurthe demonstrated, by very forcible and conclusive arguments, that a total change in the constitution was absolutely necessary. Nothing stable was possessed by France, either in its agents or its means, during the existence of the directorial government. Under that tyrannical system, property was insecure, commerce and the arts were in a state of stagnation; confidence was a shadow; and so excessive was the oppression of the people, that to point out the evils of the state, and the re-

medies for curing them, were equally dangerous. He unfolded, with no ordinary degree of sagacity, the radical defects of that constitution, and explained the reasons why it was morally impossible for harmony to exist between the legislative and executive branches of the constitution. These two, instead of uniting, were constantly at variance, representing two enemies who were continually at loggerheads. This orator concluded by saying:

“In short, upon investigating the public service, is there a single part which is organised, or which is carried on in a regular and invariable mode? On the contrary, every thing is in chaos, and all our efforts to extricate ourselves have ended in nothing; and never can end in any thing, except to plunge us deeper in the abyss of ruin. Is it astonishing, therefore, that neither public nor private liberty has yet existed in France, where all command and none obey; where nothing, in short, exists, but the phantom of a government? The basis of the constitution, or the general principle of it, are indeed good; they are the principles of every good government; the sovereignty of the people, the unity of the republic; equality of rights, liberty, and the representative system. But the constitutional organization arranged on this basis, is essentially vicious. It is in the conviction of the demagogues, as well as of ourselves, that the actual order of things can no longer continue. They would willingly take advantage of that movement, and govern France as in 1793; while we are anxious for the establishment of a plan of liberty allied with order, and productive of happiness. We wish liberty for all, they only for themselves.”

When Boulay de la Meurthe concluded his speech, the project, of which the council of elders had already approved, was brought forward. It said, that the directory no longer existed; that certain deputies, sixty-one in number, were no longer members of the national representation; that an executive commission should be provisionally appointed, composed of Sieyes, Ducos, and Bonaparte, who should be denominated consuls of the French republic; that commissions of twenty-five members each should be named by the two councils, to prepare the requisite changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution,—the design of which was, to consolidate, guarantee, and inviolably consecrate the sovereignty of the French people; that they should also be charged with the formation of a civil code. In a word, a proclamation was issued, declaring to the people of France the events which had taken place, and the causes which led to the present changes. Thus ended this great revolution, which was accomplished in twenty-four hours, and received with enthusiasm by all descriptions of people, except by the jacobins.

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Agreeably to the provisions of the new constitution, Bonaparte created himself first consul, Cambaceres and Lebrun being the second and third. The last of these were chosen only for five years, for the purpose of establishing a regular rotation of elections, in regard to those subordinate magistrates. Sieyes was rewarded by the legislative commission with an estate in the neighbourhood of Paris, worth the annual sum of about 16,000 francs.

The three consuls entered on their functions the next day, and the legislative commissions began their sittings at the same time. In order to attain popularity, they repealed some odious laws, particularly the law of hostages, and the forced loan of 100 millions.

The military tribunals, hitherto employed to inflict the penalty of death on such of the emigrants as had returned to their native country, were suspended. The refractory priests, hitherto persecuted, were recalled from their exile, and admitted to the exercise of their functions, without any other formality than a simple declaration, that they would submit to the laws of the republic. The churches were opened for public worship, and the ancient religion began to be treated with respect. With consummate policy, public honors were conferred on the remains of Pius VI.; and that general who boasted in Africa, with all the zeal of a mussulman, that France had overthrown the head of the catholic faith, now ordered a pompous funeral service to be celebrated to the memory of the deceased pontiff.

Lucien, the first consul's brother, was chosen minister of the interior; and Charles Maurice Talleyrand minister for foreign affairs. Of this character, who, in conjunction with Sieyes, is supposed to have projected that revolution, of which Bonaparte arrived in France so seasonably to undertake the execution, we shall subjoin a biographical sketch.

Descended from one of the most ancient families in France, Talleyrand was born at Paris, on the 7th of March, 1754. He is the younger son of a younger branch of the Counts of Peregorde, who, three centuries ago, were sovereigns of a country in the south-western part of France, yet called Peregorde. Though nobly born, the circumstances of his parents were not such as to afford him the prospect of hereditary possessions; and, being club-footed from his birth, at an early period of his life he was destined for the church. He commenced his education at the college of *Louis le Grand*, where, in 1769, he obtained the first prize for learning in his class; but, as his early depravity was proportionate to his genius, he was at the same time publicly reprimanded for the glaring irregularity of his conduct. During the Easter week, in 1768, at which period he was only fourteen years of age, he went to a public

brothel, got involved in a quarrel, refused to give his adversary satisfaction, was in consequence thrown out of a two-pair of stairs window into the street, and had both his legs broken by the fall. Refusing to state his name and place of abode, he was carried to an hospital, where he remained four days before it was ascertained what had become of him. The superior of the college having learned the cause of his accident, Talleyrand was refused re-admission; and it is recorded of him, that, when informed of his disgrace, though lying on a bed of sickness, he flew into a passion, and swore that it should not be for want of his active endeavours and philosophical zeal, if, five-and-twenty years afterwards, christian teachers and christian pupils were still found in France; or if churches were not changed into theatres, and colleges into brothels.

Two years before the period of this event, Talleyrand's father had died, and he was now under the care of his uncle, the Count de Peregorde. This nobleman had him secretly brought from the hospital to his palace, *Rue de l'Université, Fauxbourg St. Germain*; and, in the autumn of the year, he was placed under the care of the same governor who superintended the education of his cousin, the Prince de Chalais. His talents continued to unfold themselves with celerity and splendor; but, if possible, his depravity made a still more rapid progress.

In the neighbourhood of the count's palace resided a Madame Gauchier, a widow, with five children, three of whom were daughters. A scanty pension allowed her by government, her husband having been a captain and knight of the order of St. Louis, proved insufficient for the support of her family, and she and her daughters had taken up the business of mantua-makers. By splendid presents and flattering offers, the unsuspecting innocence of the girls was soon seduced; and in less than six months, Maria and Amy, the one aged eighteen, the other sixteen, were in a state of pregnancy. For the alleged purpose of procuring abortion, some drugs were presented by their lover; but, so deleterious were their effects, that they immediately deprived Amy of her life and Maria of her reason; and, on the same day, the wretched mother followed the remains of one of her daughters to the grave, and accompanied the other to a mad-house! Talleyrand, however, remained unsuspected; the poor widow still received his visits with distinction, consulted him as a friend, and revered him as a benefactor. But the friendly veil of ignorance was at last withdrawn. On her fourteenth birthday, during the carnival of 1770, her third daughter, Sophia, disappeared; and, in such a manner did Talleyrand plan the retreat of his new victim, that she was not discovered until Midsummer. At length, tempted by the reward of 3000 livres,

offered by the Duke of Penthièvre, his female accomplice disclosed the place of her concealment, and poor Sophia was discovered in the arms of her seducer. She, too, had become pregnant, and in her room was found a box of pills, which, by her confession, were intended to produce abortion. These pills were analysed, compared with the substances which were found in the corpse of the poisoned Amy, and had evidently been composed of similar ingredients! Talleyrand, also, from a combination of juvenile indiscretion and depraved vanity, had boasted of his intrigues with, and gloried in the ruin of, the two elder sisters. Sophia was taken into the convent of the Ursulines, near Paris; but, notwithstanding every attention which she experienced, an untimely death succeeded a premature delivery; and, in two days, her dissolution was followed by that of her mother, from a broken heart, and the same tomb received them both.

When Count de Peregord was informed of these shocking events, he convoked a family council, for the purpose of determining on the future disposal of his nephew. Some proposed that he should be exiled to the colonies for life; but it was at length agreed, that a petition should be presented to the king for a *lettre de cachet*. This was obtained; and, in October, 1770, Talleyrand was seized at a gambling-house, and thrown into the Bastille, under the name of L'Abbe Boiteux. In December following, he was removed to the castle of Vincennes, where he remained in solitary confinement for twelve months. By inflicting severe penances on himself, and expressing a desire to enter the order of La Trap, the most rigid of all monastic institutions, he succeeded in convincing the chaplain of the castle, that his life was not only a life of repentance, but of edification; and, on the strength of such assurance, Talleyrand was liberated, and sent to finish his studies with the jesuits of Thoulouse, where, in 1773, he was received as a member of the Gallican clergy.

The Egyptian expedition of Bonaparte was suggested by Talleyrand, by which means he gained two important points; he flattered the unbounded ambition of the Corsican, and thus obtained his friendship; and by sending away the object of the directory's dread and jealousy, he conferred an obligation on the directors, and thus insured his own continuance in place.

In one of the first councils of state, after Bonaparte's usurpation of the consulate, Talleyrand submitted proposals for a general pacification; in consequence of which, the King of England, with the Emperors of Germany and Russia, were insulted by the receipt of letters from the Corsican's own hand.

About the end of December, Lord Grenville received a letter from M. Talleyrand, signifying,

that he had, by order of his government, dispatched a messenger with a letter from the first consul to his majesty the King of England. Of this extraordinary epistle, the following is an accurate transcript:

" FRENCH REPUBLIC—SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE—LIBERTY—EQUALITY.

" BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, TO HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

" *Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year*
(December 25, 1799.)

" CALLED by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

" The war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

" How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness, the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity as well as of the first glory?

" These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

" Your majesty will only see, in this overture, my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

" France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, to the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

(Signed) " BONAPARTE."

In a few days Lord Grenville informed M. Talleyrand "that he had laid before the king the two letters transmitted to him; and that his majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, had commanded him to return, in his name, the official answer enclosed.

" OFFICIAL NOTE FROM LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT PARIS.

" *London, January 4, 1800.*

" THE king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure

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and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects.

"For these he has contended against all unprovoked attacks; and for the same object he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into negociation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negociation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

"The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilised nations.

"For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss cantons, his majesty's ancient friends and allies, have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

"Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone. They have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote, both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was, perhaps, unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

"While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability, for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

"For the security, therefore, of these essential

objects, his majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe; and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

"Greatly, indeed, will his majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have, at length, been finally relinquished. But the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his majesty's wishes, can result only from experience and the evidence of facts.

"The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence, would be the restoration of that line of princes, which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad. Such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negociation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory, and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

"But, desirable as such an event must be, both to France and the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

"His majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can, in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen—or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same end—his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies, the means of immediate and general pacification.

"Unhappily no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this

situation it can, for the present, only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him, either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

In as short a time as the distance and other circumstances would admit, Lord Grenville received a note from M. Talleyrand, inclosing, by command of the first consul, an answer to his last communication, "equally official," as follows:—

M. TALLEYRAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

"Paris, 24th Nivose, 8th year
(Jan. 14, 1800.)"

"THE official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, the 8th year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic majesty, having been laid before the first consul of the French republic, he observed, with surprise, that it rested upon an opinion which is not exact, respecting the origin and consequences of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted, that, occupied at that time with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

"But, from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real long time before it was public. Internal resistance was excited: its opponents were favorably received; their extravagant declamations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her. Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honor, and in her safety, long time before war was declared.

"Thus it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences.

"Assailed on all sides, the republic could not

but extend universally the efforts of her defence; and it is only for the maintenance of her independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed in her own strength and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw her enemies obstinately refuse to recognise her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but, as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of reconciliation, and manifested pacific intentions; and, if these have not always been efficacious—if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority in France have not always shown as much moderation as the nation itself has shown courage—it must, above all, be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France.

"But if the wishes of his Britannic majesty, in conformity with his assurances, are in unison with those of the French republic for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which the utility is reciprocal and is felt; especially when the first consul of the French republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all the treaties concluded?"

"The first consul of the French republic could not doubt that his Britannic majesty recognised the right of nations to choose the form of their government, *since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown*. But he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the ministers of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic; and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his majesty if a sort of invitation were held out in favor of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century; or an exhortation to recede to the throne, that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it.

"If, at periods not far distant, when the constitutional system of the republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negotiation and pacific conferences, how is it possible that he should not be eager now to renew negotiations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a

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rapid progress? On every side the voice of nations and humanity implores the conclusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities, or, in order that their terrible consequences may be a reproach to those only who shall have provoked them, that the first consul of the French republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who shall repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications; and who should apply themselves, without any delay, to effect the re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the French republic and England. The first consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

(Signed) "C. M. TALLEYRAND."

To this note the following official answer was returned:

"LORD GRENVILLE TO M. TALLEYRAND.

"*Downing-street, January 20, 1800.*

"THE official note transmitted by the minister for foreign affairs in France, and received by the undersigned on the 18th instant, has been laid before the king.

"His majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes in that note, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present rulers, under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded; and, in so far as they respect his majesty's conduct, not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate, and also by the express testimony, given at that time, of the government of France itself.

"With respect to the object of the note, his majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given.

"He has explained, without reserve, the obstacles which, in his judgment, preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negotiation. All the inducements to treat which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace, and for the future observance of treaties; the power of insuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the validity of the system newly established after so rapid a succession of revolutions—all these are points which can be known only from that test to

which his majesty has already referred them, the result of EXPERIENCE and the EVIDENCE of FACTS.

"With that sincerity and plainness his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, his majesty has pointed out to France the surest and speediest means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared, in terms equally explicit, and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government; that he looks only to the security of his own dominions and of Europe; and that, whenever that essential object can, in his judgment, be in any manner whatever sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negotiation for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

"To these declarations his majesty steadily adheres; and it is only on the grounds thus stated, that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence to which, under the favor of Providence, his kingdoms owe the security of those blessings which they now enjoy.

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

The whole of this very extraordinary correspondence was immediately communicated to parliament, by a message from the king; and, on the 28th of January, Lord Grenville moved an address to the throne; speaking of the first consul of France, he remarked, "He had multiplied violations of all moral and religious duties; he had repeated acts of perfidy; his hypocrisies were innumerable; and, in the declarations which affirmed the French to be true musselmen, he had given us a correct idea of his sincerity and his principles." The address was opposed by the Duke of Bedford, who observed, "that there were no terms sufficiently strong to censure the littleness which attacked the personal character of Bonaparte in order to ruin him in the estimation of the French nation. Could these railing accusations," asked his grace, "enable us to negotiate with more effect, or in any degree facilitate the prospect of peace?" He concluded with moving an amendment to the address, expressive of disapprobation, censure, and regret, for the evil counsels by which his majesty had been induced to reject the advances made for that purpose.

Lord Romney, though he professed to approve the general conduct of ministers, thought they had, in this instance, taken wrong ground, and had acted improperly in their abrupt rejection of the overtures of France. "No bad consequences could have ensued from entering into a negotiation, and our preparations might have gone on with equal vigor for the succeeding campaign. If the terms of Bonaparte had been unreasonable, they might have been refused; and the odium of

prolonging the war would have devolved on France." His lordship said, he could not, in consistency with his sentiments, vote either for the address or the amendment. Lord Carlisle, who approved the rejection of the overtures in present circumstances, admitted the letters of Lord Grenville to be violent, and apparently indiscreet. But the Earl of Liverpool maintained "that ministers had adopted the only course of security and honor by their replies to the proposition of Bonaparte. Until the French repealed their decrees, of which one was that they had a right to interfere with every government upon earth, and another, that they had a right to annex any part of Europe which fell into their hands to the republic, no good could be derived from any negotiation: All the commerce of the world was now brought into our harbours: should we depart from a system which had placed us in so prosperous a situation?" In answer to the latter part of his argument, Lord Carlisle admonished the noble earl that this reasoning was decisive against entering into a negotiation with France at any time and under any circumstances; and he begged to ask the noble Lord "whether it was arguing like a philosopher or a statesman, to insist that war must be continued in *infinitum*, in order that all the ships of the world might come into the port of London?" In the result, though manifest symptoms of dissatisfaction appeared on the part of many of the ministerial lords, the address was carried by a great majority.

In the house of commons, Mr. Dundas moved (February 3) a similar address, which he supported, after the example of Lord Grenville, in stigmatising the character and conduct of Bonaparte; in whose hands, he affirmed, "that all power was now consolidated and concentrated. It was not," he said, "France in arms, which was to be dreaded by Great Britain, but the permanent existence of a government founded on bad principles and bad faith. Such a government must, therefore, be overthrown, or its powers reduced, before this country could safely consent to treat. He admitted that twice within these four years England had entered into negotiation with France. But the feelings of ministers were repugnant to the measure, and its success would have proved a calamity."

Mr. Whitbread observed, "that every expression which could revile, every topic which could prejudice, and every art which could blacken, had been used for the purposes of political slander. But, even allowing Bonaparte to be precisely what he had been described, was he the only person who could be accused of a violation of honor or good faith? In the subversion of the Venetian republic, a transaction he would not defend, was not Austria equally concerned? Were not both parties alike culpable? England was now smart-

ing under the treachery of Prussia, who took an enormous subsidy from us, and then broke through all engagements. Did not three of the first powers in Europe divide and appropriate to themselves the unfortunate kingdom of Poland, whilst England was a tame spectator? Yet Austria and Russia were still our good and true allies. Is not Bonaparte as upright as these? If he had broken treaties, so had they; if he had killed his thousands, Suwarrow had killed his ten thousands. Ministers very modestly required that Bonaparte should acknowledge himself an usurper, recant his principles, and descend from the exalted situation which he filled, in order that the house of Bourbon might be re-instated. But was it really their wish to lavish the blood and treasure of England to effect that restoration? We were now contending either for this, or for the extermination of jacobinical principles. If for the former, we were fighting for an unattainable object; if for the latter, against opinions which could not be eradicated by force; and, in both cases, the contest must endure as long as time itself."

Mr. Erskine remarked, "that, whether it were politic or impolitic to accede to the armistice proposed by France, or even to the unqualified overture of negotiation, under no circumstances, and at no time, could such an answer as was actually returned be either wise or decent from the ministers of any nation to any possible professions of conciliation and peace. It was rash, insolent, and provoking, without necessity. Had ministers been able, by eight years of invective, to mitigate the evils of the French revolution? On the contrary, had we not, by persisting in an hostile line of conduct, and declaring France incapable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, placed her out of the pale of social community; and by this means heightened, and even created, many of the evils which we deplored? Could it be a matter of wonder, if France, thus denounced as a public enemy, should be actuated by the spirit of retaliation, and, in her ungoverned rage, desolate whatever territory she occupied? Or that, warring against so formidable a confederacy, the rights of nations should be so little respected? Was not the world agitated with portentous violence, because the ministers of Great Britain had resolved to re-establish an order of things, which had reached its distant period, and expired?" Mr. Erskine treated with contempt the idea, "that the present overture from the first consul was to be rejected as insincere. Surrounded with perils, at the head of an untried government, menaced by a great confederacy, of which England was the acknowledged chief, compelled to press heavily on the resources of an exhausted people, peace was undoubtedly his interest; and he might be reasonably expected to make great sacrifices for the re-establishment of the national tranquillity."

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In every view he disapproved the answer which had been sent by ministers to Bonaparte. It appeared to him to be pregnant with danger, and to entail an awful responsibility upon those who advised and those who supported it."

The attention of the house was then attracted by a labored and eloquent oration from the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Pitt, who stated to the house, that the foundation of the reasoning of the last speaker, and his grand argument for immediate treaty, was the supposed impossibility of overturning the French revolution; and that it would not only be imprudent, but impious, to struggle any longer against the order of things, which (upon he knew not what idea of predestination) he regarded as immortal. Mr. Pitt acknowledged, that he did indeed consider the revolution as the severest trial which the visitation of Providence had ever yet inflicted on the nations of the earth: but he could not help reflecting with satisfaction, that this country, even under such a trial, had not only been exempted from those calamities which had covered almost every other part of Europe, but appeared to have been reserved as a refuge and asylum to those who fled from its persecution; as a barrier to oppose its progress; and, perhaps, ultimately, as an instrument to deliver the world from the crimes and miseries which have attended it. Mr. Pitt, in adverting to the origin of the war, affirmed that the refusal to recognise M. Chauvelin, in the capacity of ambassador from the republic, in no sort accelerated that event. He maintained, on the contrary, that an opportunity was afforded for discussion, as fully as if a regular and accredited minister had been resident here; but that all the explanations on the side of France were inadmissible. He justified the rejection of M. Chauvelin's new credentials. We had a right to reply to M. Chauvelin, when he tendered them, 'We have had no satisfaction for the injuries we have received; no security from the dangers with which we are threatened: under these circumstances we will not accept your new credentials: the former you have yourselves recalled by the sacrifice of your king.' Mr. Pitt, after uttering in this strain a long and furious invective against the French republic, observed, "that it was after receiving the most insulting declarations from the government of France, under the name of explanations, that M. Chauvelin was required to depart: and even after that period (he was almost ashamed to record it) we did not on our part shut the door against other attempts to negotiate. But this transaction was immediately followed by the declaration of war; not proceeding from England in vindication of her rights, but from France as the completion of her insults. And, on a war thus originating, could it be doubted by an English house of commons, whether the aggression

was imputable to this country or to France? or whether the manifest aggression on the part of France was the result of any thing but the principles which characterise the French revolution?"

"The only objection to this simple statement of facts was to be found in the insinuation contained in the note from France, that this country had, previous to the transactions to which he had referred, encouraged and supported the combination of other powers directed against the French nation.

"Upon investigating the subject, the proofs which contradicted such an insinuation were innumerable. In the year 1792, Russia conceived, as well as ourselves, a natural and just alarm for the balance of Europe, and applied to learn our sentiments. In our answer we imparted the principles on which we then acted; and we communicated this answer to the court of Berlin, with whom we were connected in defensive alliance. On the 29th of December, 1792, a dispatch was sent from Lord Grenville to his majesty's minister in Russia, stating 'the line of conduct to be followed previous to the commencement of hostilities, with the view, if possible, to avert them, and the nature and amount of the forces which the powers engaged in this concert might be enabled to use, supposing such extremities unavoidable.' As to the first, it appeared most advisable that the powers not hitherto engaged in the war should propose to the French nation terms of peace; that those terms should be the withdrawing their arms within the limits of the French territory—the abandoning their conquests—the rescinding any acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of any other nation—and the giving, in some public and unequivocal manner, a pledge of their intention no longer to foment troubles or excite disturbances against other governments. In return for these stipulations, the different potentates of Europe who should be parties to this measure, might engage to abandon all measures or views of hostility against France, or interference in her internal affairs; and to maintain a correspondence and intercourse of amity with the existing powers in that country with whom such a treaty may be concluded. If, on the result of this proposal, so made by the potentates acting in concert, these terms should not be accepted by France, or, being accepted, should not be satisfactorily performed, the different powers might then engage themselves to each other to enter into active measures, for the purpose of obtaining the ends in view; and it may be to be considered, whether, in such case, they might not reasonably look to some INDEMNITY for the expences and hazards to which they would necessarily be exposed."—As to the second point, viz. "that of the forces to be employed," Mr. Pitt thought it unnecessary then to speak.

The minister, on finishing this recital, asked,

"whether it was possible to conceive any measure to be adopted, in the situation in which we then stood, which could more evidently demonstrate our desire, after repeated provocations, to preserve peace on any terms consistent with our safety? or whether any sentiment could now be suggested which would have more plainly marked our moderation, forbearance, and sincerity?"—He declared, "that he was, upon this account, far from challenging the applause of his country; for he confessed that ministers were too slow in anticipating the danger resulting from revolutionary principles, against which, nothing but vigorous and open hostility can afford complete and adequate security. You cannot," said this eloquent orator, "look at the map of Europe, and lay your hand upon that country against which France has not either declared an open and aggressive war, or violated some positive treaty, or broken some recognised principle of the law of nations. The all-searching eye of the French revolution looks to every part of Europe, and every quarter of the world, in which can be found an object either of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition; nothing too small or insignificant for the grasp of its rapacity. Even to INDIA messengers were sent, for the purpose of inculcating war in those distant regions on revolutionary principles. An insatiable love of aggrandisement—an implacable spirit of destruction against all the civil and religious institutions of every country;—this is the first moving and acting spirit of the French revolution. This is the spirit which animated it at its birth, and this is the spirit which will not desert it till the moment of its dissolution.—From the alliance of the most horrid principles with the most horrid means only, could such calamities have been brought upon Europe. Groaning under every degree of misery, the victim of its own crimes, France still retains new and unexampled capacities of annoyance and destruction against all the other powers of Europe."

After dwelling very long on this part of his subject, Mr. Pitt adverted to the different negotiations for peace which had taken place. "It had," he said, "been affirmed, that the negotiation of 1796 was broken off on the single point of the possession of the Netherlands; and, therefore, upon this ground only has the war since that time been continued. But it was *not* on the decision of this question of policy and expediency that the issue of the negotiation then turned. What was required of us by France, was not merely that we should acquiesce in her retaining the Netherlands; but that we should, as a *preliminary* to all treaty and all discussion, recognise the principle, that whatever France, in time of war, had annexed to the republic, must remain inseparable for ever, and could not become the subject of negotiation.

In refusing such a preliminary, we were only resisting the claim of France to arrogate to itself the power of controlling, by its own separate and municipal acts, the rights and interests of other countries, and moulding, at its discretion, a new and general code of the law of nations." In the year 1797, Mr. Pitt said, under the pressure of a necessity which he should not disguise, we made another attempt to negotiate. "It was not now a demand that France should restore any thing, Austria having made peace upon her own terms. So far from retaining any French possessions in our own hands, we freely offered them all; requiring only, as a poor compensation, to retain a part of what we had acquired by arms from Holland, then identified with France. This proposal also was proudly refused, in a way which had been reprobated by the general voice of the country." Having made further remarks on the subsequent conduct of France respecting Switzerland, America, and Egypt, he came at length to the consideration of the question before the house. "A characteristic of the republic of France, as striking as its power of destruction, was its instability, which was of itself sufficient to annihilate all confidence in its rulers. Such had been the incredible rapidity with which the revolutions in France had succeeded each other, that the names of those who have successively exercised absolute power under the pretence of liberty, were to be numbered by the years which had elapsed.

"Having taken a view of what France was," said the minister, "let us now examine what it is. A supreme power is placed at the head of this nominal republic, with a more open avowal of military despotism than at any former period. The different institutions, republican in form and appearance, which were before the instruments of that despotism, are now annihilated. They have given way to the absolute power of one man, concentrating in himself all the authority of the state, and differing from other monarchs only in this, that he wields a sword instead of a sceptre. What, in these circumstances, is the confidence we are to derive, either from the frame of the government, or from the character and conduct of the person who is now the absolute ruler of France?"

Mr. Pitt then took a minute survey of the public conduct of Bonaparte, from the commencement of his civil and military career to the present period, in France, in Italy, and in Egypt. "His acts of perfidy," he said, "were commensurate with the number of his treaties; and, if we trace the history of those deeds which have been stained by the most atrocious cruelty, and marked the most strongly with the characteristic features of the revolution, the name of Bonaparte will be found allied to more of them than that of any other which can be handed down in the narrative

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of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years. But it will, perhaps, be argued, that, whatever may be his character, or whatever has been his past conduct, he has now an interest in making and observing peace. This was to him a doubtful proposition: that it was his interest to negotiate, he readily would acknowledge; and to negotiate with this country separately, in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the continent; to palsy at once the arms of Russia or of Austria, or of any other country that might look to Great Britain for support. But on what grounds are we to be convinced that he has an interest in concluding a solid pacification? What other security has he for retaining his newly-acquired power than the sword? He is a stranger, a foreigner, and an usurper. He appeals to his fortune; and, placing his whole reliance on military support, can he afford to let his military renown pass away? to let his laurels wither? to let the memory of his trophies sink in obscurity? What grounds have we to believe that this new usurpation, more odious and more undisguised than all that preceded it, will be more durable? I say not that we will in no case treat with Bonaparte; but, in the language of the answer returned to the French note, I say that we ought to wait for EXPERIENCE and the EVIDENCE OF FACTS before we are convinced that such a treaty is admissible. Considering the importance of obtaining complete security for the objects for which we contend, we ought not to be discouraged too soon; but the limits, beyond which it would be wrong to persist, can be determined only by estimating and comparing fairly, from time to time, the degree of security to be obtained by treaty, and the risk and disadvantage of continuing the contest. If there appeared signs of a stable government, not now to be traced; if the danger of the contest should increase, while the hope of ultimate success should be diminished; these considerations would have their due weight. But, if the question is no longer between monarchy and even the pretence and name of liberty, but between the ancient line of hereditary princes on the one hand, and a military tyrant, a foreign usurper, on the other; if the armies of that usurper are likely to find sufficient occupation on the frontiers, and to be forced at length to leave the interior of the country at liberty to manifest its real feeling and disposition; what reason have we to anticipate that the restoration of monarchy, under such circumstances, is impracticable? And can it be supposed to be indifferent to us or to the world, whether the throne of France is to be filled by a prince of the house of Bourbon, or by him whose principles and conduct I have endeavoured to develop? Is it nothing whether a system shall be sanctioned which confirms, by one of its fundamental articles,

a general transfer of property from its ancient and lawful possessors; which holds out one of the most terrible examples of national injustice? and which has, by this very act of injustice, furnished the great resource of revolutionary finance and revolutionary strength against all the powers of Europe? It is true, indeed, that even the gigantic and unnatural means by which that revolution has been supported, are so far impaired, the influence of its principles and the terror of its arms so far weakened, and its power of action so much contracted and circumscribed, that, against the embodied force of Europe, prosecuting a vigorous war, we may justly hope that the remnant and wreck of this system cannot long oppose an effectual resistance. At this moment I see no possibility of such a peace as would be attended with any of the advantages of established tranquillity; and, as I cannot be content with its nominal attainments, I will not grasp at the shadow when the reality is beyond my reach—*Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest.*"

Mr. Fox immediately rose in reply. "All parties are agreed in opinion, that the present is a new era of the war: yet the right honorable gentleman does not seem to think any new arguments necessary to induce us to persevere in it. All the topics which have so often misled us—all the reasoning which has so invariably failed—all the lofty predictions which have been so constantly falsified by events—all the hopes which have amused the sanguine, and all the assurances of the distress and weakness of the enemy which have satisfied the unthinking, are again enumerated and advanced as arguments for our continuing the war. Were we not told, five years ago, that France was not only on the verge of ruin, but actually sunk in the gulf of bankruptcy; that she could not hold out another campaign; and that we had nothing to do but to persevere for a short time, in order to save ourselves for ever from the consequences of her ambition and her jacobinism? After having gone on from year to year, upon assurances like these, and after having seen the repeated refutations of every prediction, are we again to be gravely and seriously told, that we have the same prospect of success on the same identical grounds? And upon those assurances and predictions which have so uniformly failed, we are called upon, not merely to refuse all negotiation, but to countenance principles and views as distant from wisdom and justice as they are in their nature wild and impracticable. I must lament, in common with every genuine friend of peace, the harsh and unconciliating language which ministers have made use of in their answer to a respectful offer of negotiation. Such language has ever been reprobated and considered as extremely unwise by the

most celebrated diplomatic characters. I must lament that such licence has this night been given to invective and reproach; and that the right honorable gentleman has entered with such severity and minuteness of investigation into all the early circumstances of the war, which, whatever they were, are nothing to the present purpose."

After many pertinent observations, the right honorable gentleman added:—"But ministers have declared the restoration of the house of Bourbon to be an event which would immediately remove every obstacle to negotiation. If the restoration of that house be the wish of the French nation, I, for one, shall be perfectly content to acquiesce; but, as an Englishman, actuated by English feelings, I cannot wish for the restoration to the power which they abused. I feel for their situation; I respect their distresses; but I cannot forget that the history of the century is little more than an account of the calamities arising from their intrigues, their perfidy, and their ambition.

"The restoration of the house of Bourbon is, however, denied to be a *sine qua non*. The right honorable gentleman, in language which I do not understand, talks of *limited possibilities*, which may induce ministers to treat with France, though this restoration should not take place. But these must depend upon EXPERIENCE and the EVIDENCE of FACTS; and, in order to convince the house that new evidence is requisite, he goes back to all the earliest acts and crimes of the revolution; to all the atrocities of the governments which have passed away; and contends that he must have experience of the adoption of a purer and better system, by which he may be sure that France shall be capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity. It seems, therefore, that the war is to be continued till all the peaceable virtues are excited, and for the very purpose of exciting them. What can we say of such a test, but that it is hopeless? It is the nature of war to inflame animosity, not to generate moderation; to exasperate, not to sooth; to widen, not to approximate; and, during the continuance of hostility, it is ridiculous to require evidence of a peaceable demeanor.

"But it is held to be a degradation to treat with an usurper, a military despot, whose power it is taken for granted will be short-lived. Was not the government erected by Julius Cæsar a military despotism? and yet it lasted for five or six hundred years. Cromwell was an usurper, yet France and Spain did not refuse to treat with him upon that account. It may be said, that the splendor of his talents and the success of his arms gave weight and authority to his government. But may not the same be affirmed of Bonaparte? Is not he a man of great abilities? and are not

the French as likely to acquiesce in his government as the English were in that of Cromwell? For this the right honorable gentleman professes to wait. But will not the very test required, the acquiescence of the people of France in his government, give him an advantage-ground in the negotiation which he does not possess now? Is it quite sure that he will then treat on the same terms as now? Will he not have one interest less than at present to desire peace? and is it politic to overlook a favorable occasion of terminating this destructive war for a chance so extremely doubtful? These are the considerations I would urge on his majesty's ministers, against the dangerous experiment of waiting for the acquiescence of the people of France.

"But the right honorable gentleman has another salvo in store:—'If the allies of this country shall be less successful than may reasonably be expected, in stirring up the people of France, and in the further prosecution of the war; or if the pressure of the war should be heavier upon us than it would be convenient to the nation for a continuance to bear,' then the right honorable gentleman would consent to treat even with Bonaparte. I have often blamed the minister for being disingenuous and insincere: on the present occasion I certainly cannot charge him with any such thing: he has made to-night a most honest confession: he is open and candid: he tells Bonaparte what he has to expect:—'I mean,' says he, 'to do every thing in my power to raise up the people of France against you. I have engaged a number of allies, and our combined efforts shall be used to excite insurrection and civil war in France: if I succeed, well; but if I fail, then I will treat with you. My resources being exhausted, and my solid system of finance vanished into air, you will see me renounce my high tone, my attachment to the house of Bourbon, my abhorrence of your crimes, my alarm at your principles.' Is this a politic language for one state to hold to another? And what sort of peace does the right honorable gentleman expect to receive in that case? Does he think that Bonaparte would grant to baffled insolence, to humiliated pride, to disappointment and imbecility, the same terms which he would be ready to give now?

"Sir, what is the question to-night? We are called upon to support ministers in refusing a frank, candid, and respectful offer of negotiation; and to countenance them in continuing the war. But let us for a moment suppose that ministers had been inclined to adopt the line of conduct which they pursued in 1796 and 1797, and that the address purported to contain thanks to his majesty for accepting the overture, and for opening a negotiation to treat for peace. I appeal to all the members of this house; I desire them to

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lay their hands upon their hearts, and to say whether they would not have cordially voted for such an address. Had the address breathed the spirit of peace, your benches would have resounded with praises and rejoicings; and I ask for the votes of none but those who, in the secret confession of their conscience, admit at this instant, while they hear me, that they would have cheerfully and heartily voted with the minister for an address directly the reverse of this. If every gentleman of that description should vote with me, I should be this night in the greatest majority that ever I had the honor to vote with in this house.

"We have heard to-night many acrimonious invectives against Bonaparte, against the whole course of his conduct, and against the unprincipled manner in which he seized upon the reins of government: I will not make his defence. I think all this sort of invective, which is used only to inflame the passions of this house and of the country, exceedingly ill-timed, and very impolitic; but I repeat, that I will not make his defence. I am not sufficiently in possession of materials upon which to form an opinion on the character of this extraordinary man. On his arrival in France he found the government in a very unsettled state, and the whole affairs of the republic deranged, crippled, and involved: he thought it necessary to reform the government, and he reformed it in a way which may be deemed most natural to a military man; by seizing on the whole authority himself. It will not be expected from me, that I should either approve or apologise for such an act; but, why the right honorable gentleman should be so violently indignant upon this occasion, I cannot discover. Is it not the system which was so happily and so advantageously established of late all over Ireland? and which, even now, the government may at its pleasure proclaim over the whole of that kingdom; and this at a time when the people of Ireland are called upon to discuss the interesting and momentous question of a legislative union? This the right honorable gentleman thinks precisely the period, and these the circumstances, in which she may best declare her free and unbiassed opinion. What right have ministers, then, to exclaim against military despotism in France? But it seems Bonaparte has broken his oaths; he has violated his oath of fidelity to the constitution of the third year. I confess myself of the number of those who think that such oaths ought not to be exacted: they are seldom or never of any effect; and I am not for sporting with a thing so sacred as an oath. Who ever heard, that, in revolutions, the oath of fidelity to the former government was regarded? The violation of their oaths of allegiance was never imputed to the people of England when they expelled the house

of Stuart, and will never, in similar circumstances, be imputed as a crime to any people. But who brings forward this charge of perjury? he, who desires the whole French nation to violate the oaths they have so recently taken, and who makes the success of his project depend entirely upon that national act of perjury.

The address, however, was carried, by 262 against 66 voices.

The union of England and Ireland, to which Mr. Fox alluded, was, at this time, the chief subject of debate in the latter kingdom. The Irish parliament met, *for the last time*, January 15, 1800. His excellency, Lord Cornwallis, made no allusion in his speech to the premeditated union between the two countries. As it was well understood, however, that it would be revived at a very early period of the session, it was resolved by the members in the opposite interest, to oppose it on its first appearance: and when Lord Loftus proposed an address of thanks, Sir Lawrence Parsons moved an amendment. Here a violent debate ensued, when Mr. Grattan supported the amendment with the whole powers of his astonishing talents and eloquence.

"The constitution which he (the minister) is now attempting to destroy, is one of the pillars of the empire; dear from its violation—dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts. It is the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty; her temple of fame, as well as of freedom. But the field of imagination was that in which the British minister delighted to rove; and by holding out visionary prospects and promises, he hoped ultimately to accomplish his designs. Where, indeed, he is to extinguish our power of legislation, to abrogate our highest court of judicature, to extort from us, by a financial agreement, a perpetual tribute, he is altogether a matter-of-fact man; but when he is to provide a compensation for all this prodigality of concession, then he becomes altogether poetic and prophetic; fancy gives him her wand—Amalthea takes him by the hand—Ceres follows in his train; the English capitalist and manufacturer will leave his mines, his machinery, his comforts, and his habits; he will conquer his prejudices and prepossessions, and will come over to Ireland, with a generous design to give her commerce for her lost constitution. A man who reasons, may be answered by reasoning; but the minister in all this does not argue, but foretel; now you cannot confute a prophet, you can only disbelieve him. It forms the genuine harmony of the state, when the rich encourage and employ the poor, and the poor with confidence look up to the watchful care and guardian protection of the rich; both concurring to the same end, form that grand column of society, where all below is strength, and all above is grace. How does the minister's plan

accomplish this? He takes away our gentlemen and nobles, and supplies their place by English factors, and commercial adventurers. This minister proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country, to proclaim an utter incapacity to make laws for your own people;—and is this no attack upon the honor and dignity of the kingdom? The thing which he proposes to buy, cannot be sold—LIBERTY! and his propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonor. I have heard of parliaments impeaching ministers, but here is a minister who impeaches parliament; nay, the parliamentary constitution itself; and he proposes to you to substitute the British parliament in your place; to destroy the body which restored your liberties; and to restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony.”

This brilliant declamation was answered, in a speech less eloquent than argumentative, by the new chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry; and the debate was prolonged till ten o'clock the next morning, when there appeared to be 96 votes only in favor of the amendment, to 138 who supported the address in the original form: majority, 42.

A message was delivered to each house of parliament on the 5th of February, from the lord-lieutenant, intimating, that it was the king's desire that the resolutions passed by the British parliament should be submitted to the consideration of the Irish legislature, and expressing a hope, that the grand object to which they had a reference, might be completed by the joint wisdom of the two parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of the people. On this interesting occasion, Lord Castlereagh, the secretary of state, arose, and gave a comprehensive view of the measure proposed, recommending it by arguments similar to those which had been employed by Mr. Pitt, and other advocates of the union in the British parliament, whilst the members of opposition contested these with equal ability.

The whole of this important business being concluded, Lord Castlereagh, on the 27th of March, moved an address to his majesty from the commons, declaring their approbation of the

resolutions transmitted to them, “which they considered as wisely calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union of the two legislatures; that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles, which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments.” This address having been agreed to by both houses, it was instantly transmitted to Britain by Lord Cornwallis.

The Duke of Portland, on the 2d of April, informed the house of peers, by a message from the king, “That it was with the most sincere satisfaction his majesty found himself enabled to communicate to this house the joint address of his lords and commons of Ireland, laying before his majesty certain resolutions, which contain the terms proposed by them for an entire union between the two kingdoms. His majesty, therefore, earnestly recommended to the house to take all such further steps as might best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security of his majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire.” After returning an address of thanks, the papers were fully investigated on the 21st, when Lord Holland delivered a very animated speech against the principle of the union; adverting to the solemn assurance of ministers, “That, however desirable in their judgments the union of the two countries might appear, it ought not to be accepted, unless it were the pure and spontaneous offer of the parliament of Ireland, uninfluenced by corruption and menace.” He appealed to the feelings of all, if intimidation and corruption had not been practised, for the purpose of securing a majority in both houses of the Irish parliament. The objections of Lord Holland were over-ruled, and the house went into a committee; the articles of the union, as drawn up by the Irish legislature, were distinctly discussed and agreed to, with very trifling alterations, and without any remarkable opposition. The royal assent was given to this important bill on the 2d of July.

CHAPTER II.

State of the deserted Army in Egypt.—Charges against the First Consul, of deliberate Murder, and of poisoning his sick Soldiers.—Kleber's Indignation at Bonaparte's Departure.—The Consul's Proclamation to the Army of the East.—Capture and Treaty of El-Arisch.—Renewal of Hostilities.—Murder of Kleber.

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WHILE Bonaparte, on his return to France, was conspiring against the republican form of government, which he had so often and so solemnly pledged himself to protect, his absence occasioned no small degree of sensation in Egypt. The army, abandoned to its fate, considered his conduct as treacherous; and the soldiers, losing all their respect for his person, loaded him with execrations. At this period they began to investigate his late conduct, and justly censure some of his actions. Charges of the deliberate murder of his enemies, and even of his own soldiers, were brought against him, and though the republican writers endeavoured to exculpate their hero by stating, that those charges were bare assertions; yet, unfortunately for the credit of Bonaparte, the most damning proofs of his infamy are on record. Mr. Morier, secretary to the Earl of Elgin, then the British ambassador at Constantinople, was the first who gave publicity, in Europe, to this horrible transaction, and his testimony was amply supported by that of Dr. Wittman and Sir Robert Wilson.

It was also alleged at this time, that Bonaparte in his retreat from Acre, had poisoned 580 of his own wounded soldiers! This detestable deed was first discovered to the world by Mr. Morier and Sir Robert Wilson, who collected full particulars on the subject:—

"Bonaparte," said he, "finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold; but which, from weighty reasons, cannot be here inserted; on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last, with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital, was the only measure which could be adopted! The physician, alarmed at the proposal, and bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Bonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: 'Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a human butcher; and, General, if such qualities as

you insinuate, are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them!'

"Bonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations: he persevered, and found an apothecary, who, (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind, by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent and to administer poison to the sick! Opium, at night, was distributed in gratifying food; the wretched unsuspecting victims banquetted, and, in a few hours, five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol!

"If a doubt should still exist, as to the veracity of this statement, let the members of the Institute at Cairo be asked, what passed at the sitting after the return of Bonaparte from Syria? they will relate, that the same virtuous physician, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Bonaparte of high-treason in the full assembly, against the honor of France, her children, and humanity: that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating the crimes, by charging Bonaparte with strangling, promiscuously, at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving, that this disposal of the sick was a premeditated plan. In vain Bonaparte attempted to justify himself; the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion."

The fact is farther authenticated by the French general, Danican. That gentleman met at a lazaretto, in Sicily, with a number of French soldiers, just come from Alexandria. From one of them, who had witnessed the poisoning scene at Jaffa, he received the following anecdote.—"A grenadier, who had lost two brothers, was amongst the unfortunate wretches slightly afflicted with the pestilential disease. From what he had previously observed in the hospital, he had become more suspicious than his comrades in distress, and he had scarcely taken the potion administered when he immediately discharged it, made his way out of the hospital, and, escaping the guard, whom he contrived to pass unseen, he gained the column under the command of Kleber,

at whose feet he threw himself, and in the intercession almost of despair, conjured him to let him mount one of the camels, describing what he had escaped from, and venting the most energetic maledictions on the commander-in-chief. The poor wretch, in the most piteous manner, assured General Kleber, that he would keep at a distance from the army, so that they should not be in any danger of catching his disorder. Kleber granted his request; the grenadier was saved and recovered, and was alive when the English landed under the brave Abercromby."

General Kleber felt much indignation that Bonaparte should try to dupe him and the French nation, by ascribing his departure to honorable motives. Kleber's letter, addressed to the directory, is an interesting picture of Egypt at the time of the desertion of Napoleon. He stated, that Bonaparte left that country for France without telling any person whatever; that he was to have met him at Rosetta the next day, but found only his dispatches; not knowing whether he had the good fortune to reach Toulon, he sent a copy of the letter, transferring to him the command of the army, and one to the grand vizier at Constantinople, though he knew that officer was already at Damascus. He told them that the army was reduced a full half, and that their want of military stores was no less alarming than the prodigious diminution of their numbers; that their attempt to establish a foundry had failed, and their powder manufactory kept no pace with their hopes, nor probably ever would; that the troops were naked, which was one of the greatest causes of the dysentery and the ophthalmia which so constantly prevailed; and that the medical men reported, that although the army was so diminished, their sick list was larger than the preceding year; that General Bonaparte had given orders for new clothing the army, but that the poverty of the finances caused this useful design to be postponed. He said, that a few months after their arrival, Bonaparte levied as heavy a military contribution as the country could support, and to repeat it at this time, would only lead to an insurrection; yet, with all this, Bonaparte left no money behind him, nor any thing capable of being turned into money; but that he left a debt of eleven millions, four of which was due as pay to the army; and that the Nile being very low, many provinces would claim the exemption, which he could not in justice object to; that the Mamelukes were dispersed, not destroyed; that Mourad Bey was in Upper Egypt with a numerous body of men; and Ibrahim Bey, at Ghazah, where also had arrived 30,000 men, part of the army of D'jezzar Pacha and the grand vizier; the latter of whom was encamped near Acre, and the English were masters of the Red Sea. Such was the situation in which Bonaparte had left him.

to command the army. El-Arisch being a paltry fort in the desert, the difficulty of victualling it would not allow its being garrisoned by more than 250 men, and that in a short time it must surrender without a shot being fired at it; that the Arabs, who alone could furnish provisions in the desert, now kept away and concealed themselves. Alexandria, he observed, is not a fortress, but an entrenched camp, and could make but a feeble resistance. In this state he was at a loss what to do; he thought he should continue the negotiations begun by Bonaparte, as by that means he would gain a little time; that he would propose the restitution of Egypt to the grand vizier, in the idea, that the grand signior should appoint a pacha as before, and that his troops should remain in the country, and occupy the strong holds, and collect the duties till the French made peace with England; he feared this would not be attended to; he was aware of the importance of Egypt, but that they wanted a navy; and peace with the Porte was the only way of getting rid of an enterprise no longer capable of attaining the object for which it was undertaken; that so far from home he could scarcely think of any thing but the safety and honor of the army he commanded; he sent an estimate of what they stood in need of, and a recapitulation of the debts left unpaid by Bonaparte; just as he was closing his dispatches, he added, he had received advice that fourteen or fifteen Turkish vessels were at anchor before Damietta, waiting for the fleet of the capoutan pacha, having on board from fifteen to twenty thousand men, besides which, there were 15,000 at Ghazah, and the grand vizier was marching from Damascus; that he could not possibly get together more than 5000 men able to take the field against him, but that he would try his fortune if he did not gain time by negotiation.

After stating the wants of the army, General Kleber particularised in his letter the estimate of debts owing by Bonaparte when he fled, which shewed he kept no faith with those he invaded, or those he led to invade them. The army was in arrears upwards of four millions of livres, and the total amounted to more than eleven millions. On their first arrival requisitions had been made in all the towns for the subsistence of the troops, which had never been paid for; and extraordinary contributions had been levied upon the tradesmen, merchants, &c. The effects of the Mamelukes were also seized; and their wives made to pay an extraordinary imposition. The eleven millions did not include what was due to the provinces for the supplies in kind, with which the troops were furnished during their march.

He concluded by observing, that as long as the army of Egypt was engaged in hostilities, there could be no foreign trade; nor could the receipts

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be possibly made to answer the expenses, and that peace alone could place the receipts on a satisfactory footing.

After leaving Egypt, Bonaparte shewed no intentions to induce the Parisians to think that the French arms were not quite victorious in that quarter, and that the British possessions in India would not shortly be annexed to France. So well did he dissemble any concern he might be supposed to have for his comrades, that he ordered a company of comedians to be sent to Egypt to entertain the deserted army. Those who were willing to go, were to send their applications to the commissary of the government. Fouché was ordered to put in requisition the women of the town at the Palais Royal. Near 600 females were assembled, to be sent to the army of the east, with the comedians. Little did the Frenchmen in Paris imagine that the army was threatened with destruction, at the time the first consul had conferred the command on Kleber.

A proclamation to the army of the east acquainted them with Bonaparte's new rank in the state.

"THE CONSUL BONAPARTE TO THE ARMY OF THE EAST.

"SOLDIERS,—The consuls of the republic often think on the army of the east.

"France knows all the influence of your conquests for the restoration of her commerce, and the civilization of the world.

"All Europe has her eyes fixed upon you. I, myself, am frequently in thought among you.

"In whatever situation the chances of war may place you, be always the soldiers of Rivoli and Aboukir, and you will be invincible.

"Repose in Kleber that unbounded confidence which you had in me; he deserves it.

"Soldiers! think on the day when you will come back victorious to the sacred land; it will be a day of joy and glory for the whole nation.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

The army of Egypt, however, could not be cheered by vain promises: being entirely shut out from all communication with Europe, they stood in need of many implements of war. Notwithstanding the progress that had been made in mechanics and chemistry, the troops experienced a deficiency of fire-arms, gunpowder, and lead, which were but inadequately supplied by means of the manufactories of Cairo. In addition to this, the soldiers, unaccustomed to the food and climate of the country, were subject to frequent maladies, and while they all languished to return to their native land, numbers perished by fatigue, disease, and the sword of the enemy.

Notwithstanding some partial descents at Damietta and Cosseir had lately proved abortive,

and Mourad Bey was again overthrown, the grand vizier, solicitous of rescuing a favorite province from those who had obtained possession of it by force of arms and false pretences, had assembled a numerous, although undisciplined, army for this purpose, and the pachas were repairing to his standard from every part of Asiatic Turkey as far as Mount Caucasus.

The situation of Kleber, the commander-in-chief, was exceedingly critical, the ports of Egypt being blockaded by the English, so as to prevent the arrival of succours from Europe. The plague had exhibited symptoms of unusual malignity, and within the space of a single year nearly one third of the republican army had been cut off. Kleber accordingly deemed himself at liberty to renew, or rather to continue, the negotiations begun by his predecessor; on the express invitation of Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who possessed the entire confidence of the Turkish government, he deputed two confidential persons (General Dessaix and citizen Poussielque) who repaired on board the Tigre, on purpose to settle the terms, in consequence of which Egypt was to be delivered up.

During these discussions, the Ottoman army appeared before the fortress of El-Arisch with fifty pieces of cannon; and the garrison, like the rest of the troops, discontented at their situation, and considering themselves abandoned, surrendered after an attack of seven days, carried on under the direction of an English officer (Colonel John Douglas) although General Regnier had marched at the head of a strong detachment, on purpose to raise the siege.

This unexpected event contributed greatly to the success of the treaty, which was at length concluded, Jan. 24, between General Dessaix and Poussielque, administrator-general of finance, plenipotentiaries on the part of the general-in-chief, Kleber, and their excellencies Moustapha Reschid Effendi, Testudar, and Moustapha Ras-siche Effendi, Reijou, plenipotentiaries on the part of his highness the supreme vizier. The conditions were highly favorable to both nations; for, while the French were allowed to return home with all the honors of war, Egypt, the object of contention, was to be restored to the Ottoman Porte.

The treaty consisted of twenty-two articles; in which it was expressly stipulated, that there should be an armistice during three months, for the purpose of making necessary preparations for the embarkation of the army; that the forts of Cathié (Catich) and Salabié should be delivered up on the 10th day at farthest; that the town of Mansoura should be evacuated on the 15th day; Damietta and Belbeis, on the 20th; Suez, six days previous to the evacuation of Cairo, which was to be delivered up in forty days, or forty-five

at farthest; the other places situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, should be evacuated on the 10th day, and the Delta fifteen days after the evacuation of Cairo. The prisoners on each side were to be mutually restored, and none of the inhabitants to be molested on account of their connection with the French, to whom provisions were to be furnished; and 3000 purses advanced, on purpose to facilitate the object of the treaty. A purse is about 40*l.* sterling; 3000 amounting to 120,000*l.* at a medium. It was also expressly agreed, that passports should be granted by the Sublime Porte as well as by Great Britain and Russia, and that nothing should be attempted against the army until its safe arrival in France.

Though this convention might have been productive of some good effects, as it would have stopped the effusion of human blood, and prevented an enormous expenditure of treasure, yet the British ministry, actuated by the apprehension of the consequences to be expected from the return of a disciplined army to Europe at this critical period, was determined to prevent it. Secret orders were, therefore, transmitted to Vice-admiral Lord Keith, who then commanded in the Mediterranean, disavowing the authority of Sir Sidney Smith, and enjoining him "not to consent, on any account, to the return of the French army to France, or to their capitulating in any other manner than jointly to the allied powers, whose forces were employed against them, and surrendering as prisoners of war."

These orders were afterwards revoked by a subsequent dispatch to Lord Keith, dated March 28, in which, after expressing his majesty's disapprobation of the terms entered into by the capitulation of El-Arisch, and declaring Captain Sir Sidney Smith not to be authorised, either to enter into or sanction any such agreement, the admiral received intimation, that "His majesty, from a scrupulous regard to the public faith, has judged it proper that his officers should abstain from any act inconsistent with the engagements to which Captain Sir Sidney Smith had erroneously given the sanction of his majesty's name."

Long before the receipts and even the date of these new orders, the war had been renewed. General Kleber having delivered up several places to the Turks, was, when acquainted that Lord Keith would not ratify the treaty, in a worse situation than when he began to negotiate.

The grand vizier, adhering to the conditions of the treaty, demanded that the citadel of Cairo should be delivered up at the expiration of forty days, which was near approaching. This the French general peremptorily refused. By giving up the only fortified place he held in Upper Egypt, and shutting himself in Alexandria, he would soon have been forced to capitulate without terms. He determined to keep the power he held, and

the letter from Lord Keith was the reason he gave his army for renewing hostilities. The English admiral stated his orders not to sanction the treaty of El-Arisch, and informed General Kleber, "that all ships met returning to France would be detained as prizes, and all on board be prisoners of war."

In the morning of the 20th of March, the French troops cannonaded the Turkish advanced posts at Maturia, two leagues from Cairo; their camp was at Heliopolis. The grand vizier advanced, the French being drawn up in two lines; some Janizaries charged the French with much bravery, but were obliged to retreat. The French were 15,000 strong, with cavalry and dromedaries. The Turks could muster 80,000 troops in a few hours. For the short time the battle lasted it was fought with great fury; but the skill of the small number set the large at defiance. A dreadful fire of artillery and musketry threw the Turks into confusion, while the enemy rushed on them; 40,000 men fled in every direction, and they could not be rallied.

As the Turkish commander was not secure in his camp, he was forced to abandon it, the French having advanced to cut off his retreat; they took nineteen pieces of cannon and much camp equipage. The Turks lost about 8000 killed, besides wounded and prisoners. The people of Cairo favored the Turks, and the few French left in the city were put to death. This, most probably, would have induced Kleber to have demolished it, if it was not indispensable to him; with little difficulty he retook it, April 25, and laid it under a contribution of two millions of livres, which paid the arrears of the army, and enabled them to wait for the time of the usual imposts for the current expenses. The people, surprised to see the vizier, the greatest man they knew, defeated, were satisfied that the endeavours of the Turks to get the country would be ineffectual; they looked on Egypt as the property of the French, and began to have confidence in them.

Kleber, wishing to benefit by the good-will of the inhabitants in Cairo, prevailed on them to raise a corps of 500 men; these he trained to arms and clothed in the French uniform, intending to augment them as circumstances should require. He likewise induced the Christians and Mussulmen to enroll themselves in the demi-brigades, where they would sooner learn the French discipline. These enrollments became frequent in Upper Egypt; one brigade soon recruited 300 men. Kleber raised a Greek legion, which amounted to near 1500 men.

There being great difficulty in procuring carriages when wanted, as the Arabs who let out their camels generally disappeared, Kleber had a park of 500 camels, which, when the troops

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were not in the field, were employed on useful purposes. He purchased horses and camels for the cavalry and artillery; he established flying bridges over the Nile, and settled communications between the different stations of the troops.

The French general continued actively employed in doing every thing for the comfort and protection of the army; he laid plans for works to be raised at Cairo, to keep the inhabitants in check, and command the avenues to the city; and he stopped many peculations on the soldiery, whose situation he improved considerably.

The friendship of a formidable enemy was at this period conciliated by General Kleber, who entered into a treaty with Mourad Bey, and ceded to him the provinces of Girge and Assuan, on the express condition that he should hold them of the French Republic, and pay the same yearly subsidy that was formerly received by the Ottoman Porte.

The Turkish fleet appeared off Alexandria in May. Kleber, not knowing whether troops were on-board, marched with a body of troops from Cairo, and at Rhamanieh was informed that the capoutan pacha wanted merely if possible to open a negociation; he prohibited the landing of any Turkish agent, and returned to Cairo, leaving a flying camp to march to any part of the coast, or towards Syria.

The battle of Heliopolis was not followed by any steps against the Turks, still in power on the side of the desert, which, it seems, was owing to General Menou, who might have been the cause of the commander-in-chief's not proceeding to more active hostilities. This general, for six months, had orders to repair to Cairo for several purposes, but though by his answers he was always ready to depart, and was most anxious to meet the enemy, he remained at Rosetta.

When General Menou arrived at Cairo he objected to the command of that place; Upper Egypt, where he wished to travel, was offered to him, but this he likewise objected to; at length Kleber said to him in a letter, that having offered him the most desirable commands, he had only to add that of commander-in-chief. Menou chose Upper Egypt, but still remained at Cairo. At this time various reports injurious to Kleber, and meant to deprive him of the confidence of the army, were circulated through Cairo.

When General Kleber was leaving Cairo for Rhamanieh, he wrote to General Regnier to take the command of Cairo, and watch Upper Egypt while he was on the coast. The express lost his way, and Regnier did not reach Cairo till Kleber had gone. Menou asked for the command of Cairo, which Kleber gave him, and advised him to consult with General Regnier, if

there was any movement on the side of Syria. When Regnier arrived at Cairo, he gave Menou every information he possibly could.

General Kleber, on his return, shewed Regnier a note he had ordered to be written in answer to a letter from Mr. Morier, secretary to Lord Elgin, sent from Jaffa; he conversed with Regnier relative to his plan of proceeding with the Turks; and told him that he purposed to decline all intercourse with the Turkish and English commander-in-chief, while he endeavoured to open a correspondence with Constantinople; by this means he hoped to be able to prevail on the Turks to consent to a neutrality till a general peace.

General Kleber having reviewed the Greek legion, came to Cairo to look over some repairs doing to his house; he was walking with his architect on the terrace in his garden, June 14, when he was several times stabbed by a poniard. The assassin followed Kleber from Ghazah, and having got into the house with the workmen, seized the moment when Kleber was deeply engaged in conversation. When the news got wind, the generals assembled at the house of General Damas, where the body was carried. The assassin was arrested and examined. The sheiks and agas of the city were also sent for in order to prove if this act of violence had a more extensive plan. A discussion then arose between Generals Menou and Regnier relative to a successor to Kleber. The former maintained that he was unqualified for the command; that he was less known by the troops than General Regnier, and added, that he had already refused the commander-in-chief on other occasions; he declared on his word of honor that he would sooner resign as a general officer than accept the command, and if it were imposed on him, he would order General Regnier to assume it.

General Regnier observed, that the law ordered the oldest general officer to take the command till the pleasure of government was known; that in the mean time he could issue his orders as commandant of Cairo; as Menou came to no resolution, he took him aside and told him that the business should be postponed to a time of less difficulty. Menou, however, insisted he could not take the command; that he was unknown to the troops, who were, perhaps, not in his favor from his change to the mussulman religion. "Change of religion," Regnier observed, "was no obstacle; it would make his authority more easy to the people of the country, and they would assist him with their best advice; at all events he ought to take the lead at present as commandant of Cairo."

The next day General Menou took the title of

commander-in-chief *ad interim*, and General Regnier was appointed president of the commission to try the assassin.

After Kleber's interment, and the execution of the assassin, who was condemned to be impaled alive, and his body to be devoured by the birds of prey, General Menou assumed the title of commander-in-chief: the army saw him succeed their former general with great reluctance; in several corps murmurs were heard, but the generals appeased them, hoping that Menou's knowledge of business would cause him to direct the civil powers well, and that in actual service he would consult their military experience.

The French government had accounts of the renewal of hostilities in July, and this revived the hope of their being able to keep Egypt, as a Turkish army could not expect to recover it. The arrival of the news of Kleber's death was as mysterious as the general's assassination; it was announced in the Paris gazettes by two letters said to have been received over land from Constantinople; of the authors of, or the motives which led to, the murder of the French commander, no satisfactory account was ever obtained. General Menou accused the Turks of the guilt of it, and alleged that the assassin was a fanatic, dispatched from Ghazah by the aga of the janisaries for the wicked purpose.

Menou addressed a letter to Sir Sidney Smith, dated at Cairo, acknowledging the letter he wrote from on-board the Tigre; and telling him, that as an execrable murder deprived the French army of their leader, he had undertaken to command them; that the Turks, unable to conquer the French at El-Arisch, used daggers, which cowards alone make use of; that a janisary sent from Ghazah committed this horrid act; the murder should be made known to all nations, who were equally interested in avenging it; that he, like Sir Sidney, detested the horrors of war, and wished to see an end to its misery; but he would act in no wise contrary to the honor of the French republic and her armies; that 150 Englishmen were prisoners of war at Cairo; that as they had been taken on the coast and without arms, he was certain the consuls would have approved his conduct had he sent them back; but the Turks detained Citizen Baudet, Adjutant of General Kleber; though he went on a parley, and even among barbarians his person should have been held sacred. He said, he had been obliged against his will to use reprisals against the English, but they should be released the moment Citizen Baudet reached Damietta,

and should be there exchanged for Mustapha Pacha and other Turkish commissaries; his honor was concerned in settling this business, and it regarded 150 of his countrymen; he stated that he hoped to see the war which had so long disturbed the peace of the whole world end with enthusiastic joy; the French and English nations should esteem and not destroy each other, and if they treat, it must be on conditions honorable to both.

Sir Sidney Smith, in his answer, expressed the most heartfelt sorrow for the tragical fate of General Kleber; he immediately communicated the news to the grand vizier and the Ottoman ministers, and nothing less than his details could make them credit the information; Sir Sidney added, that the grand vizier formally declared he had not the slightest intimation of those guilty of the assassination, and he expressed himself satisfied with the veracity of the declaration. He also observed, that when the capoutan pacha, who was then off Alexandria, joined the squadron, the exchange of the aid-de-camp Baudet might be carried into effect, but he could not see why he made the release of 150 English, shipwrecked at Cape Brulos, depend on what related to himself and the Porte only; he expected from his good faith and justice that Captain Bural, his officer and crew, would be allowed to return; he expressed his confidence in the good faith of General Menou, that he was equally averse with him to the war, and wished it was over, but that he in the mean time would prosecute hostilities as he has hitherto done, and strive to make himself worthy the esteem of his brave troops. As General Kleber, he said, in the late preliminaries agreed to, did not give him to understand the treaty should be ratified by the consuls; it appeared now like a refusal to evacuate Egypt; and the grand vizier required an answer on that head; the evacuation of Egypt being an object of so much interest to the cause of humanity, the mode of doing it was still open; if he refused they should exert all their means to compel them to accept conditions not perhaps so favorable as those already agreed on. As the admiral, under whose orders he acted, was at a great distance, he was authorized to agree to such arrangements as circumstances might require, and though he could not offer any new proposition, he would receive all that might be made; and he would adhere to the instructions of his court, which he knew dealt on the principle of equity and good faith.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. II.

1800.

CHAPTER III.

Account of Abbé Sieyes and his Contemporaries.—Effects of the Consular Government.—Disturbances in the western Departments.—Bonaparte's Proclamation on the Occasion.—Surrender of the Chiefs.—Character of Count Louis de Frotté.—His Execution.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. III.

1799.

WE have, in the first chapter of this book, mentioned that Abbé Sieyes was, on the establishment of the consular government, rewarded with a pension. This act of "national gratitude," as it was termed, was generally understood to be a contrivance of Bonaparte's for lowering, and indeed for humbling Sieyes in the eyes of the French nation. The legislative bodies were instructed, not only to make an offer to him, but to pass a law for compelling the abbé to accept the estate of Crosne, in the department of the Seine and Oise.

Crosne is about four leagues from Paris, in a charming valley near Villeneuve St. George. Part of it joined the seat of the ex-director Barras. On another side it is bounded by the forest of Semart, famous for being the residence of hermits, and a hunting place of the former sovereigns of France. It fell to the nation by the failure of Serilly, the treasurer of war, who owed much money to the nation. Sieyes signified his acceptance of this estate by the following letter to the legislative bodies:—

"CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,—The minister of justice has just transmitted to me the law, decreeing to me a national reward.

"Permit me to express, how deeply I am penetrated with gratitude to you for so honorable a mark of your esteem.

(Health and respect.) "SIEYES."

Sieyes was born at Frejus, where Bonaparte landed when he returned from Egypt. He took orders, became a cure, was made a vicar-general, and then a canon; he afterwards rose to the chancellorship of the church of Chartres, and was invested with the employment of counselor commissary in Paris. This was never given but to the superior clergy of France. He possessed much knowledge in the belles-lettres; his favorite studies, however, were politics, metaphysics, and economics. He spent most of his time in Paris, and associated with d'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and the other *littérati*. It is probable that Sieyes might not have risen from obscurity if the revolution had not made him display his talents. He sent out the publication entitled, "What is the Tiers Etât?" This work was the most fashionable book in Paris.

When numbers of troops were drawn about the capital, the deputies in the popular interest had reason to be fearful for their safety. Sieyes stated to the assembly, that no troops should be nearer than ten leagues to where the states-general were sitting, and proposed an address to the king, to order the troops to withdraw from Versailles. On the king's being attacked in his palace by the mob, a secret committee, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, La Clos, and the Abbé Sieyes, was formed in a village near Paris. They meant to place the Duke of Orleans so that he must have the command of the populace, and possess a decisive weight in the national assembly; Sieyes was then a zealous royalist.

He was author of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," decreed by the national assembly. When the convention voted the punishment of Louis, a number of members waited till they heard his opinion. It was understood that opinion would decide the fate of the king. Sieyes at length mounted the tribune—an awful silence prevailed—he interrupted it with "*Je suis pour la mort!*" (I am for death!) and instantly withdrew. He then lived quite concealed from the public eye, till the death of the execrable Robespierre, when leaving his retreat he published "Memoirs of his own Life." From that time he began his brilliant career, and he was fixed upon to regulate the external affairs of the republic. He suggested the idea of making separate treaties with the coalesced powers, in order to create disagreements that might hurt the royal confederacy. His plans for enlarging the republic were unfolded in 1795; he advised the keeping of the Austrian Netherlands, and went to the Hague to conclude the treaty with Holland. So highly were his services held, that he was elected one of the five members of the executive directory, which, however, he declined. He was afterwards appointed a member of the national institute.

In 1797 he narrowly escaped assassination from a pistol, by the Abbé Poulle, and was so abused by lampoons that he was compelled to leave Paris; but, on his return, he became one of the most active of the legislature. He was appointed ambassador to Berlin, where he served the republic by preserving the friendship of the King of Prussia, which continued firm during an arduous contest. He was paid much attention while he

was there, and on the king's birth-day went to court, but was late: the chamberlain being consequently perplexed where to place him without disturbing the other ambassadors—"No matter," said he, "the first place will be that occupied by the ambassador of the French republic," and cheerfully took the first vacancy that offered. On his return to France the king attended him to the frontiers, and gave him his portrait richly ornamented with diamonds. On his arrival from Prussia he was elected a director, and found little difficulty in effecting the revolution with Bonaparte; his influence was great, and this he used to accomplish his designs without any suspicion of his being inimical to the constitution which he was determined to destroy. Several of the new governments were ascribed to Sieyes; and he did much towards the consular one. The great Edmund Burke said, that Sieyes had constitutions ready suited to every time and fancy, and that no fancier of constitutions need go unsatisfied. He opened his mind to Bonaparte too far to retreat, and accepted the estate of Crosne because he could make no better terms with him. He was afterwards chosen president of the conservative senate, and at last became a simple senator.

The ex-director, Roger Ducos, whose only merit was said to be, that he prevented the other two from jostling one another, was rewarded with a similar gift. This man was almost unknown till he was appointed director. He was chosen president of one of the councils.

The residence of the first consul (Bonaparte) was in the palace of the Thuilleries, the same suite of apartments that had been occupied by the unfortunate king and queen of France.

Cambaceres was the only one of the three consuls who voted on the trial of the king. His opinion was, that the king should not be executed, unless the republic was invaded by a foreign enemy. He had more suavity of manners than vigor of intellect, and like other lawyers, had been an organ to all parties.

Le Brun, the third consul, was a man of talents, and one of the members of the committee of ancients. He was secretary to the Chancellor Maupeou, the most arbitrary of the ministers of Louis XV. He was an avowed loyalist, and had the name of a poet.

The French, in general, were pleased with the change that had taken place in the constitution; for having been long ill-governed, they trusted, by this alteration, that the national affairs would be conducted with greater vigor and ability. The public funds kept rising, and tranquillity prevailed in Paris. The fortunate usurper was determined to avail himself of the new enthusiasm in his favor; that enthusiasm of which every one knows the French nation is so highly

susceptible; and, by displaying an anxiety to relieve the wants of the people, he every day became more popular.

But tranquillity was far from being universal; the western departments still manifested a spirit of disaffection. At the close of the year 1799, the force of the royalists, or Chouans, in Brittany and Normandy, amounted to 60,000. They threatened the town of Quimper, of which they were at one period in possession. Several garrisons were disposed by government on the coasts of Flanders and Picardy for obstructing their progress. The army of loyalists in Normandy, under the command of Louis de Frotté, was considerable. A part of this army, called the division of Evreux, at Pacy, near Evreux, stopped the dispatches for government from Brest, and Mr. Ingaut, of St. Maure, a chevalier of St. Louis, and commandant of the division at Evreux, had published a proclamation in the name of Louis XVIII., inviting the loyal French to rally around the standards of their defenders, against the new usurper of the monarchy, adding these remarkable words:—

"Whether these ambitious men assume the title of directors or of consuls, or substitute, in the room of the old institutions, a new code, be assured that you will have only one tyrant instead of another. Remember our oath, never to sheath our swords till we have destroyed the enemies of our august sovereign."

The other chiefs of the loyalists of Normandy and Brittany published similar proclamations. By letters from the department of La Manche, (the channel,) it appeared, that a body of loyalists, who had been defeated at La Foix, where they had lost 2000 men, had rallied in the forest of St. Lever, and that General Count de Buais, with his division, had not quitted the cantons which border on the Orne and the Maas; and, on the Ville and Villaine, Fronca, with his division, had overrun all Brittany, and seemed to direct their march to Avranches, in the neighbourhood of which place were spread detachments of one, two, and three hundred men, who levied contributions, arms, and provisions. It was believed, that the Russian troops, who had come to pass the winter in the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, were destined to favor the movements of the loyalists, and even to join them.

Bonaparte, and all the members of the new government, expressed a desire of peace, not only with the royalist armies in France, but even a great number of the emigrants. The Duke of Liancourt (whose name had been struck off from the list of emigrants) was appointed superintendent of the police; and the minister of police wrote letters to the commissioners of the armies of the north, censuring the harsh and inhuman behaviour of the men who had conducted from Calais to Ham the unfortunate emigrants who

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had been driven aground on the coast of France, the Dukes of Choiseul, Vibraye, and Montmorency, and twenty-seven others. This spirit of moderation on the part of the first consul did not yet rest on sure foundations; his authority, newly established by revolutionists, was not sufficient for the exercise of that lenity which it was his interest to display; still less had he the power of restoring to the emigrants their possessions. Unhappily, a great number of these, as well as of priests, fondly trusting in the first appearance of moderation, returned, but were repelled from France.

An armistice was agreed upon between General Houdeville, who had before assisted in the pacification of La Vendée; and the Counts de Chatillon, Fourmont, and d'Autichamp, the principal leaders of the insurgents in the western departments. Houdeville addressed the loyalists from head-quarters at Angers, in a proclamation as follows:—

“FRENCHMEN,—The happy change which has taken place in the government, will bring to our nation peace, internal and external. The legislative committees and the consuls of the republic do not belong to any faction. Their object is the happiness and glory of the French nation. They have the firmest confidence in the victories of our armies, and every heart partakes with them in this confidence. There is already a suspension of arms in some of the western departments, and orders have been given for carrying it into execution. It is not to be doubted but the chiefs of insurgents, and the inhabitants of districts, occupied by the republican armies, will submit themselves, without delay, to the laws of the republic. A solid peace in the interior is to be established only by the united efforts of all good citizens, to conciliate and gain mutual affection. All who shall contribute their endeavours to this end, will deserve well of humanity and of their country.”

The conditions of the armistice, in substance, were, that all hostilities of every kind and degree should entirely cease; that all prisoners and hostages on both sides should be set free, but each party to be at liberty still to receive deserters; the number of republican troops in the western departments not to be augmented; correspondence among the republicans to be carried on either by resolutions transmitted from one body to another, or by means of very small detachments; correspondence among the disaffected to be protected by the republicans; requisitions to be made by the republicans for the maintenance of the troops only; hostilities not to be renewed on either side without eight days previous notice; and no proclamation on either side to be published during the suspension of arms.

As these conditions were not adhered to by

either party, orders were transmitted to General Houdeville to employ the troops in such a manner that there should not be left alone one rebellious leader. Houdeville undertook the task, and had not a doubt, as he informed the French government, of accomplishing it. It had been reported at Paris, that the English had landed on the coast of Brittany in immense force. Houdeville, in his letter to the minister at war, said that all such reports were either entirely false or greatly exaggerated. He added, “That nothing could be more desirable than a descent by the English, as in that case the war might be finished at once; for the great difficulty was to find them.”

A great number of conscripts, who had hid themselves in the woods between Chateaufort and Tours, in order to evade the republican armies, joined the loyalists, who extended themselves from this quarter into the departments of Loire and Chair and those of the Indre and Loire, at the same time a battalion of conscripts at Chalons refused to obey the orders of the minister of war.

At this critical juncture the language held out by Bonaparte in the disaffected departments was this.

“An impious war threatens a second-time to inflame the departments of the west. It becomes the duty of the first magistrates of the republic to arrest its progress, and extinguish it in its birth. But they are loth to employ force until they have exhausted the means of persuasion and justice. The artificers of these troubles are the senseless partisans of two men who have no honor, and who neither derive their rank from their virtues, nor their misfortunes from their achievements. They are farther traitors, sold to the English, or robbers who foment civil discord only as the means of sheltering them from the punishment due to their crimes.—With such men it is not the duty of government to keep any measures, or to make any declaration of its principles. It is to citizens dear to their country, who are seduced by their arts; it is to these citizens that the light of the truth is due.

“Unjust laws have been promulgated and executed; arbitrary acts have alarmed the security of the citizens, and the liberty of conscience. Every where random inscriptions on the list of emigrants have struck citizens, who had never quitted their country or even their homes. In a word, the great principles of social order have been violated.

“It is in order to remedy these acts of injustice, and these errors, that a government, founded on the sacred basis of liberty, equality, and a system of representation, has been proclaimed to, and recognized by, the nation. The constant inclination, as well as the interest and the glory of the first magistrates, which the nation has given to

itself, will be, to close all the wounds of France: and never yet has this disposition been falsified by any act originating with them.

"The disastrous law of the forced loan, and the still more disastrous law of hostages, have been repealed. Individuals exiled without trial have been restored to their country and to their families. Every day has been marked, and shall be, by deeds of justice. The council of state labors incessantly for the reformation of bad laws, and a better arrangement for raising the public contributions.

"The consuls declare, moreover, that the liberty of religious worship is guaranteed by the constitution; that no magistrate dares to offer it any violence; that no man dares to say to another—you shall exercise such and such a mode of worship, on such and such a day.

"The law of the 20th of May, 1795, which leaves to the citizens the free use of the edifices destined to religious purposes, shall be faithfully fulfilled. All the departments ought to be equally under the authority of general laws. But the first magistrates will extend their especial cares, and take a particular interest in the agriculture, manufacturers, and commerce of those that have suffered the greatest calamities. Government will pardon and shew grace to the penitent. Their forgiveness and indulgence will be unlimited. But it will strike those who, after this declaration, shall dare to resist the sovereign will of the nation.

"Frenchmen, inhabitants of the departments of the west, rally round the constitution, which invests the magistrates whom it has created with the power, and made it their duty, to protect the citizens; which secures them equally from the instability of the laws, and from their severity. Let those who wish the prosperity of France separate themselves from those who persist in their efforts to seduce them, in order to deliver them over to the chains of tyranny and the domination of the stronger. Let the good inhabitants of the country return to their fire-sides, and resume their useful labors. And let them be on their guard against the insinuations of those who would throw them again into feudal slavery. If, after all the measures just taken by government, there should yet be found men daring enough to provoke a civil war, there would remain to the chief magistrates only the melancholy but necessary duty of subduing them by force. But we, even all of us, will henceforth feel only one sentiment; the love of our country. The ministers of the god of peace will be the first movers of reconciliation and concord. Let them speak to their hearts the language which they have learnt in the school of their master. Let them repair to the temples, again opened to them; to offer, together with their fellow-citizens, the sacrifice which will

expiate the crimes of war, and the blood which it shed." BOOK IV.

On the same day, December 25, Bonaparte addressed his soldiers as follows:—

"In promising peace to the French nation, I was your organ. I know your valor. You are the men who have conquered Holland, the Rhine, Italy, and made peace under the walls of astonished Vienna.

"Soldiers, it is no longer your business to defend your frontiers: you are now to invade the states of your enemies. There is not one among you who have made different campaigns, but who knows that the most essential duty of a soldier is, with patience and constancy, to suffer privations. Several years of a bad government are not to be repaired in one day.

"It will be a pleasure to me, in the character of first magistrate, to proclaim to the nation the corps, that, by its discipline and valor, shall best deserve to be hailed as the support of their country.

"Soldiers, in due time, I shall be in the midst of you; and astonished Europe shall recollect, that you are a race of brave men."

Although d'Autichamp, Fourmont, and de Chatillon had agreed to a cessation of arms, the other insurgent chiefs persevered in hostile acts, and kept up a correspondence with the British fleet on the coast of Brittany. Hence arose the report, before-mentioned, which was contradicted by General Houdoville. Three English frigates had succeeded in landing four field-pieces, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, and some chests of silver, all which supplies were received near Muzillac, by a body of ten thousand Chouans, who were provided with sixty or eighty waggons. The waggons, when filled with the stores and provisions, were immediately buried in the earth. The troops, employed afterwards in escorting these stores, were attacked by a body of republican troops, infantry and cavalry, amounting to two thousand. This body set out from Vannes, and came up with the loyalists about a mile and a half from St. Nelt. The engagement which ensued, continued from the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon. The loyalists suffered the loss of two hundred men in killed and wounded, all of whom, however, they carried off, with the convoy, to Plendrem. The close of the day, and the want of provisions, obliged the republicans to fall back to Vannes. In the mean time, while the royalists in their proclamations insisted on two principles, the restoration of their lawful king, and the defence of the country against the soldiers of Bonaparte, the chief consul abolished the oath of hatred to kings and monarchical government, and substituted in its place a simple declaration of fidelity to the constitution.

On the 11th of January, the consuls thus ad-

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BOOK IV. dressed the inhabitants of the departments of the west, as follows:—

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“Every thing that reason could suggest, the government has done to restore peace and tranquillity to your dwellings. After long forbearance, still farther time has been granted for repentance. A great number of citizens have been brought to a sense of their errors, and have rallied round the government, which, without hatred or revenge, without fear or suspicion, protects all citizens alike, and punishes those who despise their duty. There no longer remain any in arms against France, except some men without faith, as without country, some perfidious instruments of a foreign foe, or brigands, black with guilt, whom indulgence itself knows not how to pardon. The safety of the state, and the security of citizens, require that such men should perish by the sword, and fall under the axe of national justice. A longer forbearance would be a triumph to the enemies of the republic. A valiant force only waits the signal to disperse and destroy these brigands, if that signal must be given. National guards join the force of your arms to that of the troops of the line. If you know among you any partisans of the brigands, arrest them. Let them no where find an asylum against the soldier who pursues them. And if there be any traitors who should dare to receive and defend them, let them perish along with them.

“Inhabitants of the departments of the west, on this last effort depend the tranquillity of your country, the safety of your families, and the security of your properties. By the same blow you will destroy those wretches who strip you, and the enemy who purchase and pay for their crimes.”

On the same day the consuls decreed:—

I. “That no general, or public functionary, should correspond, in any shape, or under any pretext whatever, with the leaders of the rebels.

II. That the national guards of all the communes should take up arms, and expel the brigands from their territories.

III. That the communes, whose population exceeded five thousand inhabitants, should furnish moveable columns, in order to assist other communes of a less numerous population.

IV. That whatever commune should afford an asylum or protection to the brigands, should be treated as rebels; and that such inhabitants as should be taken with arms in their hands, should be instantly put to the sword.

V. That every individual, who instigated rebellion and armed resistance, should instantly be shot.

VI. That the general who commanded the army of the west should put in force all the necessary regulations for organising the national guards, as well as for prescribing the districts which these communes were to watch over and protect: and, that he should issue orders for all

the troops, the free companies, and the moveable columns in the pay of the republic, to be exclusively employed in clearing the country, and in pursuing the rebels.”

Bonaparte, on the day after that in which he sent the proclamation to the inhabitants, sent one also to the army of the west; in which he told them, that the mass of the well-disposed inhabitants had laid down their arms, and that there now remained only robbers, emigrants, and hirelings of Britain. “Frenchmen hired by Britain! This could not be done but by men without foresight, without heart, and without honor. March against them, you will not be called on to shew any great exertion of valor. The army is composed of more than sixty thousand brave men. Let me learn shortly that the chiefs of the rebels have perished. Let the generals shew the example of their activity. Glory is to be acquired only by fatigues. If it could be acquired by a residence in great towns, or in good quarters, every man would be in possession of it. You must brave the intemperance of the seasons, the frost, the snow, the excessive cold of the nights: you must surprise your enemy at the break of day, and exterminate those wretches who are a dishonor to the French name. Make a brief but brilliant campaign. Be inexorable to brigands, but observe a severe discipline.”

The expiration of the armistice, between the Chouans and General Houdoville, was fixed at the 7th of January, but it was afterwards prolonged. A short time before the period just mentioned, the division of the royalists, under Chatillon, accepted and signed the conditions of peace. And as other divisions were confidently expected in like manner to do the same, it was decreed by General Brune, who had been appointed to the chief command of the army in the discontented provinces, that it should no longer be called by the name of the army of the west, but by that of the army of England; an insinuation that all Frenchmen were soon to be united, and to fall on England.

When General Brune was appointed to the chief command of the western army, in the council of state, being a member of that body, he rose up and said:—“In the two-fold character of a general officer and a counsellor of state, I am flattered with the choice which, on the present occasion, has been made of me by the first consul. The task imposed on me is a painful one, but I will undertake to unite the French, whatever may be their opinions. Those who are not to be influenced by reason, I will reduce by force of arms. Those who have been led into error, I will pardon. These shall be the principles of my conduct; but I will never forget, that weakness is not less an enemy to moderation than to firmness. It is that which is the ruin of the republics: may the



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Engraved by G. H. LAWAY from a painting by M. J. V. L. L.

deluded inhabitants of the west return into the bosom of their country; but, may they return as penitent children."

The conciliatory measures pursued by the French government, and particularly the second proclamation of Bonaparte, produced the desired effect on part of the loyalists, while others continued still in the resolution to maintain their cause. General d'Autichamp, who had accepted the armistice at the same time with Chatillon, employed his influence among the Chouans, in the department of Deux Levres, in favor of peace, with success. The armistice, he told them, was prolonged; and he conjured them to do nothing in violation of its conditions. They listened to his advice, and remained peaceably at their respective homes. The example of d'Autichamp was successfully imitated by Fourmont and other chiefs. Few parties of Chouans were to be seen in departments where they had lately appeared in great force. The courier between Nantz and L'Orient reported, as something extraordinary, on the 15th of January, that he had not seen a single Chouan all the way between these cities.

General Brune, on arriving at his head-quarters at Angers, in a letter to the minister-at-war, dated the 21st of January, said, "I enter this day on my command of the army. General Houdoville has been pleased to act as my lieutenant; he commands the left wing of my army. The inestimable General Houdoville has united the inhabitants of La Vendée in peace; I shall henceforth find the Chouans tractable." Thus every thing, in some quarters, wore a peaceful aspect. This was by no means the case in every district and department. A body of six hundred Chouans was cantoned at Soublans, with the design of rousing the inhabitants to arms: this party was dispersed by General Nevot, with the loss of 100 muskets and some prisoners. Considerable parties of Chouans, in the department of the Eure and Loire, were dispersed, by the arrival of a moveable column at Noyent le Ration; but, in other parts, the war on the part of the royalists assumed a more serious aspect. In the principal towns and villages of the department of Dinan, in Brittany, the following injunctions were published, in placards or hand-bills, stuck up on the high walls, and in all the places of general resort:—

I. All public officers, not being priests, who shall receive any act of marriage, at the hands of men under forty years of age, shall be shot.

II. Those who shall marry after such acts, shall have their heads shaven, and their relations shall be condemned to pay a fine.

III. Young men refusing to join and march along with the loyalists, when called on, shall be shot.

IV. All deserters from provisory assemblies shall be shot. BOOK IV.

V. Every man who does not separate himself from the moveable columns of the republicans to which he belongs, shall be shot; and his next relation shall pay a fine, or be shot also. CHAP. III.
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VI. Louis XVIII. and religion, are the principal objects of all Frenchmen's desires.

VII. Whoever shall destroy, or tear, or take down these bills and orders shall be shot.

Such was the state of affairs in the department of Dinan, in Brittany; but the departments in which the resistance of the royalists, or, as it was called, the rebellion, had become the most general, inveterate, and obstinate, were the coasts of the North, Lisle, and Vilaine, Morbihan, and the Nether Loire. These departments accordingly, by two decrees passed the 16th of January, were declared to be out of the protection of the law, and under military government; and extraordinary tribunals were established for the execution of justice in criminal cases. General Brune, who was invested with the most complete and absolute power, set out immediately from Angers, at the head of the main army, on his way to Morbihan, in the department of the Nether Loire. From his head-quarters at Vannes, he addressed to the inhabitants of Morbihan, a proclamation, dated the 13th of February. In this piece, after recapitulating his various efforts for the prevention of bloodshed, and exhorting the deluded people to forsake their perfidious leaders, he said:—

"The day of pardon is nearly past, and I take God and man to witness, that the blood that must be shed is on the heads of the chiefs of the Chouans, of the stipendiaries of England, and of the traitors of their country.

"Within twenty-four hours after the publication of the present proclamation, in all the communes of Morbihan, every unmarried man, from fourteen to fifty years of age, shall appear before the civil or military authority of the place where he shall be, and declare that he is not a Chouan, or that he abjures the party.

"The chiefs of the Chouans shall make a similar declaration, and must likewise procure the arms and stores under their direction to be given up.

"Corps are opened for the reception of deserters, according to their line of service, their rank, and qualifications.

"All authorities, which shall receive the declarations and acknowledgements of submission to the law, shall keep a register of them, and give a copy to each declarant, which, sanctioned by the generals, shall be a sufficient protection.

* The general staff will receive petitions and

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memorials, respecting the means of securing the tranquillity of individuals.

"Such are the last conditions which I offer to the rebels.

"Such is the fatal limit, which, once passed, arms and councils of war must be the only means employed to avenge the insulted nation.

"Pardon to the Frenchmen who have been misled: the traitors deserve death."

In consequence of the near approach of General Brune, with the sword in one hand and the olive-branch in the other, some others of the chiefs, besides those already mentioned, and even whole bodies of men laid down their arms; but others, who had not yet come to the same resolution, were encouraged to stand out still against all the offers and the threats of the republicans, by hopes of assistance from England and from Russia. An active force, consisting of three battalions of the first, second, and third regiments, of British guards, besides cavalry, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, was expected; also the Russian troops quartered in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and other Russian troops which were to join them. Towards the end of January, several columns of royalists having formed a junction with the troops under General Domfront, attacked the republicans, but were vigorously repulsed, with the loss of 500 men killed and 50 prisoners. The different parties of the loyalists that still retained their arms and kept together, were every where attacked with vigor, put to flight, or dispersed. In these encounters some of the chiefs were killed, and others, among whom was George, were wounded. Early in February no less a number than 15,000 royalists; or, as they were called by the French, Chouans, laid down their arms, and were united to the republicans.

It seems remarkable, that it was not always the leaders of the royalists, but the common men; that were the most obstinately determined to persevere in resistance and opposition to the republic. The chiefs that were most convinced of the inefficacy of longer resistance, experienced great obstacles to pacification, on the part of the men whom they commanded. When General George gave orders to his people to disband and disperse, they plundered his house. Chatillon, in disbanding his followers, experienced like difficulties: so also did several of the other chiefs. A band, of about three hundred Chouans, destroyed the telegraph of Bourbriac, in the Cotes-du-Nord. The same band put to death one of their conscripts, a young man who had been forced into their ranks, and had thrice deserted. Predatory parties continued also still to levy contributions in different parts of the country; but the spirit of resistance, though not altogether of loyalty, was now broken. The great mass of the people

sighed for peace, and began to consider the scattered parties that scoured the country only as enemies to returning tranquillity.

On the 15th of February, a general pacification with the royalists was concluded. All the individuals, known by the name of chiefs of Chouans, with the exception of one, presently to be noticed, laid down their arms at Rosperdin, and returned, unattended by any of their men, to Quimper. A general disarming of all the loyalists took place in all the departments, and an immense quantity of arms, stores, and provisions, fell into the hands of the prevailing party.

The leader of the loyalists that yet remained unsubdued in mind, and undismayed in danger, though forced to retreat, and conceal himself from a hostile and irresistible force, was Count Louis de Frotté, the hero most distinguished by valor, magnanimity, and firmness, among all the loyalists, since the celebrated Charette, of La Vendée.

The count had written a letter to the republican General Guidat, proposing a general pacification of all the Chouans, to which letter he had received an insignificant and evasive answer. The negotiation was protracted beyond the last of the days fixed for the armistice, and the acceptance of the terms of peace offered to the royalists; and Count Louis de Frotté, retiring with his staff and some other officers, lay concealed in an ancient castle in the department of Orne. A letter of one of his aides-de-camp, intercepted by a republican, discovered his retreat. He was taken, together with six of his staff-officers, the faithful companions of his concealment. These were Messieurs de Caumarque, Hugon, and De Verdun, commandants of legions; Monsieur de Cassineux, aid-de-camp to General Frotté; and Messieurs Seguirat and St. Floret, his aides-majors. The count, with his six companions, was sent by General Chamberthac to Verneuil, where they were all of them judged by a military tribunal, and condemned to be shot within twenty-four hours, by the orders of General Lefevre. The ground on which M. de Frotté was condemned, was a letter which was found in the possession of one of his unfortunate companions; in which he devoted himself to the cause of royalty with the most heroic enthusiasm.

He exhibited unparalleled resolution before the military commission: during his trial he called for a glass of wine, and gave a toast ("Vive la Roi!") in exact conformity to the sentiments with which he had been continually actuated.

Next day, February 18, as the count and his followers were conducted on foot to the place of execution, a grenadier happened to observe that he did not keep time, whereupon he immediately assumed the proper style, and marched as if he had belonged to the battalion.

The count and his six unfortunate companions

met death with the most undaunted courage. They would not permit bandages to be put on their eyes. Monsieur de Cassineux, his aid-de-camp, being only wounded by the first fire, and still able to stand, said calmly, to the soldiers on duty, fire again; which they did, and dispatched him.

The unhappy aid-de-camp, whose note was the occasion of this mournful catastrophe, driven to the extremity of grief and despair, by his involuntary indiscretion, blew out his own brains with a pistol.

Here was an instance of true Gallic fortitude; in obedience to the will of a foreign usurper, seven heroes fell, without the least symptom of trepidation, whose leader never deceived his adherents, or left his sick or wounded followers to be poisoned or buried half alive! The execution of this chieftain was considered by the first consul as the conclusion of the civil war, who communicated it without delay to the legislative assembly, in which Rœderer rose up, and said, "You will learn, with pleasure, that that part of the French territory, which was put out of the law, is restored to the republic, by the destruction of the rebels that held possession of it. The first

consul has given it in charge to me to acquaint you, that Frotté, with his staff-officers, has been taken in a castle, in the department of Orne. There were found upon him a cross of St. Louis, a seal with the arms of France, and some poniards of the manufacture of England." All the members of the legislative body on this rose up, and cried, "*Vive la republique.*"

Bonaparte flattered himself that he had now overthrown the royal and illustrious family of the Bourbons, and that he had totally exterminated the party who had anxiously endeavoured to restore Louis XVIII. When the unfortunate and fugitive prince of that blood, his royal highness the Count d'Artois, or *Monsieur*, as the royalists thought proper to call him, was made acquainted with the death of M. de Frotté, he immediately paid a visit to the young hero's unhappy father in London; and, with the most affecting sensibility, mingled the tears of condolence with those of the old count. He was a younger brother of General de Frotté, who aided the escape of Sir Sidney Smith from the tower of the Temple, and afterwards served under him, in the rank of major, at the siege of Acre.

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CHAPTER IV.

American History.—Conduct of the Government of the United States during the French Revolutions.—General Washington's remarkable Declaration to his Fellow-citizens, on his Resignation.—Chicanery of France.—Death and Character of Washington.—Arrival of the American Ambassadors in France.

WE shall, in this chapter, take a cursory retrospect of American affairs; during the almost universal commotions occasioned by the revolutions in France. The spirit of speculation had, for some time, led the people of the United States beyond the limits of fair and legitimate commerce, and exposed them to the censure of the contending powers. The murmurs were so loudly expressed, that the celebrated General Washington, then president, in a speech to congress, prepared the public mind for any discussion that might consequently arise.

The belligerent powers acted upon the principle of the war of 1756, that is, they seized, captured, and confiscated the property of the enemy, wherever they found it. The British were entire masters of the seas, and to them the contraband trade was principally injurious. Against that power a cry was raised in America, and the French faction kept up a clamor against the op-

pression and tyranny that subjected neutrals to search and detention.

As it soon became necessary to adjust the disputes between the government of the United States and that of Great Britain, the result was, that a treaty was concluded between these two powers. The negociators on both sides entered into a compromise for the sake of peace, but the advantage was on the side of America; for whilst America consented that the belligerent power should retain the right of search, Great Britain agreed, "that the merchandize of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, should be carried in neutral vessels." This was abandoning the rule of the war of 1756, and enabling every American, for a few shillings-worth of perjury, to transport a cargo of French, Spanish, or Dutch property, from sea to sea, as his own.

The minister of France (Genet) distributed in-

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flammatory writings, and was followed by his agents, after the American government had insisted upon his recall. Soon after, General Washington, the president of the United States, detailed the particulars of an insurrection that had taken place; which not only shews the character of the government at the time, but throws much light upon some future transactions. This gentleman stated, in his speech to congress, that a few years before, it had been found necessary to make use of the power granted by the constitution to "lay and collect excises." No sort of objection was made in the states, but in the four western counties of Pennsylvania some symptoms of riot and violence appeared.

Congress immediately paid attention to the complaints made, and wished to relieve them; but then mildness was looked on as fear, and associations were formed against the officers employed; further delay was thought impolitic, and legal process was delivered to the marshal against the rioters. The marshal was fired upon, arrested, and kept a prisoner; the house of the inspector was attacked, his papers seized, and his house set on fire and burned. Both these officers fled to the seat of government, it being acknowledged that they wanted to compel the resignation of the inspector, and extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and a change in the conduct of government. On being informed by a justice of the supreme court that the laws were opposed very powerfully, he considered what should be done: he hesitated to call out the militia, but required them to be held in readiness. Commissioners were sent to the disaffected, to represent, that if they did not submit, coercion must be resorted to; that, however, not seeming to subscribe to the mild form of atonement, he was compelled to order the militia to march, 15,000 of whom he put in motion, thinking that a sufficient force to answer every purpose; and as every appearance showed a favorable issue, he returned to the seat of government, to his duties; recommending, that an indemnification be granted to those officers of the United States who had suffered; that the amount would be great, and the example would be striking.

This insurrection was quelled on the first appearance of the troops, but the spirit of it remained unbroken, and the partisans of France endeavoured all they could to overthrow the government. The president did not announce the result of the treaty of amity, &c. till a year after it was signed, and the French government, in the mean time, used every means of annoying the American commerce. The violent party declaimed on the bad consequences that might result from the treaty, and a resolution passed the house, to demand a copy of the instructions given to Mr. Jay, who negotiated the treaty; to this General Washington replied, "that he had considered their resolution, de-

manding the instructions to the minister, with other documents relative to the treaty with Great Britain; that the nature of foreign negotiations required caution and secrecy, and even when concluded a full disclosure might have a bad effect; and to admit a right to demand such papers, would establish a dangerous precedent; but that he had no disposition to withhold any information which the public good required; but that, every circumstance considered, he could not comply with their request."

It should be observed, that the spirit of party is carried to a violent excess in America. Mr. Jefferson, another celebrated character of the day, was suspected of revolutionary views: he was accused of an intention to overturn the constitution of the United States, of being an enemy of the country, and of a wish to become a tribune of the people. He was, indeed, the declared enemy of every new system, the introduction of which might be attempted; being of opinion, that the existing constitution should be carefully preserved, and defended against all infringements arising from the stretch of executive power. Mr. Jefferson, (who had been in congress some years before,) notwithstanding his opposition to the political principles of General Washington, spoke with great respect of his virtues, and with high esteem of his sound and unerring judgment.

The resignation of General Washington, after being twice president of the republic, displayed consummate loyalty and virtue. This event was accounted for in the most handsome manner, in his declaration to his fellow-citizens. The period, he said, having arrived for the election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, and as their minds must be occupied with that, he thought it time to inform them of his declining to be again chosen, assuring them, that he was influenced by no diminution of zeal in their service or interest, but his wish to enjoy retirement, from which he had been reluctantly withdrawn, and that he meant to have so stated to them when he was last elected, but was overruled by advice of those entitled to his confidence, and he hoped they would not disapprove of his determination to retire; he expressed his gratitude to his country for the many honors it had conferred on him, and the confidence with which it supported him, which he had endeavoured to repay by services faithful and persevering: if the country had derived benefits from these services, the praise was due to them, whose support was the prop of the plans by which they were effected: he impressed on their minds the great regard they should ever possess for their national union; that they should cherish it as the palladium of their safety and prosperity, indignantly frowning upon any attempt to weaken the ties which link its parts together.

"Citizens of a common country," he added,

"that country has a right to their affections: they have fought and triumphed together in common, and the liberty they possess is the work of joint councils and joint efforts." He endeavoured to guard them against the fatal influence of parties, assuring them, "that they could not shield themselves too much against the jealousies which arise from one district misrepresenting the opinions of another, by which they would become alien to each other who ought to be bound by fraternal affection; to their permanent union, a government for all was indispensable; this government, their own choice, had a claim to their support; respect for its authority and compliance with its laws were duties enjoined by the maxims of true liberty—all obstructions to the execution of the laws, and all associations to direct or awe the action of the constituted authorities, served but to organize faction and give it force, and were likely, in course of time, to enable unprincipled men to usurp the reins of government." He exhorted them, in order to preserve their happy state, "to discountenance opposition to its authority, and to resist all innovation, however fair the pretext," and urged them strongly against the baneful effects of party in general. "This," he continued, "is inherent in the nature of man, and is more or less in all governments: parties, it is said, are in free countries useful checks on the government; this may be true, but in elective governments it ought not to be encouraged, and it ought to be mitigated and assuaged, lest in place of warming it should consume." He addressed them at length on the subject of their governments, and cautioned them against a change by usurpation, which generally destroys free governments.

This declaration contained also the following observations:—"Religion and morality are supports of political prosperity; they are the firmest props of men and citizens; every one ought to respect and cherish them. Cherish public credit, but use it as sparingly as can be; avoid expence by cultivating peace, recollecting that preparing for danger often prevents greater disbursements to repel it; avoid leaving burdens on posterity, which you ought yourselves to bear." He advised them with regard to foreign nations, in extending their commercial relations, to have as little political connexion as possible, but to fulfil all their engagements with good faith. "Europe," he remarked, "has a set of interests, which to them have little or no relation; their distant situation enables them to follow a different course; continuing one people, the time is not distant when they may defy external annoyance, and cause their neutrality to be respected. Honesty, he allowed, in all cases, to be the best policy; he wished all their engagements to be strictly observed, but not to be extended; and he told them,

that by keeping themselves in a defensive posture, they might trust to temporary alliance for extraordinary emergencies: he hoped the advice of an old friend would make an impression upon them; and he flattered himself it might be productive of some benefit; that it might check the fury of party-spirit, guard them against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, and the imposition of pretended patriotism: this would be to him a recompence: how far he himself had been guided by what he had advanced, the public records, and other evidences of his conduct, must witness to the world; he was, however, assured, that he was guided by them; he was confident he had committed many errors, but he trusted his country would view them with indulgence, after five and forty years dedicated to its service with zeal. He concluded by anticipating the pleasure he would feel in his retreat, by sharing, in the midst of his fellow-citizens, the influence of good laws and a free government, the favorite object of his heart, and the reward of their mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

Though the dignified conduct of the president encouraged the friends of government, it by no means weakened the opposition; congress and the house of representatives refused to ratify the treaty, or to carry it into effect. The country was reduced to a state of alarm: trade was at a stand, and it was thought the opposition would not rest till they had plunged their country into a war with England; all persons of property dreaded the consequences, and they would not ensure the ships that were wanted to be sent to sea. These troubles were fomented by numbers of strangers, who, from French principles, and being dissatisfied with their own countries, sought refuge in America, where they found as much fault as they did at home, and wished to create the land anew, because they had no new one to go to. These were under the French emissaries, and they strove to make a rupture with England. The mercantile interest prevailed, and the partisans of peace got the ratification consummated, though by a very small majority.

The French party, not satisfied with disgusting the president with the government, were desirous of having a successor appointed of their own party; and not only strove to influence the electors in favor of Mr. Jefferson, but to cast a share of odium upon the government by complaints and threats of war. The following decree was passed by the executive directory, and pompously delivered by the French minister, Adet, to Mr. Pickering, the secretary of state at Philadelphia:

"The executive directory, considering, that, if it becomes the faith of the French nation to respect treaties or conventions, which secure to the flags of some neutral or friendly powers commercial advantages (if they should turn to the

benefit of our enemies, either through the weakness of our allies or of neutrals, or through fear, through interested views, or through whatever motive, it would, *ipso facto*, warrant the inexecution of the articles in which they were stipulated—decrees as follows:—

“All neutral or allied powers shall, without delay, be notified, that the flag of the French republic will treat neutral vessels, either as to confiscation, as to searches, or capture, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them.

“The minister of foreign relations is charged with the execution of the present resolve, which shall not be printed.

(A true copy.) “CARNOT, President.”

Adet, in his note to the American secretary of state, accompanying this decree, said, he transmitted him a resolution of the French executive respecting the conduct of their ships of war to neutral vessels, and that he doubted not but that the American government would feel that it was dictated by imperious circumstances; that Great Britain, during the war, had used every means to add to that scourge; that it had caused neutral vessels, and particularly American vessels, to be taken into their ports, and Frenchmen and French property dragged from them; that a decree passed the convention, ordering the seizure of American property on board of neutral vessels, stating also, that it should cease when the English respected neutral flags, and that America was excepted from this order, but the conduct of the English caused this exception to be repealed; that American vessels, bound to or returning from French ports, had been still seized by the English, and that they had added to their tyranny by impressing seamen from on board American vessels, and thus strengthened their crews, without the United States having made known to him (Citizen Adet) the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction for this breach of neutrality. If the French government was obliged to abandon, with respect to them and neutral powers in general, the favorable line of conduct they pursued, the blame must fall on the British, whom the French had been obliged to follow; that neutrals had nothing to dread as to the treatment of their flag, if they caused their neutrality to be respected by the English; the republic, in that case, would respect them; but they must not complain, if France should act to them in the same manner as the English—as a neutral government favoring one power in preference to another, became of course an enemy.

Mr. Pickering, in his reply to Citizen Adet, stated, that the government of the United States rested on their treaty with France, which said, “That free ships should make free goods;” and

that being at peace, they had a right to carry the goods of the enemies of France without being subject to capture; but that the decree he alluded to, required that they should renounce this right; that the capture of their vessels carrying French property was warranted by the law of nations; that the United States did not look on themselves bound to give an account to any other government of what they did to protect their citizens; that he was well assured, officially, that the British had issued no orders for capturing American vessels, and that the minister of the United States was informed at Paris, that no order for the seizure of neutral vessels was or would be issued if the British did not seize their vessels; and he wished to know whether the restraints exercised by the English, justify a denial of the rights sanctioned by the treaty with France; whether orders had been given to capture American vessels, and if such existed, the terms of them.

Whilst Adet endeavoured to rouse the French party in America, the directory reckoned so strongly upon being able to get a president chosen from among their friends, that they would not acknowledge the ambassador, appointed to reside at Paris. They were disappointed, and Mr. John Adams, of, as it was called, the English party, was chosen to be chief magistrate. Moderation marked the conduct of the new American government; and though the corsairs of France seized American vessels, and condemned them upon the most frivolous pretences, the Philadelphia government made no reprisal, but thought to bring the enemy to reason by amicable negotiation. An embassy was sent to France with full powers to settle the differences between the two governments. When the ministers, Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry arrived at Paris, they were to obtain an audience of the French minister for foreign affairs, but they only got leave to pay him a private visit to deliver their full powers. Those the minister perused, and put in his pocket, but would not present the ambassadors to the directory, or receive them officially himself.

After the ambassadors had been left to ponder on the line of conduct the French designed, or on that they must pursue, a Mr. W. called upon them, to tell them that Mr. X. would pay them a visit; and when Mr. X. did call, he said he was authorised by Mr. Y. from the minister Talleyrand, to acquaint them that the directors were very angry with America, but he wished to have a reconciliation; and if the envoys would give the minister 50,000*l.* to divide between him and the directors, and would give 32,000,000 of florins for 16,000,000 worth of Dutch rescriptions, held by France, he would endeavour to mediate a peace; and appease the wrath of the directors.

The Americans, strangers to the ways of Paris, allowed themselves to be cajoled for ten days,

when they were often told the destruction of England was inevitable; that the arts of that nation would go over to America, if she secured the friendship of France; that, if she placed any reliance upon England, the fate of Venice would overtake her; and some idea might be formed of the consequence of provoking the directors, by what the Portuguese ambassador had experienced a few days before. He had been sent away with the insulting intelligence, that an army should follow him till it got possession of his country.

When peace was concluded with the emperor, Talleyrand saw the likely failure of his scheme with respect to the bribe and the loan, and he thought to terrify the envoys by shewing them the new situation that their country was in, from France having her forces disengaged.

The American ministers stated, that they were waited upon by Mr. X. who told them of the peace with the emperor, and that some proposals had been expected from them on the subject of their former conversation; that the directory were impatient, and would take a decided course with regard to America, if not softened; and that the peace with the emperor might make a change in the American system. To this they replied, that it had been expected by them, and would not at all affect their conduct. Mr. X. urged the danger of their situation, and pressed the policy of softening the directory, and obtaining time; they might probably not be long in office, and it would be unfortunate if those who succeeded them should find the two nations at war. To this they replied, that a state of war would be preferable to what they now endured; their commerce was plundered and unprotected; but if war was declared, they would endeavour to protect it. Mr. X. returned again to the subject of money, and told them it was expected they would offer some; they answered no, not a sixpence: he proceeded to press the matter very perseveringly; observing, that they had paid money for peace with the Algerines and Indians, and asked if it was not known that nothing could be had in France without money, as there was not an American in Paris that could not have given that information.

Every art was made use of to induce the envoys to consent to a loan to France; this, they said, they would send one of their members over to state to the American government, provided the other affairs were in the mean time carried on. Talleyrand strenuously urged the ministers to conclude a loan, declaring that it could be settled without sending to America, and dwelt upon it with much energy; nothing, however, was determined on. Mr. Gerry, who had the interview with him, immediately went to his quarters, and put in writing the conversation which had taken place.

The system of chicanery the ministers suffered

was immense, till at last they would hear no more. Messrs. Pickering and Marshall would not remain in France after the treatment they had experienced for four months, and returned to America. Mr. Gerry waited orders from government, and was recalled, after being duped by Talleyrand's professions of esteem.

A universal uproar happened in America, when the ambassador's report was laid before the government, and preparations were made for war; the French party, however, threw obstacles in the way, and persuaded the people that the directory were anxious for peace. This was a strong instance of a foreign power directing the affairs of a state against its own government; the honor of the country, and the stability of the government, demanded that the insults offered to the ministers should be punished, but an attachment to peace took away the people's senses. Yet a posture of defence was taken. General Washington was to command the army, and a naval force was ordered to protect their trade; there was acrimony enough between the two governments, but they were at a great distance from each other, and the matter terminated in a battle of words.

Soon after, America lost her adviser, general, and late president, Washington, who died Dec. 15, 1799, aged 59.

This celebrated personage cannot, perhaps, be classed among the men of superior genius, or of very splendid talents. Yet it must be allowed, that he combined in his own character an assemblage of qualities, moral and intellectual, which are rarely found in the same person; and these he possessed without the alloy of any considerable imperfection or defect. To an inflexible integrity, a pure and philosophical disinterestedness, he added the most perfect self-government, the most invincible constancy, and determined perseverance. The characteristic of his understanding was rectitude, no less than of his heart. He had a clear and extensive discernment of men and things; but, far from being pertinaciously attached to his own opinions, he paid rather too much than too little deference to those of others. As a commander, he was actuated by a high sense of honor, and manifested, on many occasions, great personal courage. His talents seemed rather adapted to defensive than offensive war; and he was distinguished in the field by vigilance, fortitude, and secrecy, more than by profound penetration or ardor of enterprise. In this respect, as well as in all others, he was peculiarly fortunate—that his situation corresponded perfectly both with his intellectual and moral endowments, and exhibited them in the most conspicuous point of view. In the character of that man, collectively considered, there must have been something transcendently great and noble, to whom, under the pressure of the most alarming difficulties and

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dangers, all America looked up, as to the guardian and protector of his country. On his wisdom and on his valour they relied with confidence for safety. Never, in any age or nation, was a trust so great, so entire, so universal, placed in any individual; and, never did any individual more completely satisfy the lofty and sanguine expectations which had been previously formed of him.

The president of the United States, Mr. Adams, when he opened the congress, at the close of the year 1798, explained the causes of the ill success attending the negociation with France. He declared, that, "instead of putting a stop to the depredations of the French privateers, it had sanctioned those depredations; and while such principles and practices prevailed, it was impossible to support their honor and their rights, except by a firm resistance." He observed "the impossibility of sending again another embassy, without degrading the nation, until France had given a satisfactory assurance that the sacred right of ambassadors should be respected; and

as no such assurance had taken place, he inferred the necessity of making vigorous preparations for war."

The president, however, altered his tone, for, early in the year 1799, he informed the senate that he had named new ambassadors plenipotentiary to treat with France, who were not to embark, though, for Europe, till assurances were given that they should be received in the characters, and enjoy the privileges, of public ministers, and till a minister or ministers should be appointed, with equal powers, to treat with them. Accordingly, soon after the formation of the consular government, Messrs. Elsworth, Henry, and Murray, arrived in France, as ambassadors from the United States of America, to destroy all the existing differences between the two republics by virtue of a treaty.

On hearing of the death of General Washington, Bonaparte ordered all the colours and officers of the republic to mount black crape for ten days.

CHAPTER V.

State of Europe.—Preparations for another Campaign.—Changes in the Armies.—The English Fleet blockades Genoa, while the Austrian Army, under General Melas, besiege it by Land.—Capture of Vado.—General Attack on Genoa.—Successes of the Austrians.—The Town of Sasello carried.—The French gain some temporary Advantages.—A Series of bloody Actions.—Distress of the French.—A Treaty concluded.—Genoa evacuated by the English.

THE most vigorous efforts were now made by England and France for another campaign. The first consul was particularly attentive to the King of Prussia, who had remained neutral during the directorial government; and he left nothing untried to induce the court of Berlin to espouse the cause of the republic, as the means of terminating the war.

Bourbonville was kindly received ambassador at the court of Berlin, and the chief consul, through him, had the fullest assurances of neutrality on the part of Prussia. The example of the king was followed by the Elector of Saxony. The imperial cabinet solicited his co-operation; the late revolution in France had determined his choice. Sweden also evinced more friendly dispositions towards the republic, and the neutrality of Denmark was confirmed by the example of Prussia.

The former campaign in Italy, as the reader will find in the preceding Book, ended with the capture of Coni and the death of Championnet,

whom Bonaparte disliked; the French army consequently retreated into the territory of Genoa, the only place of consequence in Italy, which they now held. The combined powers, therefore, attached the glory of the present campaign to the recovery of Genoa from the republicans; for whilst the French had possession of this place, they could assist their army in Switzerland, and secure a passage into Italy.

The cabinet of Vienna, enabled by the treasure of England, began to display no small degree of vigor and alacrity. The plan adopted for the campaign of this year differed entirely from that of the former, and appeared to spring out of the new situation of affairs. It was determined to remain entirely on the defensive in Germany, and, by making Italy the theatre of war, to free the whole of that country from the dominion of France. To attain this grand object with the greater facility, a powerful diversion was intended to be made in the southern provinces of the republic, by means of the English fleet in the Me-

Mediterranean, while the western departments were, at the same time, in a state of insurrection.

The determination of the combined powers was communicated to the legislative body, by a consular message, on the 7th of March. "Frenchmen, you have been anxious for peace; your government has desired it with still greater ardour: its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English ministry have betrayed the secret of their horrible policy—to dismember France, destroy its marine and its ports, strike it out from the map of Europe, or lower it to the rank of secondary powers. To obtain this horrible triumph it is that England scatters its gold, becomes prodigal of its promises, and multiplies its intrigues. The first consul has engaged, that if circumstances required, he would place himself at the head of his troops; but that, in the midst of battles and triumphs, he would invoke peace, and swear to fight only for the happiness of France and the repose of the world." It was then decreed, that an army of reserve, of 60,000 men, should be formed at Dijon, which was to be commanded by the first consul in person.

Early in the spring, the number of imperialists in Lombardy, Tuscany, and Piedmont, amounted to 110,000 men; and Melas, who was now invested with the command, considered the success of his operations as certain; for, being in possession of all the strong places that defend the entrance of the Alps, from the fort of Bard to the citadel of Coni, he could oppose a superior force to the enemy, now commanded by Massena, whose sphere of action was chiefly confined within the Ligurian frontiers.

The French army in the neighbourhood of Genoa did not exceed 45,000. The greater part of the cavalry had perished during the winter, and the infantry was exposed to privations of all kinds, being destitute of accoutrements, clothes, and even of a proper quantity of food. Scattered along a line, extending from the post of the Bochetta to the mountains of Dauphiny, it exhibited but a feeble barrier to an enemy which had the fertile plains of Italy in its rear, in possession of immense magazines on every side, and who could procure provisions, ammunition, and supplies of all kinds, by means of the sea, now wholly under the control of its maritime ally. The French army was shortly reduced to 25,000 men, and not above a half was fit for active duty. The horror excited by the hospitals was such, that not a few of the sick soldiers remained at their own quarters, and chose rather to die there, than suffer themselves to be carried into such a doleful and dreadful mansion. There were others who, no longer able to support themselves under multiplied and long-continued privations, threw themselves into the streets from their windows. The

losses were not less that arose from desertion. Numbers of officers were to be seen, in small bodies, remaining at their posts alone, and abandoned by their men. Whole bodies of the soldiery went off without their commanders, and without orders; and there were general officers too who left the army, without taking leave or obtaining permission.

Melas, the Austrian general, understanding that the enemy derived great advantage from addresses directed to the passions of the soldiery, was determined, on assembling his troops, to follow the example. "The nation," said he, "has fixed its attention upon you. The enemy still feels the losses lately experienced by him; terror accompanies his march; his disasters encourage us to display fresh energy; his fears will guarantee new victories. Let us then realise the hopes of our countrymen: fortune, so lately the companion of our arms in the plains of Italy, will not abandon us on the Alps and Appenines, but conduct us to more glorious triumphs."

In this situation of affairs, Massena perceived the necessity of new-modelling his army. He sent back to France some officers, and among these even some general officers, on the pretext of recruiting. While he was under the necessity of getting rid of some of his generals, he called to Genoa others in their room, from the army of Italy, in whom he could confide, in which number were Generals Soult, Oudinot, Gazau, Thureau, and others. In the midst of that want and inanition in which the people and the army vegetated in Liguria, what gave General Massena particular pain, was his inability to throw provisions either into Gavi or Savona. But some ships, laden with grain, having arrived at Genoa, in the course of trade, on the 21st of March, he lost no time to take advantage of this circumstance. He re-victualled Gavi for three months, and repaired the works. Having next turned his attention to the state of the marine, he armed and fitted out some privateers, for escorting the convoys of provisions that were coming along the coast, and for bringing grain from Corsica. He also made several changes in the civil administration of the Ligurian republic.

In the midst of General Massena's efforts to palliate so many irreparable evils, of a sudden the English fleet, under Lord Keith, appeared, on the 5th of April, in the gulf off Genoa, for the blockade of which it was drawn up in all the regular forms; while, on the other hand, the army of General Melas approached close to the city by land, and extended its front along the whole line of the French army. The French generals themselves admitted, that the opening of the campaign, by General Melas, was entitled to the highest praise, on account of the address with which he concealed the immense force which he had in

Italy. Being well acquainted with the weak state of the republican army, he contented himself, during the winter, with watching its movements, by means of a simple and slight cordon, while he disposed his own throughout Piedmont, Lombardy, the Venetian state, the Bolognese, the march of Ancona, and Tuscany. Thus divided, the Austrian army had the appearance of weakness; but it possessed all the means of being easily recruited, and provided with every thing necessary for action. The reinforcements which it received, from time to time, during its long repose, were in like manner dispersed over an immense extent of country, and were scarcely to be perceived. On the whole, the French were persuaded, that it would be late in the season before the Austrians could take the field. They even flattered themselves that they should be beforehand with the enemy, at the very time when the different corps, that were to compose the Austrian armies, were on their march to the general rendezvous. Cities, towns, and villages, all at once, as by a spontaneous movement, sent forth companies, regiments, and battalions, for the formation of an active army.

In a few days, General Melas was enabled to assemble 10,000 men before Bobbio, 10,000 in front of Tortona, 30,000 at Acqui and Alexandria, to advance with this great force against Massena, and, at the same time, to leave behind him, in the plains of Piedmont, the whole of his cavalry, a fine park of artillery, and 20,000 infantry. The astonishment, excited by all these circumstances, was great and universal. Massena adopted the only measure that was prudent and practicable in his situation. He contracted his lines; he formed masses, which, though altogether disproportioned to the numerous bodies to which they were opposed, might yet make an impression, and divide the enemy, by darting upon them at points favorable to an attack, and obtaining different advantages, according to local circumstances, and the genius and combinations of the chief commander. But the divisions of his army being extended on a line of sixty miles, to draw them close together was a very difficult matter.

The business of covering the city of Genoa was undertaken by Massena himself, at the head of one of his divisions. On the 5th of April, the first day of the siege, the attack of the Austrians on the French army became general. On the morning of that day the French were driven as far back as Ruha, which they entered in the evening. At Bergo-di-Sornoni, the Austrians made an attempt to break the French line, but were repulsed by General Panisot, of the second division; as they also were on the heights of Cordibona, where the French firmly maintained their ground.

In Savona, the house of Austria had had many

partisans; and the French general, on his arrival, was greatly mortified at perceiving the following declaration, from Field-marshal Melas, posted on the walls:

"Inhabitants of Genoa! I enter your territories, neither for the purposes of conquest, nor of subjugation, but merely to combat the enemy. The emperor is not desirous of making acquisitions, but merely as delivering you from a yoke which has reduced you to the most deplorable condition.

"I promise you a provisional government, composed of the wisest and most virtuous of your countrymen; it shall enjoy the protection of the victorious imperial army. Your ports shall be free, and your commerce protected; this is the only mode of precluding, in future, that misery, and those calamities, with which you have been so long oppressed, but which will soon give place to abundance and tranquillity."

A counter-proclamation was published by Gen. Massena, conjuring all the inhabitants to assist the French in procuring and maintaining *liberty and independence*.

On the second day of the siege, April 6, a general attack on the right of the French line was made by General Ott, who fell on the first division with 10,000 men, in front of Bobbio. His object was to cut his way through the French line, and press on directly to Genoa. The principal attack was made at Monte Coruna. The first division was forced to give way, and to fall back towards Novi and Monte Jaccio, as far as Quinto, where he rallied, and made a successful stand for the defence of the city. The second division, which was that of the centre, was also attacked, though with somewhat less fury. Gen. Gazau, who commanded, thought it prudent, however, to retire behind the Scrivia, towards some mills on that river. While these events were passing in the first and second divisions, the third, commanded on that day by General Gardanne, sustained a terrible conflict. Of the 30,000 men, whom General Melas had assembled in the province of Acqui, 20,000 marched under his command to Savona; where the third division, though but weak, withstood the shock, till the arrival of General Soult, who displayed astonishing valor. He succeeded in throwing 600 men and provisions into Savona; but could not save Vado, which was taken by the imperialists, nor prevent the division under Suchet from being cut off. On the same day, a frigate, from Lord Keith's fleet, came within cannon-shot of Genoa, and, after firing forty rounds on the quarter of Cognignor, again withdrew. The object of this cannonade was, no doubt, to effect a rising among the numerous inhabitants of that quarter: however, they remained quiet.

Though General Suchet found means to re-

sume some of his positions, he was obliged to abandon them again; and the heights of Savona were, for a long time, disputed inch by inch, with alternate success, by both armies.

The third day of the siege (April 7,) was more auspicious to the French. The Austrians having come within sight of Genoa, by the occupancy of Monte Jaccio, of which they had gained possession the preceding evening, lighted up fires in the night, and sounded the tocsins in all the adjacent country, in order to alarm the inhabitants of Genoa, and on their first appearance, to damp their spirits by an impression of terror on their imagination. Massena perceived how necessary it was for him, in these circumstances, to gain some victories over the Austrians, in sight of the Genoese, in order to do away the impressions that had been made on their minds, by the first advantages obtained by the Austrians. He therefore formed a plan, and gave orders for an attack on that part of the Austrian army: and his measures were so well concerted with the Generals Darnaud, Miolis, Pelitot, Hector, and others, that they overthrew the Austrians at Monte Jaccio, at Panesi, at St. Alberto, and at Scofera; and General Miolis again took possession of Monte Coruna. The Austrians on this day lost 1,500 prisoners, among whom was the Baron d'Aspres; and the return of the commander-in-chief to Genoa was triumphant. On the same day the second division re-took Ron-go di Fornari, Cazella, and Savigone, which the Austrians had taken on the day before; and the third division, being that on the left, set to rights and restored the line from Voraggio to Campani.

The whole of April 8 was taken up, on both sides, in general and particular dispositions of the forces. General Melas made dispositions for new attacks. Massena, in the general dispositions which he made, divided his right wing into two bodies: the first of which, under the orders of Miolis and d'Arnaud, was charged with the defence of Genoa; the second, under the orders of Gazau, Gardanne, and Soult, were to keep the country.

The nature of the ground divided the whole of the defence, as well as the attack, into two distinct and separate parts, by the course of the Bisagno. The forts l'Eperon and Diamant covered the line of defence on the left; and, on the right, it was aided by the position of Genoa, on the heights of Del Bati, and defended by the fort of Richelieu, to which are attached five counter-forts, situated on the prolongation of the eminence. Massena, after making these dispositions, which seemed to secure, at least for a time, the safety of Genoa, projected a grand movement, which had for its object nothing less than to blockade Savona, re-take Vado, and, by recovering his first lines, re-establish his communications with General Suchet.

On the night between the 8th and 9th, all the corps that were to compose the column of General Soult, were directed to proceed to Voltri.

The Austrians employed the whole of the 8th of April, (the taking of the Bochetta excepted) in watching the motions of the French, and in drawing over different corps from their left to their right, towards the centre of their posts, which was at Sasello.

At three o'clock, on the morning of April 9, notice was given that the Austrians were falling down from all quarters on Genoa. Notwithstanding the agitation that followed this intelligence, Massena made not the least alteration in his disposition, but continued to labour for the execution of his plan; in pursuance of which, he set out for Cogolotto, (the birth-place of Christopher Columbus) where he established his headquarters.

By the plan agreed on, General Soult was to be at Sasello in the evening; but a movement made by the enemy retarded the movement of General Soult, by the necessity which it laid him under of securing, with great care, his rear, and keeping up his communication with Genoa. Towards two o'clock in the morning, at the moment he was preparing to depart from Voltri, to proceed to Sasello, he learnt that the enemy, having reduced the post of Cabaunes de Macarello, had advanced as far as Acqua-Santa, within three miles of Voltri. On this, he immediately formed the resolution to attack the enemy in this new position. This operation was committed to General Gazau, and he performed it with success. But even this success prevented General Soult from taking the share that had been allotted to him, in the operations of the next day, resolved on by General Massena.

At four o'clock the next morning, General Soult directed his march by Aqua Bianca, Martino, and St. Pietro del Alba, to Sasello. About a mile from Pallo, he was informed that four Austrian regiments, making, in all, eight thousand men, were on their way from Monte Notte to La Verreria, and that, on the morrow, that column was to attack the detachment at Campani, and proceed, thereafter, to Voltri, in order to cut off the retreat of the French column that marched on the coast, along side of the Marine, and which was headed by General Massena in person.

General Melas leaving, under the orders of General Elnitz, a sufficient force for keeping General Suchet in check, marched against General Massena with three bodies of his army. The division on the right consisted of the brigades of Bassy, Latterman, and Sticher, commanded by the Count de Palfy. The centre was composed of the brigades of Bellegarde and Beautano, commanded by General Bellegarde. The left division was under the orders of General St. Julien,

BOOK IV. and of which the 8000 men, before-mentioned, formed a part.

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To disconcert and overthrow this project, Gen. Gazau took a position on the road which leads from Verneria to Pouzoune; and General Poinot received orders to attack, on the heights of Sasello, the enemy's rear-guard, which was bearing on Verneria.

General Poinot executed this movement with so much impetuosity, that he cut off a part of the regiment of Deutchmeister, took three pieces of cannon, and carried the town of Sasello; where he also took 200,000 cartridges, and 600 prisoners. The success of this attack was aided by that of another made by General Godinat, chief of brigade, on Costala-Longa. The great difficulty of making war in a mountainous country, consists in that of concerting movements, and forming any harmonious system of action.

Massena, who could not be informed of the obstacles which unavoidably retarded the march of General Soult on Monte Notte, nevertheless completed his own, with the division under Gen. Gardanne. This column, setting out from Varaggio, about eight o'clock in the morning, (April 11), directed its march to La Stella. About midway between these two places, this column, composed of no more than 1200 men, fell in with that of the Austrians, near 10,000 strong, who were marching on the same point. The firing commenced on the part of the Austrians. The French took a position, in which they were enabled to repel reiterated attacks. Their certainty of being seconded and supported by General Soult, whom they expected every moment to turn the Austrian rear, supported their courage under so great an odds of numbers. General Gardanne in this conflict was wounded; and the small French column, in danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, made a speedy retreat in the night, directing their flight to the corps under General Soult: but the junction between these two French corps was not so easy a matter as General Massena had imagined. The Austrians followed them close, and annoyed them severely in all their movements.

In the mean time, General Soult had gained some successive advantages, and the small body which followed Massena on the coast, commanded by General Fressinet, effected a junction with General Soult on the mountain of St. Hermitte, not without considerable loss on the side of both the Austrians and the French. The Austrians lost several officers of rank, and, it was said, above 1000 men made prisoners. Of the French, the chief of brigade, Villaret, was killed; and several other officers of rank were wounded, among whom was General Fressinet, who, on the fifteenth, received two musket-shots. A considerable number of the French were also made

prisoners by the Austrians. The result of all these different actions was, that the French, exhausted of men, money, and provisions, were obliged to reconcile their minds, at last, to the idea of retreating, by little and little, towards Genoa, and the forts with which it was environed; a plan which was, at last, carried into complete execution, after daily fighting, on the 20th of April.

The kind of war that is carried on by any army, necessarily depends on the force which it possesses, and the situation in which it is placed. It was naturally, therefore, to be expected, that the Generals Melas and Massena should pursue opposite systems of operation. The object of Massena, continually in action with an enemy superior in numbers, as well as fresh and hearty, was to divide the enemy, by marching his own troops in two columns. It was contrived that these columns should not be equal in strength. The one was weaker than the other, and made it its chief business to manœuvre, as much as possible, so as to occupy the enemy, and keep him in play, without either attacking him, or waiting to receive an attack, except when it was unavoidable, as was the case at Albissola. The other, and the stronger column, endeavoured to keep up the tone of offensive operations, by bearing, in favorable circumstances, with its whole and undivided force on the different divisions of the enemy, and to beat their different corps in succession, as was the case at Macarolo, Sassello, and La Verneria.

The Austrians, on the contrary, being able to divide, without too much weakening themselves, studied always to surround the French, and never met them without attacking them, except when detached columns were turning them on every side. Even the different advantages resulting to the French from this mode of warfare, in a mountainous country, precipitated their destruction, and forced them to fall back on Genoa, which was not done without difficulty, the Austrians being several times on the point of cutting off their retreat.

During the series of events now related, on the left of the army of Genoa, the right, under the orders of General Miolis, had tried the same kind of warfare, and received orders, at last, to fall back to Genoa.

In the course of the fifteen days that the defence was maintained, by (as it may be called) offensive operations, Massena, having lost a third of his men, although the Austrians had lost a good deal more of theirs, could not dissemble that he had nothing more to expect from the force of his arms. He therefore prepared to fortify himself in his positions, to discover some means of subsistence, and to exercise the severest economy in the use of such as yet survived.

By means of some small ships, which yet remained with the French army, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English fleet, he sent letters to Corsica, to General Suchet, and to Marseilles. Several officers, whom he had dispatched to Gen. Suchet, and to the first consul, with an account of his situation, were taken by the enemy. In the mean time, Massena became acquainted with the march of the army of reserve, under Bonaparte. He was not less encouraged by the valor of his troops. There was not a day that passed without skirmishing between advanced posts, in forced reconnoitings, and efforts to penetrate within the positions of the besieging army.

On the 30th of April, the Austrians, who by this time had carried the post of Deux Freres and fort Quezzi, blockaded fort Diamant, and commanded the works of fort Eperon. In this posture of affairs, Massena, perceiving that they had in view to take the post of La Madona del Monte, from whence they might drive the French from Alboro, the only point from which they would be able to bombard Genoa, formed a resolution to make a last effort with his corps of reserve, which had not yet been brought into serious action, and to force the enemy to abandon their most advanced positions. In this he succeeded, but it was at the expence of a series of bloody actions, desperate and obstinate, and great loss on both sides; insomuch, that the combatants being too near each other to make use of musketry, had recourse to their bayonets, the butt ends of their muskets, and even to stones. The loss in killed, on both sides, was great. The French made prisoners to the amount of several thousands, and took all the scaling-ladders destined for the escalade of Genoa, and the forts adjacent. The scaling-ladders were so formed as to admit of three men abreast. They were burned by the French in the night. General Soult carried the post of Deux Freres, and the rout of the Austrians was complete. The situation of the Austrian prisoners in Genoa was dreadful. The French suffered extreme privations themselves: their prisoners, after attempting to prolong life by eating their shoes and knapsacks, died of hunger.

This day, the most memorable in the siege, the victory, which was so decidedly on the side of the French, only served to hasten its conclusion. Such combats, so destructive to both parties, added to the miseries of the French and Genoese, by the increase of prisoners without an increase of provisions. The army of Bonaparte was yet at too great a distance to come to the relief of Massena before the last of his soldiers should have perished with hunger. In the sorties, which he made in the course of the month of May, he lost a great many of his officers, and

among these some of the generals of his staff, in killed and severely wounded.

The city of Savona had surrendered to the Austrians on the 15th of May. The English fleet began to bombard Genoa every night. The populace, particularly the women, running about the streets, set up frightful cries for peace; and a general insurrection of the people of Genoa against the French would have ensued, if the efforts of the French soldiers to restrain it had not been seconded by a number of individuals among the inhabitants. The illusions of hope at last vanished. There was no longer the smallest expectation that the succours so long looked for would come in time. The provisions were entirely exhausted; even the last horses and dogs were nearly consumed, when General Massena received a letter from General Melas, inviting him to an interview with Lord Keith, and the Generals Ott and St. Julien, who offered him a capitulation on the most honorable terms. To this first overture, he replied, that he would consider of it; though he had, in truth, nothing further to consider. The day after, he received another message with the same terms. He then sent the adjutant-general, Audreaux, under pretence of some business relating to the prisoners, to Rivoli, to receive the proposals of the enemy, and to enter, without any further delay, into a negociation for peace.

The first article of capitulation proposed by the allies, was, that the army should return to France, but that the general should remain prisoner of war—"You, sir," said Lord Keith to Massena, "are worth 20,000 men." But Massena said, "that no negociation would be gone into, if the word *capitulation* was to be made use of." On the 4th of June, the allied generals, having departed from their first proposal, resumed the negociations. While this was going on, the city of Genoa, containing a population of 160,000 souls, though a prey to all the horrors of famine, remained quiet. A great number of old people, women, and children, reduced to the necessity of attempting to sustain nature by herbs, roots, and impure animals, died of disease or hunger.—This melancholy picture was often exhibited to view by the rising sun. Mothers were often found deceased, and children at the breast also dead, or dying.

On that day (June 4) the principal articles for the evacuation of Genoa were agreed on, between the French adjutant-general, Audreaux, on the one part, and Major-general Rest, a staff-officer in the imperial service, with the English captain, Rivera, on the other. And it was settled, that the chiefs of the opposite armies should meet on the day after, being the 5th of June, for signing a definitive treaty. At nine o'clock in the morn-

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ing of that day a conference was held by the opposite parties, in a small chapel, situated in the middle of the bridge of Corneghiano, and between the posts of the Austrians and the French. Here Lord Keith, commander of the combined naval forces in the Mediterranean, General Ott, commander of the blockade of Genoa, with General St. Julien, who was charged with the political part of the negotiation, were met by General Massena, commander-in-chief of the French army in Italy. Each of these parties was accompanied by only two or three gentlemen.

In this conference Massena displayed much finesse, under the cloak of an apparent gaiety, which formed a complete contrast with the gravity of the other contracting party, and was attended with this advantage, that it did not look as if he were greatly alarmed for the situation of his army. It is, perhaps, owing to that ease and gaiety of manner that he obtained, in the end, all that he had demanded.

A degree of misunderstanding had taken place for some time between the English, as individuals, and the Austrians: the former reproached the latter with the great length to which the siege had been protracted. Massena endeavoured to widen and to take advantage of this want of harmony, by flattering the pride of one party at the expense of the self-love of the other. He said to Lord Keith, "Do you, my lord, only permit a little grain to be carried into Genoa, and I give you my word that these gentlemen (looking at the Austrian generals) shall never set foot there."

Toward the end of the conference he again addressed Lord Keith, personally:—"My lord, if France and England could only understand one another, they would govern the world." In the whole of this conference, Lord Keith treated Massena, as the general often acknowledged, in a very civil and handsome manner. His lordship disclaimed all hard conditions. He always said, "General, the defence you have made has been so heroic, that it is impossible to refuse you any thing that you ask." At length, at seven o'clock at night, Massena signed the treaty for the evacuation of Genoa, and the contracting parties mutually gave hostages. The substance of the treaty was, that the right wing of the French army, charged with the defence of Genoa, and the commander-in-chief, with his staff, should go out of Genoa with their arms and baggage, in order to rejoin the centre of the said army by land. The same liberty was granted to 8,100 men, who had permission to enter France by Nice. The rest were transported by sea to Antibes, and were duly provided with provisions. Due attention was also paid to the hospitals and the prisoners. Passports were granted to the Genoese patriots. The Austrians took possession of the gates of the city, and the English of the entrance into the harbour. French commissioners remained at Genoa to see the articles, that had been agreed on respecting the sick and the hospitals, duly executed. Massena was allowed to send a courier with a passport, to Bonaparte, to announce the evacuation of Genoa.

CHAPTER VI.

Bonaparte determines to march the Army of Reserve to Italy.—Motions of the Army.—Joined at Martigny by the First Consul.—Description of the Mount St. Bernard and its Monastery.—Universal Benevolence of the Monks.—The Army pass St. Bernard.—Difficulties encountered by the French.—Capture of the Town of Aoste.—Description of the Fortress of Bard.—Its difficult Capture.—The Towns of Ivrea and Romagna taken.—Bonaparte enters Milan.—Battles of Montebello and Maringo.—Death of Dessoix.—An Armistice.

It has been mentioned, in the preceding chapter, that the army of reserve, formed at Dijon, was to be commanded by the first consul. Volunteers of all descriptions were invited to repair to Dijon, and the names of the ten departments which should send the greatest number were to be solemnly proclaimed as most attached to the glory of the nation.

Bonaparte had determined, in consequence of

the distressed situation of Massena, then shut up in Genoa, to march his army to Italy with the utmost expedition; and in order to attack the rear of the Austrian army, he was resolved to surmount every difficulty in the passage of the Alps. Fortunately, about this time, General Dessoix had arrived at Paris from Egypt, and Bonaparte requested his assistance in this enterprise.

The army of reserve (declared to be at that

time above 50,000 strong, and receiving reinforcements every day,) was ordered to Geneva through the Pais de Vaud and the Lower Valais to Martigny, a village six leagues from the Great St. Bernard, under the command of Berthier.

It was determined that the principal part of the army should pass by Mount St. Bernard: other divisions were to cross by Mount Cenis, the Simplon, and Mount St. Gothard.

Early in the month of May, the army began to move in seven columns by the way of Geneva to the foot of the Great St. Bernard on the frontiers of Switzerland and Savoy.

The first consul, after nominating Carnot minister at war, left Paris suddenly, May 6, and joining the army at Martigny, at the expiration of six days reviewed his troops in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. Bonaparte promised his army that in two decades he would lead them to Milan. He is said to have performed his journey from Paris to Dijon in twenty-five hours. During a stay of three days at Martigny, preparations were made for the ascent of the mountain.

The sides of the terrific mountain of St. Bernard were, even at this advanced season of the year, covered with ice, and seemed to defy all human efforts to force a practicable passage for a numerous army, with its necessary carriages and artillery.

On the summit of this famous mountain there is a monastery, founded for the generous purpose of granting relief to unfortunate and bewildered travellers, who might otherwise be doomed to perish in the snows. The cold is excessive, even in summer, with scarcely a vestige of vegetation to be discerned; the imagination is affrighted by a perpetual silence, and the view astonished by an almost endless perspective of mountains. The monks who dwell in this monastery are the victims of melancholy, which is the more to be lamented, as they are the friends and advocates of universal benevolence. The monastery looks like an inn: Bonaparte entered it, and staid there about an hour. It contains many comfortable things, which money cannot procure so well as articles of barter. These monks take great pains in instructing the canine species, to reduce the accidents peculiar to the place. Morning and evening the dogs are sent out; and if in their journeys they hear the cries of any unfortunate creatures, they run to the spot, and use all the power of instinct to make them hope for assistance; then they run quickly back and announce what they have seen. A small basket, filled with refreshments, being put round a dog's neck, proper people are sent with him to give every necessary assistance.

When General Melas was made acquainted with the preparations on the part of Bonaparte

for the speedy invasion of Italy, he treated the idea with sovereign contempt: and the Austrian general entertaining not the most distant idea of a passage into Lombardy in such a direction, the French met with no enemy to obstruct their march, where a single troop might have opposed a numerous army. The fact being at length ascertained, the Austrians made great expedition to show themselves.

On the 15th of May, Bonaparte passed St. Bernard, and at Remi, distant six leagues from the monastery, first saw the Austrians, who, though inferior in numbers, disputed the ground step by step with the republicans, until they saw another part of the army descending, as if with intent to attack them in the rear.

No part of the artillery of the French army had at that time crossed the mountains. It had been collected at the village of St. Pierre, and, as it may be supposed, was a work of no small difficulty to transport it across the Alps. It was, however, essentially necessary that such a transport should be made, and the following means were used to effect it:—every piece of cannon was dismounted, and placed in troughs hollowed out of trees cut down for the purpose. These were drawn by 5 or 600 men, according to the size and weight of the piece. The wheels, fixed to poles, were borne on men's shoulders; the tumbrils were emptied and placed on sledges, together with the axle-trees. The ammunition, packed up in boxes, was carried on the backs of mules. To encourage the men, from 4 to 500 franks were allowed for every piece of artillery thus transported. One half of a regiment was employed in drawing a cannon, whilst the other half bore the necessary baggage belonging to their corps. The men proceeded in single files, it being impossible for two to draw abreast, or to pass each other without danger of falling down the precipices on the side. The man who led, stopped from time to time, when every one took the refreshment of biscuit moistened in snow water. It was the labour of five hours to reach the monastery of St. Bernard, when each man was refreshed with a glass of wine. They had then eighteen miles of descent, by far the most difficult and hazardous, which they did not accomplish till nine the next night, being ten hours in performing it. Bonaparte and his staff marched on foot, and were in several places obliged to slide down seated on the snow.

On the 16th, the vanguard reached Aoste, garrisoned by an Hungarian battalion, which, after some loss, evacuated the place, when a deputation from the town waited upon the consul to surrender it.

The van-guard now proceeded to the attack of Chatillon, near which place General Lasnes was informed the Austrians were preparing to oppose

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his passage over a bridge thrown across a precipice; but the Austrians were so vigorously attacked by a body of hussars, that they were soon driven off the bridge with a considerable loss, and shut themselves up in the fortress of Bard, by some called Fort de Barre. This fort, from its situation in a narrow neck, appeared to stop the progress of the whole army; and, if it could not be reduced in four days, every soldier must have perished through hunger, as the provisions were nearly exhausted, and no means left of procuring an additional supply. Had General Melas foreseen this obstacle, he might, by a timely opposition, have frustrated the success of Bonaparte's expedition.

The rock on which the fort is built, is in the shape of a sugar-loaf; the pass at its foot is skirted by a deep and rapid river, called the Doria; on the opposite side of which is a steep inaccessible rock. There was no alternative; the fort must either be taken or another passage sought. Each had its difficulties. At length the suburb was taken possession of by three companies of grenadiers, previous to an attack on the fort, which was defended by 500 men, and twenty-two pieces of cannon. The attack was made at night, when the republicans climbed up the rocks and over the pallisade amidst a shower of balls, and drove the Austrians from the works, but were in the end obliged to retreat themselves. This check made the consul resolve to find out another passage, when a way was discovered up the rock Albaredo; which ascent gained, might with a like difficulty be descended. As the artillery could not possibly be transported this way; it was resolved, at every hazard, to pass the carriages through the suburb. Every means was used, by setting out in the dark, and by spreading litter along the way to deaden the sound, and prevent suspicion in the garrison; yet these precautions did not prevent the Austrians from discovering their design, and the men were fired upon and killed by every discharge. At length, Bonaparte ordered a cannon to be raised, and placed upon the top of the church, which so effectually battered the tower over the gate, that the garrison, fearing a second assault, surrendered at discretion.

A passage was now opened to the republican army, which experienced no farther obstruction until it reached Ivrea, a town between Aoste and Turin, from both which places it is distant about eight leagues; and whither the army proceeded as soon as the soldiers had refreshed themselves with the provisions found in Bard. This place was escalated and taken, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on the 23d of May, by a division under General Boudet, before the main army reached it.

Bonaparte, instead of continuing his course

southwards to Turin, turned off to Romagna, eastwards, having received intelligence of a force collected there of 6,000 men, partly composed of Austrian troops which he had driven before him, and a number drawn from Turin. This body had taken a position at Romagna, and was entrenched behind the Sesia, a deep and rapid river. They appeared to be ignorant as well of the strength of the French army, as that it had Bonaparte with it, and treated its designs with contempt, but were the next day convinced of their mistake, when General Lasnes forced their entrenchments and cut them to pieces, notwithstanding their cavalry made some show of resistance.

On the 26th of May, Bonaparte gave orders for two divisions to march towards Turin, whilst his van-guard bore upon Chiussella and the Po. This was done in order to deceive the Austrians, who thereupon crossed that river, and took a position on the right bank. Whilst the attention of the Austrians was taken up with this manœuvre, General Murat, at the head of a division of cavalry, entered Vercelli the next day, on the road to Milan. Other divisions, about the same time, took possession of Suza and Brunette, and Ariolo.

The Austrians, finding themselves not in sufficient force to defend Milan against the republican army, evacuated that city on the 2d of June, after a slight opposition.

Bonaparte now issued two proclamations: the first to the army, pompously stating, "that consternation was in the south of France; the territory of the people of Liguria, faithful friends to the republic, had been invaded, and the Cisalpine republic was the sport of the federal system; but they had marched, and the French territory was delivered: they would restore liberty and independence to Genoa, and deliver it from its enemies." The second, though dictated by the consul, appeared to be from the provisional government of Milan, congratulating their fellow-citizens on the happy change effected by the first consul.

The city of Milan was built by the Gauls in the 395th year of Rome; its principal strength is a wall and rampart, and a citadel of six bastions. There is a small hill near the town, the Bochetta, which overlooks the surrounding country, and the best part of the interior and exterior works. It is well fortified, yet cannot stand above a few days of open trenches, because nothing prevents the enemy from battering in breach. The city is large and handsome, being near ten miles in circumference; the streets are wide, and its churches, especially the cathedral, deserve admiration. The cathedral, among its ornaments, has several lamps of pure gold and silver, and two pulpits of massy silver. The metropolitan church of Milan is next to St. Peter's at Rome; the work

of the outside is surprising, the number of marble statues of all sizes with which the walls are charged, from top to bottom, is immense. The chief theatre is so large as to allow 400 performers and forty horses to appear at once; its number of spectators may be conceived from this. The shops are like the French, and the dresses are not unlike. All in Milan gives an idea of splendour. The inhabitants are sociable and friendly, and not so faulty as Italians in general. The view from the lofty parts of this city is immense; the whole of the Alps are seen; the Grisons are also visible, and the defiles of the Tyrole; nearer may be seen the whole of Piedmont, and a part of Liguria.

After a short stay at Milan, the van-guard of the army marched and took possession of Pavia, on the 4th of June, on which day Genoa surrendered to the allies; and on which very day orders were sent to General Ott to raise the siege. At Pavia, the republican army found considerable magazines, and 500 pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition.

During this time, General Melas was at Turin, and the greatest part of his army in the Genoese territory, a position which he preserved too long; perhaps, partly owing to orders he had received from Vienna, and partly to his ignorance of Bonaparte's real strength. To this security the miscarriages and misfortunes of the Austrian army, which followed, may be attributed.

In order to make a powerful diversion, Melas detached General O'Reilly to Placentia, and General Ott upon the Tessino. A detachment of 6,000 men was likewise sent to Chiavasso, upon the Po, which, turning off to Vercelli, retook 300 Austrian prisoners. The manœuvre of advancing as far as Chiavasso, which is within fifteen miles of Turin, was a feint for misleading the Austrians, by seeming to threaten that city.

The concentration of the Austrian forces seemed to discover an intention of offering battle. Gen. Murat defeated O'Reilly, and made himself master of Placentia, from whence O'Reilly fell back upon Ott, at Stradello and Montebello.

The French army had now taken a position on the Po, where it is joined to the Tessino, and becomes then of equal depth with the Rhine. The republicans had no longer to do with small detachments, but were met by the Austrian advanced-guard of 18,000 men. The French army was now increasing, and was joined by a division of the army of the Rhine, which had separated at Ulm, and had passed the Alps by Mount St. Gothard. The French van-guard crossed the Po suddenly, and on the 9th of June made a vigorous attack upon the Austrian army, which they drove before them into the marshes, until night put a stop to the pursuit, which was followed the next day by the battle of Montebello.

The battle of Montebello was very sanguinary; that place was taken and re-taken by the contending armies. The van-guard, under General Lasnes, had suffered considerably, when it was reinforced by General Watrin's division, which decided the battle in favor of the republicans; and the Austrians having lost 6000 prisoners, and 12 pieces of cannon, with several officers of distinction killed or wounded, were forced to retreat to Voghera.

On the 11th, the French army marched through Voghera, and took some positions before Tortona, which city the van-guard surrounded without opposition. The Austrian army had now arrived from Genoa, and had fixed its head-quarters at Alexandria. As a general engagement appeared to be unavoidable, every preparation was made for it. The French army quitted its position near Tortona, and advanced into the plain betwixt that city and Alexandria, forming in order of battle, as the several divisions arrived. Meanwhile Bonaparte carefully examined the plain and village of Maringo, or Marengo; but, the day proving wet, nothing was done until the following, (the 16th of June,) which was ushered in by several discharges of cannon; and the preparatives on the side of the Austrians appeared to be decisive for battle before noon.

Bonaparte and Berthier had entered the plain, and the fire of cannon and musketry began to be brisk. The Austrian line extended six miles in length, and steadily preserved its positions, particularly at the bridge over the Bormida; but, the principal point of action, and whereto they directed their chief attention, was at Sans-Stefano, from which point the Austrians could gain Voghera before the French. The Austrians being in great force, gained upon the French; when Bonaparte ordered the body of reserve to come up; but Desaix, with his corps, had not yet arrived. The left wing of the French, commanded by Victor, now began to give way, and some cavalry and infantry retreated in disorder. About the same time the centre and right wing did the same. Bonaparte, in front, rallied the troops, and led them on again to the battle. Notwithstanding this, the French army still continued to retreat, and the Austrians followed up their advantage. At this juncture of time, the garrison of Tortona, seeing the disorder of the French army, made a sally, and had nearly surrounded them. Bonaparte, still in front, encouraged the corps, which defended a defile, flanked by the village of Maringo, on which thirty pieces of Austrian artillery continually played, making terrible slaughter. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the French army was so pushed on all sides, that one-third of it was in confusion, and knew not where to rally. There was a defile behind the centre of the French army, with a wood on one

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side, and a chain of vineyards on the other, extending to the village of Maringo. Here the first consul formed the resolution of making his final stand, and defending the entrance of this defile to the last extremity.

The Austrians, seeing the impossibility of forcing the defile, drew up more artillery, under the protection of which they sent forward a body of infantry to dislodge the French from the wood and vineyards, whilst their cavalry watched the opportunity of cutting them down as they quitted that position. Had this manœuvre succeeded, the French army had been totally destroyed.

At this instant the fortune of the battle began to take a new turn. The divisions of Monnier and Dessaix coming up, insured victory to the republican army, by inspiring it with renewed courage. To this, an unfortunate mistake, which Melas committed about the same time, did not a little contribute. That general, finding he could neither force the defile nor make any impression on the centre of the French army, perhaps, presuming too far on his success, and being moreover ignorant of the reinforcements which the republican army had received, weakened his line, by extension, in order to surround it. Bonaparte saw the error Melas had been guilty of, and instantly availed himself of it, by the orders he gave. The troops of the republic quitted the defile, and, as they left it, formed in order of battle, and presented a fresh and formidable front to the Austrians, now nearly exhausted and fatigued with success.

The Austrians having been vigorously charged, fell back in their turn: their numerous cavalry was thrown into disorder, and the French hussars, hitherto inferior, charged and dispersed the fugitives. On the right, Dessaix bore down all before him, while Victor, on the left, carried Maringo, and bore down rapidly on the Bormida; where, getting possession of the bridge, he cut off the retreat of the Austrians on that side. At the moment that Dessaix, gaining Sans-Stefano, cut off the Austrian left wing, the younger Kellerman made prisoners of 6000 Hungarian grenadiers. The Austrian general, Zach, was made a prisoner, and Dessaix, in the very instant of victory, received a wound, of which he died. Night by this time approached, and found the Austrians everywhere retreating before the republicans.

The morning of June 15 presented a field of battle covered with the wounded and the slain, and gave both armies an armistice, and an opportunity to bury the dead, to attend the wounded, and to recover the wearied and harassed soldier from his late fatigue. It was computed by the French that the campaign of Bonaparte, from the time of his descending from Mount St. Bernard till the close of the day of Maringo, cost the Austrians above 50,000 men. In the morning of

that day, the French force amounted to about 50,000 men, of whom 3000 were cavalry, and two companies of light artillery, with thirty pieces of cannon: the Austrian force, to about 60,000, of which 15,000 were cavalry. In artillery, the Austrians were still more superior to the French. The loss of the latter could not be less than 15,000. Bonaparte, in the battle of Maringo, had his clothes pierced with balls in different places. General Melas had two horses killed under him, and received a contusion in his arm. General Dessaix, before he received the mortal wound, had a horse killed under him. When the commander-in-chief was informed of the death of this officer, he is said to have exclaimed, "Why am I not permitted to weep for him?"

An Austrian officer arrived early on June 16, to treat respecting an armistice; and General Berthier, to whom the negociation was committed, concluded articles the same day with General Melas, by which an armistice was established between the contending armies, until an answer should be received from the court of Vienna. The imperialists were to occupy all the country comprised between the Mincio and Fossa-Maestra, and the Po; that is to say, Peschiera, Mantua, Borgoforte, and thence the whole left bank of the Po; and on the right bank, the city and the citadel of Ferrara. The imperialists were also to occupy Tuscany and Ancona. The French army was to occupy the country comprised between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po. The country between the Chiesa and the Mincio was not to be occupied by either of the two armies. The imperial army to draw subsistence from those parts of that country which made part of the duchy of Mantua. The French army to draw subsistence from those parts of that country which made part of the province of Brescia. The castles of Tortona, Alexandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighetone, Arona, and Placentia, were to be put into the hands of the French army, between the 16th and 20th of June. The place of Coni, the castles of Ceva, Savona, and the city of Genoa, to be put into the hands of the French army between the 20th and 24th of June; and the fort of Urbino on the 26th. The artillery and the provisions of the places evacuated to be divided. The garrisons to march out with military honors, and repair with arms and baggage, by the shortest route, to Mantua. No individual to be ill-treated on account of any service rendered the Austrian army, or for any political opinions. The Austrian general, on his part, also engaged to release all persons in the strong places under his command, who might have been taken up in the Cisalpine republic for political opinions. Whatever might be the answer from Vienna, neither of the two armies was to attack the other without ten days previous notice. The

last article of this treaty was of very great military importance. It provided that, during the suspension of arms, neither of the armies should send detachments into Germany.

The proposal for the armistice was first made, as already intimated, by General Melas. Bonaparte's answer to the Austrian general's message, respecting terms, was remarkably laconic: "The Austrian army shall immediately retire within the line which it should occupy, according to the treaty of Campo-Formio." He immediately dispatched a messenger, with an offer of a general peace to the emperor, on the same basis.

While the treaty for an armistice was drawn up, Bonaparte prepared to return to Milan, in order to re-organize the Cisalpine republic. Before he set off, he sent General Melas a present of a Turkish sabre, brought from Egypt. Gen. Melas said, to the aid-de-camp who delivered it to him—"I am sorry peace is so long delayed: I shall contribute my efforts to obtain it, that I may go and see Bonaparte at Paris. I would even go to see him in Egypt."

The prisoners made by the Austrians were restored on the 16th of June. Immediately after, the chief consul, escorted by a body of chasseurs, hastened to Milan, where he recognized and declared the Cisalpine republic to be a free and independent nation. He established a provisional administration, and a consulto for preparing for the republic a constitution and legislature, which he confided to Marliani, Sacchi, and Goffredo. He gave orders for respecting religion, and the property of all citizens without distinction. Citizens, who had fled from their country, were invited to return; with the exception of such as had

used arms against the Cisalpine republic, after the treaty of Campo-Formio. All sequestrations were taken off, whether placed upon property possessed either under the title of ancient property, or in virtue of legal acquisition, under whatever pretext; and, on whatever occasion the said sequestrations might have been ordered. The citadel of Milan having agreed to surrender, the garrison, to the number of 4000, marched out with the honors of war. The full half of these being French and Piedmontese, came over to the French with arms and baggage, and colours flying. A magnificent *Te Deum* was celebrated in the cathedral of Milan, in gratitude for the success of the French arms, and particularly the triumphs of Bonaparte, the great patron and protector of religion. At this solemnity, amidst an immense number of people, the chief consul, General Berthier, and all his chief staff, were present.

Bonaparte, in a conference he had with the clergy at Milan, advised them to preach and practise the morality of Jesus Christ. In a solemn speech, pronounced at Milan, he said, "that Lombardy and Liguria should form only one republic." In a letter to the other two consuls, (Cambaceres and Le Brun,) he said he attended *Te Deum* in Milan, "in spite of what the ATHEISTS of Paris might say."

After Italy was re-conquered, by the quick passage of the Alps, the battle of Maringo, and the surrender of all the strong places in Lombardy, Piedmont, and Genoa, Berthier, as well as the first consul, returned to Paris, and Massena was succeeded in the command of the army by General Brune.

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CHAPTER VII.

Campaign in Germany.—The French, under Moreau, cross the Rhine.—General Kray deceived.—Actions at Stockach, Maeskirch, Biberach, and Memingen.—The Austrians retire to Ulm.—Are followed by the French.—Moreau changes his Plan of Operations.—Crosses the Danube.—A Series of Actions.—General Kray leaves Ulm, which is blockaded by a Division of the French Army.—Contributions in Bavaria.—Munich taken.—An Armistice.—Seizure of Tuscany.—Prolongation of the Armistice.—Renewal of the War.—Battle of Hohenlinden.—Armistice concluded at Steyer.

A DIVISION which took place in the cabinet of Vienna, proved, at this critical period, peculiarly unfavorable to the house of Austria. The Archduke Charles, whose courage and patriotism had rendered him extremely popular, perceiving he was thwarted in his plans, had determined to resign; and, as the chief effort was intended to be

made in Italy, Field-marshal Kray was left, with an ill-appointed army, to defend Germany.

For the purpose of effectually carrying on the combined campaign of Italy and Germany, it had been agreed upon between Bonaparte and Moreau, that the latter should, by a series of feigned attacks, occupy the attention of General

BOOK IV. Kray, strike terror into the heart of Germany, alarm the Austrians for the safety of the capital, and, at the same time, maintain a communication, and send seasonable reinforcements to the French army in Italy.

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On the 25th of April, the French army crossed the Rhine in four great divisions, under their respective commanders, General St. Susanne, General St. Cyr, General Moreau, and General Lecourbe. The division under General St. Susanne advanced to Offenburgh, while General St. Cyr, who had crossed the Rhine at Old Britac, advanced to Fribourg. The manœuvres of St. Cyr seemed to indicate an intention to form a junction with St. Susanne; and, of course, that the plan of Moreau was, to penetrate through the Black Mountains, by the valley of Kintzing, towards Donaweschingen. The movement of General St. Susanne, however, was only a feint, for he received orders, on the 27th, to return from Offenburgh to Kehl, and, marching up from thence along the banks of the Rhine, by forced marches, he arrived at Fribourg on the 30th of April. General St. Cyr, who had reached Fribourg without losing a man, pursued, meanwhile, that course of march which was necessary to form the junction of the whole army, between Shwetlingen and Schaffhausen, near the lake of Constance. The division under the immediate command of Moreau, crossed the Rhine at Basle, and proceeded, without any considerable opposition, to the point where the various divisions were to meet. General Lecourbe, with the division under his command, crossed the Rhine between Schaffhausen and Stein, and, after some fighting and making a great number of prisoners, the whole army, with the exception of the corps under Gen. St. Susanne, was assembled at, and in the environs of, Schaffhausen.

In the course of these various marches, the French took 1500 prisoners and six pieces of cannon. The division under Lecourbe likewise took, by capitulation, the castle of Hohenweil, in which there were eighty pieces of cannon. The great magazines of the Austrians were at Kampfen, a town in Upper Suabia. The French general directing his march towards this point, with a view to cut off General Kray from his principal dépôt, or, at least, in the mean time, to effect the main object of occupying the whole of his force and attention in Germany, drove all the Austrian advanced posts before him, and advanced to attack the imperialists at Stockach.

The masterly manœuvres of Moreau had completely deceived General Kray, respecting the plan of attack meditated by the French. In an official account, published in the Vienna Court Gazette of the 3d of May, we find the general announcing the passage of the Rhine on the 25th; and that, in consequence of having foreseen this

manœuvre, he had sent a great body of troops to prevent the French from following up their plan of extending themselves in the neighbourhood of Rastadt. He considered the feint made by Gen. Susanne's division as the main attack, and concentrated all his forces at Donaweschingen, at the moment when, under cover of that feint, Moreau was enabled, as just observed, to cross the Rhine, at a point which enabled him completely to turn the position of the Austrian army.

The consequences of Moreau's plan were immediate. General Kray was compelled to decamp precipitately from Donaweschingen, in order to oppose the progress of the French army, leaving in their hands, in abandoning his position at Donaweschingen, a great part of what is called the angle of Suabia. The Austrian magazines and stores were either conveyed away in haste, left behind, or destroyed. On the 3d of May, Gen. Susanne, with the left wing of the French, entered Donaweschingen, which had been evacuated by the Austrians, and pressed upon their rear; then stretching out his flanks, at the same time, to the main body of Moreau's army, they endeavoured to establish themselves in the lines of Stockach, in order to oppose the lines of the enemy. On the same day, a part of the French army attacked the post at Stockach. The force that defended it, under the orders of Prince Joseph of Lorraine, being too weak, was soon overpowered, and obliged to retreat, with considerable loss. The post at Engen was commanded by General Kray in person. He was attacked, May 4, by Moreau, who, in repeated charges, lost a great number of men. In the course of these conflicts, a body of the Austrian army, under the Archduke Ferdinand, in their retreat from Donaweschingen, were attacked, in their rear, by General Susanne's division, and nearly cut off.

The Archduke, on this occasion, displayed consummate personal bravery. By great exertions of judgment, and presence of mind, as well as valour, he was enabled to join the main army. General Kray maintained his post, and prevented the enemy from making any great impression, and kept the field during the night. But, at day-break, he thought it prudent to commence a retreat; which he had continued to the length of about fifteen miles, when he was again attacked, on the 5th, by General Moreau. Being ably assisted by Lecourbe, he made some impression on the Austrian battalions, notwithstanding their intrepid exertions; but, though superior in numbers, he did not think it proper to renew the combat on the following day. His loss was supposed to have been greater than that of General Kray. Mr. Wickham, the British narrator of these engagements, affirmed, in his dispatches, "that few prisoners were made on either side;" while Moreau asserted, that, in the two engage-

ments, the French made no less than about 10,000 prisoners. By all accounts, the loss on both sides must have been very great.

In this last action, denominated the battle of Maeskirch, the Bavarian subsidiaries fought with such spirit as excited the praise of their fellow-combatants. The Swiss regiment of Roverea also particularly distinguished itself.

Mr. Wickham reported, that, in the battle of Maeskirch, the French were repulsed. The Austrians, however, on the day after, (May 6,) retreated across the Danube to the ground between Sigmaringen and Reitlingen, a distance of at least fifteen miles farther.

The Austrians, in their retreat from Maeskirch, were pursued by a division of the French, under General Ney, who took 1500 prisoners. A very serious engagement was the consequence of an opportunity afforded to the French of attacking the Austrian advanced posts, on the 9th of May, at Biberach. The result of this battle was, that the Austrians were forced to retreat, with the loss of above 1000 killed on the spot, and above 2000 prisoners.

Another desperate engagement took place on the 11th, near Memingen. On the termination of this battle, General Moreau wrote, by the telegraph, to the French minister of war, as follows: "The right wing of the army, commanded by General Lecourbe, attacked the enemy on the 21st of Floreal, (11th of May,) in their position at Memingen. They were completely beaten. Memingen has been taken, more than 2000 prisoners have been made, and a great number of dead were left on the field of battle." The accounts of the Austrians stated, that the advantage in this action was on their side. However this may be, General Kray, leaving a considerable body of troops, under General Mereveltdt, to keep up the communication with General Reuss in the Voralberg, retreated to Ulm, for the protection of his magazines there. At Ulm he was joined by General Sztarray, with the troops under his command, and 6000 Bavarian and Wirtemberg auxiliaries, under the orders of the Baron de Deux-Ponts. The main body of the imperial army was posted at Phuel, half a league from Ulm.—This city had a garrison of 10,000 men, commanded by General Petrarsch and Major Davidovich. General Sztarray, with additional troops, raised the number of the garrison, which came under his command, to the number of 18,000. The gates were guarded by the auxiliaries.

The French were also concentrated on the territory of the imperial city of Ulm, near Rheineck, little more than a league from Ulm. In this situation of the two armies, it seemed that the French were desirous of giving battle to General Kray, who, on the other hand, was anxious to avoid it, until the reinforcements promised, and

part of which were on their way, should arrive from Austria. Six battalions of infantry, of the garrison of Vienna, were on their march, and to be followed by six more, and five squadrons of cuirassiers. The garrisons of the cities in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, were repairing partly to the Danube, and partly to the Adige, on each of which rivers there was to be formed a body of reserve. As no inviting circumstances for an attack were presented to either party, both generals contented themselves with mutual observation, while terror and consternation prevailed throughout the circle of Suabia.

But this state of inaction and repose, while it amused the Austrians with the hope of succours, was still more advantageous to the cause of the invaders, who laid the whole of Franconia and Suabia under severe contribution, intercepted the supplies, and took or destroyed not a few of the Austrian magazines, supported themselves at the expence of the Germans, kept the grand Austrian army in check, and on a constant alert, and prevented General Kray from sending any considerable detachment to Italy.

In the mean time, the plan of co-operation, concerted between Bonaparte and Moreau, began to be pretty clearly developed. While Moreau still made a shew of directing the main force of his army to the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, he began to detach part of his troops towards the Lake of Constance: whither he afterwards withdrew with the main body, with an intention to remain on the defensive, and favor, as much as possible, the operation of the campaign in Italy.

General St. Susanne, with the division of the French army under his command, had always remained on the left bank of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Geisligen, which was his headquarters. While the attention of the Austrians was occupied by a great deal of manœuvring and skirmishing in that quarter, and other demonstrations of a design to penetrate into the heart of Germany, and to the capital, he stretched off, by degrees, along the course of the Iller, by Memingen and Kampten, to the Lake of Constance. By cutting off Prince Reuss from General Kray, and keeping the commander-in-chief so long in check, he had already enabled divisions or detachments, from his army, to get possession of Augsburg, Lindau, Bregentz, Fieldkirk, and other posts, which might be considered as the keys of the Grisons and the Tyrole, through which countries it would now be in his power to communicate with Bonaparte, by this time descending from the summit of the Alps into the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy.

For nearly two months, Moreau had sought nothing farther than to amuse General Kray by marches and counter-marches, by threatened

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sieges, and sham irruptions, to alarm the Austrians for the safety of the hereditary states, and prevent them from paying any attention to the affairs of Italy. After the battle of Maringo, he was at liberty to act with more enterprise and vigour. The armistice in Italy did not extend to Germany; and the last, and one of the most important articles in the convention, as before observed, prevented either party from sending detachments to that quarter. This condition was evidently in favor of the Austrians; but there were other circumstances equally encouraging to the French commander.

A small body of men remained organized at Dijon, after the departure of Bonaparte, and its numbers had been since very considerably increased. This body had already made a movement from Dijon towards a point from whence it could go to the assistance of either army, and now it received orders to repair to the banks of the Iller; and the success of Bonaparte's enterprise raised the spirits of Frenchmen to an enthusiasm which nothing could withstand, that was not in its nature impossible. The victories, the conquests, and the positions of the French at this time, were indeed such as might have inspired a less sanguine and volatile nation with confidence. Switzerland was in their hands, and formed a most important point of communication between the armies in Italy and Suabia. They were in possession of both sides of the Lake of Constance. All Suabia was in their hands. A corps of troops, in Switzerland, was ready to attack the Grisons. A detachment of 25,000 men, from the Milanese, was marching through the Valtelline for the same purpose. The right wing of Moreau's army threatened the Austrian positions in the Tyrole, upon the north-west: in a word, the French armies, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Danube, and even the Lower Rhine, formed but one compact force, without any points to interrupt their correspondence, and without any obstacle to their entire co-operation. On the whole, General Moreau, being now without any alarm for the army of reserve, or any restraint imposed upon his operations, by a concern for its preservation, but, on the contrary, strengthened by its co-operation on the side of the Grisons and the Tyrolese, was at liberty to display his military skill. He prepared to cross the Danube, and, if possible, to bring General Kray to a decisive action. For this last purpose, on the 18th of June, he sent the right wing of his army, under Lecourbe, over the river below Ulm, between Villingen and the celebrated village of Blenheim: by this movement, threatening to cut off General Kray from his magazines at Donawert and Ratisbon, as well as from his expected reinforcements. The main body crossed at a point nearer to Ulm.

In a letter addressed to the chief consul, bearing date the 22d of June, Moreau explained his reasons for thus acting: "He had observed that the Austrian army kept close to his camp at Ulm, which gave it the advantage of easy openings on both sides of the Danube, while it consequently prevented the French from making any considerable progress in Germany. General Moreau had made a movement, in order to induce the enemy to give battle near Blaubeuven, which he declined. Fearing that General Kray might avail himself of that movement, in order to advance upon Memingen, connect himself with the Tyrole, and send down a corps of troops into Italy, that might have very much embarrassed the chief consul, he determined to make General Lecourbe execute several manœuvres on the Leck, in the hopes that he should thereby force General Kray to march to protect Bavaria; but he continued to manœuvre in the French rear. Imagining that an opportunity was presented of gaining a considerable advantage, he made an attack on Moreau's left wing, on the 5th of June; but was so bravely opposed by General Richepanse and other officers, that he was obliged to retreat with precipitation, and re-pass the Danube. General Moreau then formed the project of compelling him to withdraw, or come to a battle."

In the execution of this design, a series of actions took place for four successive days, on the famous plains of Blenheim or Hockstat; in which the Austrians lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, not less than 5 or 6000 men; and the French, at least, as was computed, half that number. The Austrian divisions, under the Generals Sztarray and Nauendorf, being cut off from the main army, General Kray was reduced to the necessity of leaving Ulm to the protection of a garrison. The blockade of Ulm was now carried on by General Richepanse. General Kray, after several very severe actions on the left side of the Danube, retreated, with his reduced army, to Ingolstadt.

To give a detailed account of all the manœuvres and actions, through which the French crossed the Rhine, established themselves on the left bank, and drove the main Austrian army from their entrenched camp, near Ulm, would be both tedious and uninteresting. One circumstance we shall notice, as curious in itself, and characteristic of that courage and genius which was displayed by the French in this campaign, and throughout the whole of the war.

The passage of the Rhine was both difficult and dangerous, as the French had neither bridges nor boats, the Austrians having destroyed the former and sunk the latter. After several actions, on the 18th of June, in which the Austrians were compelled to fall back upon Ulm, General Lecourbe made several demon-

strations on that day, on the bridge of Villengen: but, in consequence of the reports made by his reconnoitring parties, he determined seriously to attempt the bridges of Grensheim, Blenheim, and Hockstadt. Eighty naked swimmers, to be armed with muskets and knapsacks, which were sent after them in two small boats, took possession of the villages of Grensheim and Blenheim, and made themselves masters of some pieces of cannon, which were manned by artillerymen, who had passed over on ladders placed on the wrecks of the bridge. All of them maintained their positions with extraordinary courage, while a number of miners and bridge-builders were employed, under the enemy's fire, in repairing the bridges, over which a force was sent to oppose the reinforcements which the enemy were marching towards the points where the object of the attack could be no longer doubtful. The 94th demi-brigade passed over after the swimmers, and boldly supported themselves until other parties came to assist them. After the retreat of the Austrian main army from Ulm, General Moreau took possession of Munich, and laid the Bavarian territories under heavy contributions. The elector was compelled to pay to Moreau a great part of the subsidy of 500,000*l.* which he had received from Great Britain. After the retreat of the Austrian army from Suabia, the French also took possession of the principal places in the duchy of Wurtemberg, which, as well as Bavaria, was laid under severe contribution, and treated altogether as an enemy's country. The Duke and Duchess of Wurtemberg, with their family and suite, retired to Anspach. The French at the same time, by the occupation of Ell-Wangen, became masters of the whole electorate of Treves.

In the mean time, the division under General Lecourbe drove the Austrians from Coire and the whole of the country of the Grisons. Thus General Moreau, by transferring the seat of the war to the frontiers of Austria, and by pressing closer and closer on the flank and rear of the Austrians in the Tyrole, prepared the way for driving the imperialists out of that country, lest they should be altogether surrounded by the army under Moreau, and detachments from that of Bonaparte through the Valtelline. Still farther to aggravate the evil plight of the Austrians, an army of 30,000 strong, French and Bavarians, was on its march from the Lower to the Upper Rhine, and ready to pass by Mentz and Dessel-dorf into Franconia.

In these circumstances, the Austrians solicited an armistice, which, at the desire or advice of Bonaparte to Moreau, was, on the 15th of July, granted. This truce led to a negotiation, which was conducted, on the part of the emperor, by Count St. Julien, who, on the 28th of July,

signed, at Paris, the preliminaries of peace on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio. On the part of the French, they were signed by the minister for foreign affairs, the ex-bishop Talleyrand.

Such was the overbearing weight of those circumstances which induced the Austrian government to request a suspension of arms. The same circumstances urged the necessity of carrying the preliminaries into a definitive treaty of peace. A strong disposition to repel the aggressive and the intolerable oppression of the French, whose exactions were greater in this than they had been in any former campaign, began to manifest itself in all the hereditary states, particularly in Hungary; and the emperor, being pressed by the British court to accept fresh pecuniary supplies, had concluded a treaty on the 20th of June, by which he became indebted to Great Britain in the sum of 2,000,000*l.* sterling, not liable to interest before the expiration of six months from the adjustment of a peace between him and the French. It was also stipulated that the war should be carried on with all possible vigour: and, that neither party should conclude a peace that did not also comprehend the other. His imperial majesty, faithful to this engagement, endeavoured for some weeks to include the British nation in a treaty of general peace: and a temporary correspondence was opened between the French government and the British court: but it was not productive of a formal negotiation. The emperor, therefore, refused to ratify the preliminaries that had been signed by the Count St. Julien, alleging withal, that the count in that act had exceeded his powers.

The French government, towards the end of August, informed the generals of its armies, that the emperor having refused to subscribe to the conditions of the preliminaries of peace, which had been signed by his plenipotentiary at Paris, the government was under the necessity of continuing the war. The armistice was of course broken off, and would cease to have effect on the 7th of September at one in the afternoon. The general officers and chiefs of corps were instructed to profit by this interval, to pass the troops in review, and to dispose every thing in such a manner, that they might be able to march and fight as soon as they should receive orders.

The emperor also issued a proclamation, on the 6th of September, announcing the rupture of the armistice; which, he said, had been discontinued by the French, unexpectedly, and without cause. In order to give an incontrovertible proof to his own subjects, and to all Europe, how much he had their welfare and protection at heart, he had resolved to repair in person, with his royal brother the Archduke John, to his army in Germany. His imperial majesty de-

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clared, at the same time, that he was unalterably disposed to accept with pleasure any reasonable propositions and conditions of peace.

The resolution of the emperor to put himself at the head of his army, was taken, no doubt, with a view to rouse the ancient courage of the Germans; and to give efficacy to proclamations, which he issued at the same time, for calling forth the force of the country in volunteer associations. But the emperor had no sooner joined the army, which was under the immediate and sole command of the Archduke John, than he made application to the French government for a prolongation of the armistice. The first consul, on conditions presently to be mentioned, agreed to this; declaring at the same time that the renewal of hostilities, or the improvement of a suspension of arms into a permanent peace, would wholly depend on the rejection or the ratification of the preliminaries concluded with Count St. Julien. The consul at the same time declared that he thought it his duty not to waste the remainder of the autumn in idle conferences, or to expose himself to endless diplomatic discussions, without securities for the sincerity of the enemy's intentions. The securities he demanded were Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, with their dependent forts. This condition, though it left the hereditary dominions of Austria, in a great measure, at the mercy of the enemy, being agreed to at Hohenlinden, a suspension of arms was concluded for forty-five days, commencing from the 21st of September.

There was not, during this interval, any remission of military preparation on either side. Recruits were sent from the camp at Dijon to the French armies; and the Austrians were reinforced by battalions raised in all parts of the hereditary states. The French army of the Rhine, seconded on its left by the army of Augereau, and on its right by that of the Grisons, formed on the Mayne, as far as the entry into the Tyrole, a line ready to advance on the first signal. It was composed of twelve divisions, comprising at least 100,000 men, and was divided into four corps; of which, that under General Lecourbe, consisting of three divisions, occupied Upper Suabia, Upper Bavaria, and the entry to the Tyrole. That under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief in person, consisting of three other divisions, occupied the two banks of the Iller as far as Landshut. That of General Grenier, consisting of three more divisions, held all the left banks of the Danube nearly to Passau, and the right bank of that river as far as the mouth of it at Almuck: and, lastly, that of General St. Susame, composed of three other divisions, occupied the country between the Mayne and the Danube, from Bamberg as far as Aix-la-Chapelle.—While

the French were thus formidable in front, there was nothing to be apprehended on either of their flanks. Italy was re-conquered. Switzerland was in their possession, the French moulding its government just as they pleased: and a Prussian army maintained the neutrality of the north of Germany.

The French, in the arrangements made with the Austrians for a suspension of arms, had acquiesced in the neutrality of Tuscany: and, perhaps, if that suspension had been followed by a pacification, as proposed by the chief consul in the moment of victory, it would not have been violated. But when negotiation for peace was found not to be successful, the French government became desirous of repossessing the duchy; and, on pretence of frequent outrages and depredations committed, as was alleged, in the adjoining districts, by Tuscan *brigands*, or robbers. It was thus that they thought proper, on the present occasion, to style an armed corps, which the inhabitants had formed for maintaining the internal order and tranquillity of the country. General Sommariva, in the end of September, was sent with only a small escort to disarm and disperse the national guard of the Tuscans. This requisition not being readily complied with, General Brune sent a detachment, under General Dupont, to take possession of the Tuscan territory. Dupont, on the 15th of October, entered Florence without opposition. Soon after this, Brigadier-general Clement persuaded the Austrian troops at Leghorn to surrender that town to him, on his assenting to a convention for the continuance of the Tuscan government, and the security of privileges and of property. This agreement was not scrupulously observed, though the British merchants were fortunate in preserving the greater part of their effects by means of the ships in the harbour. Strong parties were now sent out against the armed Tuscans at Arezzo and other places; and, as some resistance was made by the latter, they were not subdued and dispersed without bloodshed. About the same time, a heavy contribution was imposed on the small helpless state of Lucca.

The French authority and power throughout Italy was at this time so great, that the municipality of Cesenatico, a sea-port on the Adriatic coast, presumed to arrest an English officer, who carried dispatches to them from the British admiral in the Mediterranean. The municipality appeared not to have any other motive for this deed than the usual propensity of paltry and overawed states to pay court to the prevailing power by marks of zealous servility. Lord Keith determined to take severe vengeance for this breach of the law of nations; and Captain Ricket carried his orders into prompt execution. A proclamation was issued, lamenting that the innocent

should suffer with and for the guilty, but stating at the same time the necessity of sanctioning and supporting a law so indispensably necessary in all the intercourses of peace or war, and which the magistrates of Cesenatico had so unnecessarily and wantonly violated. A short time after the publication of this, all the vessels within the Mole were sunk or burned. The two piers were consumed, and the harbour was rendered useless.

It is not easy, amidst so many complicated views and shifting scenes, to account for the restoration of Rome, with the greater part of the Roman territories, to the pope. The conclave for the election of a successor to Pius VI. was held under the auspices of the emperor at Venice. It was generally supposed that, in this step, the court of Vienna had it in contemplation to stipulate for some cessions on the part of the Romish see to the house of Austria, in Italy. The ecclesiastic honored with the pontificate was Cardinal di Chiamonte, a man of good sense, and mild and unassuming manners. As it was customary for the new pontiff to assume the name of the pope who had promoted him to the dignity of cardinal, Chiamonte took that of Pius VII. The emperor, on his election, presented him with a sum of money, as an earnest of his regard and protection; but did not at first restore any part of the papal dominions. It is not impossible, that after the battle of Marignano, when he became apprehensive of the loss of his power and influence in Italy, he resolved to have the credit of delivering up to the pope the greater part of the ecclesiastical estate, rather than that it should fall into either the possession or disposal of other hands. The court of Vienna, it was said, had been for some time suspicious of an understanding between the King of Naples and the Russians. The king, it was suspected, was to accommodate the court of St. Petersburg with the long object of its ambition, some sea-port in the Mediterranean, and to be indemnified by a portion of the ecclesiastical territories. Be all this as it may, the Austrians having delivered up to his holiness the greater part of the ecclesiastical state, Pius VII. took possession of the see of Rome, and began to exercise the functions of sovereignty, with great dignity and moderation.

Moreau, who had returned to his native country in order to be married, soon after repaired to his head-quarters in Germany.

The Austrian armies advanced to the frontiers, and occupied a chain of posts in front of the hostile army, bending their main force to strengthen their line, from the frontier of Austria to the Gulph of Venice. An army of 30,000 men was stationed in Bohemia, under the command of the Archduke Charles, who still granted his assistance. The right banks of the Mayne were occupied by the Austrians in great force.

And an army, under the command of General Klenau, in the Upper Palatinate, was opposed to the French division under General St. Sausanne, whose head-quarters were at Mayence.

The positions and first movements of the invading army seemed to indicate an intention of carrying the great weight of the war into Bohemia. But the grand plan of Moreau's operations was not fully or certainly developed; this winter campaign being speedily cut short, by decisive advantages obtained over the Austrians. The French troops, under Augereau, drove those of Mayence from Aschaffenberg, on the 24th of November, and marched through Franconia towards Bohemia, to communicate with the left of the division under General Moreau.

On the 29th, General Moreau recommenced hostilities, near the Inn, and carried the Austrian works at Wassenberg. He was less successful in a battle on the 1st of December, near Haag, where he was vigorously attacked by the Archduke John, at the head of three columns. The Austrians were repeatedly driven back, but at last prevailed. The French were forced to retreat with great slaughter. On the same day, an attack was made by the French on an Austrian post at Rosenheim, but were repulsed after a hot engagement. In this action, the Prince of Condé's corps acquired great reputation by their firmness and cool courage. The Prince of Condé's son and the Duke of Angoulême were particularly distinguished.

The Archduke John, encouraged by these successes, on the 3d of December assaulted the French post at Hohenlinden, memorable for the last convention, and rendered still more memorable by the battle of this day. The archduke had no sooner begun his march than there fell a heavy shower of snow and sleet, by which his army was so much retarded, that only the central column had arrived at the place of destination at a time when all the divisions ought to have been ready for action. A division of the French, conducted by Richempanse, pierced between the left wing of the Austrians and the centre, reached the great road behind the centre, and assaulted the left flank and rear of that column, at a moment when it had formed in front, and commenced an attack. The Austrians, with their usual courage and bravery, sustained the conflict or several hours; but their centre being repelled by the impetuosity of the French, great disorder ensued. Their left wing was also defeated: and the battle seemed to be completely decided in favor of the French, when a vigorous attempt was made, by the right wing, to turn the tide of victory.

General Grenier sustained this unexpected charge with firmness; and, being well supported, threw his adversaries into the utmost confusion.

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The Austrians were forced to retire to the heights of Ramsau, with very great loss: and General Kinwayer, being attacked on his march by a corps from Arding, likewise suffered severely in that retreat, to which he was driven by intelligence of the disaster that had befallen the main army.

According to the account of the battle of Hohenlinden, given by General Moreau, the French took 80 pieces of cannon, 200 caissons, 10,000 prisoners, and a great number of officers, among whom were three generals. The general did not state the loss of the French to be more than 1000 in killed, wounded, and missing. But, according to the Austrian accounts, and on which all the world placed more dependence, the report of Moreau exceeded the truth by at least one half. The victorious republicans, after a long and unremitted pursuit of the flying Austrians, took possession of the city of Saltzburgh.

In the mean time, the three other French armies, the Gallo-Batavian, and that of Italy, were not idle. On the day distinguished by the battle of Hohenlinden, General Augereau gained an important advantage near Banberg. General Macdonald, defying the obstacles of an Alpine winter, passed from the country of the Grisons into the Valtelline, drove the enemy before him, and opened a communication with the army of Italy. A division of his army, after a series of actions with the Austrians, crossed the Mincio on the 26th of December. Vienna was struck with

terror. The Archduke repaired to the camp, to animate the troops to fresh exertion: but this prince, on a comparative view of his own with the enemy's strength, proposed an armistice, which was readily agreed to, and concluded, at Steyer, on the 25th of December, though the French, breaking their faith, had dismantled the three towns which had been delivered to them merely as pledges. The emperor consented to the surrender of many other posts, relying on the promise of restitution; and he was constrained, by a succession of heavy losses, to declare his readiness to detach himself from his allies, and recede from his former determination to agree to no other than a general peace. The British court, duly sensible of the alarming situation in which they themselves had so much contributed to involve him, released him from his engagements.

On a general retrospect of this combined campaign, in Italy and Germany, we find that it was art, contrivance, and stratagem, that decided the contest in favor of the French. The conditions by which the emperor procured an armistice of only forty-five days, were hard; it having been agreed, in a convention signed at Steyer, that the Tyrole should be wholly evacuated, and the fortresses of Brunau and Wartzbourg delivered up to the French. The most lively alarm was excited in Vienna, till the arrival of the Archduke Charles, at ten o'clock in the morning of Dec. 27, with the news of his having concluded an armistice with General Moreau.

CHAPTER VIII.

Negotiation between Great Britain and France.—Broken off.—Mr. Sheridan's consequent Motion in the House of Commons.—Excessive Scarcity in England, and consequent Commotions.—Attempt on the Life of his Majesty.—Attempt on the Life of the First Consul.

THE ministers of Europe were, at this period, busily treating with the agents of the first consul for peace; and Great Britain, who had disdainfully rejected the advances of Bonaparte, when he first arrived at power, now condescended to join in those negotiations. Early in the month of August, Lord Minto, in a note to Baron Thugut, after expressing the satisfaction felt by the king his master at the conduct of his imperial majesty, declared the entire concurrence of his Britannic majesty in the negotiations which might take place for a general pacification, and his readiness to send plenipotentiaries to treat for peace, in concert with those of his imperial and royal majesty, as soon as the intentions of the French

government to enter into a negotiation with his Britannic majesty should be known to him.

Baron Thugut, in a dispatch, dated August the 11th, to M. Talleyrand, informed that minister that the King of Great Britain, the ally of his imperial majesty, was ready on his part to concur in the negotiations for re-establishing general tranquillity, after which, suffering Europe had long sighed in vain; and it only remained therefore, he said, to agree upon the place at which the plenipotentiaries should meet—proposing the city of Luneville.

In consequence of this communication, Mr. Otto, commissary of the French republic (resident in England), a man of great discretion

and address, transmitted by order of his government a note to Lord Grenville, dated August 24, demanding further explanations respecting the proposition communicated by the court of London to that of Vienna; observing, at the same time, the impossibility that, at the moment when Austria and England take a common share in the negotiations, France should find herself under a suspension of arms with Austria, and a continuation of hostilities with England. He proposed, on the part of the first consul, a general armistice between the fleets and armies of France and England, analogous to those which had taken place in Italy and Germany; and declared that he had received from his government the powers necessary for negotiation and concluding this general armistice.

A Captain George, commissary for the exchange of prisoners, and therefore a gentleman personally known to Mr. Otto, was directed to confer with him, agreeably to a minute of instructions with which he was furnished. With regard to the naval armistice, Captain George was directed to say, "that an armistice, as applying to naval operations, had at no period ever been agreed on between Great Britain and France during the course of their negotiations for peace, or until the preliminaries had been actually signed; that it could, therefore, be considered as a step necessary to negotiation; and that, from the disputes to which its execution must unavoidably be expected to give rise, it might probably tend rather to obstruct than to facilitate the success of those endeavours which the two parties might employ for the restoration of peace; that the circumstances of a naval war are obviously not such as to admit of equal arrangements as are easily established with regard to military operations, when suspended by such an agreement; that it appeared, therefore, at all events, premature to enter even into the discussion of the question.

Captain George was in return informed by Mr. Otto (August 28), that he had every reason to think that the continuation of the German armistice would depend upon the conclusion of the English armistice, the advantages of the latter being considered by France as an equivalent for the very obvious disadvantages of the German one. Mr. Otto further declared himself instructed to require an answer to the proposal for a general armistice, before the 3d of September; which made him conclude that hostilities might again commence about that time, should the proposed armistice be positively refused on the part of his majesty. From this declaration, the great importance attached to the naval armistice, by the government of France, plainly appeared. It was made the indispensable condition of prolonging the German armistice, and of admitting England to a joint

negociation with Austria. It remained with the English court to determine, whether it was least disadvantageous to her interests to admit the claim of France, or, rejecting it, to withdraw her own to the joint negociation. To endeavour, *by arguing the case*, to obtain the advantage, and to avoid the disadvantage, led unavoidably to that sort of altercation, from which nothing but ill-humour and loss of time could possibly result.

On the 29th an official note was addressed by Lord Grenville to Mr. Otto, similar to the instructions of Captain George; to which Mr. Otto replied, on the following day, "that he was directed to submit to the British government the *projet* for a maritime truce; but the ministers of his majesty having judged that it would be *PREMATURE* to enter even into the DISCUSSION of this object, it is his duty to respect the motives which appear to them to militate against such a negociation."

The 3d of September having passed over, Mr. Otto transmitted another note to Lord Grenville, in which he stated, by express order from his government, "that preliminaries of peace had been concluded and *signed* between his imperial majesty and the French republic; and that the intervention of Lord Minto, who demanded that England should be admitted to take part in the negotiations, prevented their ratification by his imperial majesty. That the suspension of arms, which had taken place solely in the hope of a speedy peace between the emperor and the republic, ought to cease, and will in fact cease, on the 24th Fructidor (11th Sept.), since France had sacrificed to that hope alone the immense advantages which victory had secured to her; that, in fine, the intervention of England rendered the question of peace so complicated, that it was impossible for the French government to prolong further the armistice upon the continent, unless his Britannic majesty would consent to render it common to the three powers." And Mr. Otto further informed Lord Grenville, that the besieged or blockaded places which it was proposed to assimilate to those of Germany, were Malta and the maritime towns of Egypt.

Lord Grenville wrote on the same day a letter to Mr. Nepean, secretary to the admiralty, importing, "that, the French government having, *as it appeared*, determined to make the continuance of the armistice between Austria and France, and the commencement of the negotiations for peace, dependent on the conclusion of an armistice with this country, it was judged proper that he should see Mr. Otto, and inquire of him, whether he was furnished with a project of a treaty of naval truce, and what were the conditions of it." Hereupon Mr. Otto avowed to Mr. Nepean, that he was deterred from presenting the *projet* which he had

BOOK IV. been in possession of by his lordship's declaration
 CHAP. VIII. "that it was altogether *premature* to enter into
 the discussion of the question!"

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The project consisted of seven articles, in substance as follows:—1. Suspension of hostilities. —2. Free navigation—3. Vessels captured after a fixed period to be restored.—4. Malta, Alexandria, and Belleisle, to be assimilated to Ulm, Philippsburg, and Ingoldstadt; and all neutral or French vessels to enter with provisions freely.—5. The British squadrons which blockaded Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Flushing, to withdraw from the coasts.—6. Armistice to be regularly notified.—7. Spain and Holland to be included.

On the 7th of September, Lord Grenville returned an answer. "The spirit of the note last received from Mr. Otto," said his Lordship, "is unhappily but little consonant with those appearances of a conciliatory disposition, which had before been manifested. If it be really practicable, in the present moment, to restore permanent tranquillity to Europe, this object must be effected by very different means than those of such a controversy as that paper is calculated to excite." The English minister then proceeded to state, the abstract principle on which an armistice ought to be founded, and employed great pains to expose the inequality of the conditions proposed by France, and their incongruity, with the abstract principle laid down by him. "To a proposal," said this statesman, "so manifestly repugnant to justice and equality, and so injurious, not only to his majesty's interests, but also to those of his allies, it could not be expected that any motive should induce the king to accede." He then informed Mr. Otto, that he had transmitted to him a counter-projet, "containing regulations more nearly corresponding with that principle of equality on which *alone* his majesty could consent to treat. Even those articles were, in many important points, very short of what his majesty might justly demand from a reference to the general principle above stated."

The chief, and indeed only essential, points of difference between the projet and the counter-projet, consisted in the more rigid restrictions proposed, and no doubt very properly, by the English government, respecting Malta and the ports of Egypt, and insisting "that nothing should be admitted by sea which could give additional means of defence, and provisions only for fourteen days, in proportion to the consumption. And, in regard to the ports of France, that none of the ships of war should, during the armistice, be removed to any other station."

The letter and counter-projet of Lord Grenville having been transmitted by Mr. Otto to Paris, he was authorised, on the 16th of September, to return an answer to the same; in which

he informed the English minister, that, the papers in question having been laid before the first consul, he observed that the armistice proposed by England did not offer any advantage to the French republic, and consequently could not compensate for the serious inconveniences which would result to it, from the continuance of the continental armistice. Hence it followed, that the counter-projet could be admitted only as the basis of a particular arrangement between France and England. But, the effect of the proposed maritime truce being intended to serve as a compensation to the French republic, for the continental truce, the former ought to afford to it advantages equal to the conveniences which it expressed from the latter.

Mr. Otto, therefore, stated that he had received directions to make two proposals, of which his Britannic majesty might choose that which should appear to him more consonant to the interest of his dominions, or to his continental relations. The *first* was, "that the projet for an armistice be drawn up, and admitted, in terms analogous to those which had been proposed to the ministry of his Britannic majesty, but relative only to a separate negotiation between the two powers." And, *secondly*, "that his Britannic majesty should continue to make common cause with the emperor, but that in this case he should consent that the maritime truce might offer to the French republic, advantages equal to those secured to the house of Austria by the continental truce.—The first consul had already made, to the love of peace, a sufficiently great sacrifice. If he should continue to derive no benefit from the successes of the war, it would no longer be moderation, but weakness. It would no longer be the means of arriving at the conclusion of peace, but that of perpetuating the war. Perhaps, in the judgment of statesmen, the French government might have already too long delayed to avail itself of the contingency which was favorable to it; but it only did so upon the positive assurances which had been given to it, of a speedy and separate peace."

To this statement of the nature of the alternative offered by France, Lord Grenville, on the 20th of September, returned an answer, importing, "that his majesty still looked to a naval armistice, on suitable conditions, as to a sacrifice which he might be induced to make, in order to prevent the renewal of hostilities on the continent, and thereby to facilitate those joint negotiations for general peace, which might perhaps be accelerated by such an arrangement, although they were by no means necessarily dependent on it. But, when it was required that the extent of the sacrifice which his majesty was to make, should be regulated neither by any fair standard of equality, nor by the ordinary rules which govern such transactions; when without any reference to the

interests of his own people, he was called upon to proportion his concessions to the exaggerated estimates which his enemies had formed of the benefits derived to his allies, from the continental armistice; and when, on such grounds as these, conditions were insisted on which even these could not warrant, it became necessary to state distinctly, that his majesty neither recognised this principle, nor, if he did, could he agree in this application of it."

On the 21st of September, an answer was returned to Lord Grenville's official communication, by Mr. Otto, who expressed the deepest regret that the principles of conciliation contained in his note were not acceded to. "It was," he said, "not merely with a view to discuss those principles, but in order to propose fresh means of reconciliation, that he felt it his duty to request, in his letter of the 16th, an interview with his excellency." And he announced to the English minister, that the intentions of the first consul were anew detailed in the *projet* which he had the honor to inclose.

The second projet of France differed from that of England, chiefly in two points:—first, in the extraordinary stipulation, that six French frigates should have the liberty of sailing from Toulon, of unlading at Alexandria, and of returning without being searched; and, secondly, that the restriction respecting ships of war, in the fifth article, should be confined to ships of the line.

On the 23d of September, an official note was addressed by Mr. Otto to Lord Grenville, in which he again expressed his regret, that the want of more direct communication with his majesty's ministers had rendered it impossible for him to give his official overtures the necessary explanations. He now stated, that in conformity with the advice which he had transmitted to Lord Grenville on the 4th instant, notification was given of the cessation of the continental armistice at the term which had been fixed upon; but the counter-projet of the British ministry, dispatched by the under-signed on the 8th of this month, having reached Paris on the 10th, and his majesty having appeared to be convinced that his ally would not withhold his consent to an admissible armistice, the first consul determined for eight days to retard the renewal of hostilities. Orders were immediately dispatched to the armies of Germany and Italy; and, in the event of those orders arriving too late in the last-mentioned country, and of the French generals having obtained successes in consequence of any military operation, they were ordered to resume that position which they occupied on the precise day on which hostilities were recommenced.

Lord Grenville in his reply (September 24th) renewed his charge of duplicity, or rather of

fraud, against the first consul, and endeavoured to support this accusation by a reference to dates. "The first proposal," he said, "made on the part of France for a naval armistice, was dated August 24—the notices for terminating the continental armistice were given by the French generals on the 27th and 29th of August: the orders for that purpose must, therefore, have been actually sent from Paris before the 24th." His lordship insinuated, that the only satisfactory evidence which the French government could now give of the sincerity of its disposition for peace, would be by engaging with facility in a joint negociation with the king and the emperor. This statesman added, "that no man who considers the past events of this contest with attention, or who is capable of judging with accuracy of the present situation of affairs, can believe, that, if the present war is to be terminated by a succession of treaties between the different powers now engaged in it, any permanent or solid basis of general tranquillity could be established."

Still persisting in his resolution not to submit to a personal interview with Mr. Otto, his lordship informed that gentleman of "the appointment by his majesty of a proper person to confer with him respecting the different proposals for a naval armistice. This step," his lordship said, "affords a new proof of his majesty's disposition to bend himself to every reasonable facility which can contribute to a general pacification." The person appointed was Mr. G. Hammond, under-secretary of state, who received from Lord Grenville very ample and detailed instructions respecting the business on which he was to treat. However, in the conference which took place between Mr. Hammond and Mr. Otto, September 25, the French minister made no scruple to acknowledge, "that the fourth and fifth articles contained the only points to which his government attached much importance; and such were its sentiments respecting them, and he conceived that it would not consent to any armistice of which they did not form a part." On the 7th of October, in a second conference between Mr. Otto and Mr. Hammond, the latter was in few words informed, "that the several important events which had recently taken place, had completely changed the basis upon which the proposed armistice was to have been established, and put an end to the negociation: that the first consul was, notwithstanding, invariably disposed to receive any overture relative to a separate negociation between England and France; and that the mode of such overture entirely depended upon the option of his majesty: that the first consul would either grant a passport to a plenipotentiary of the king of Paris, or, if his majesty preferred that the preliminary negotiations should be begun at London, special powers would be transmitted to Mr. Otto for that

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purpose." But on the 9th, Mr. Hammond informed this gentleman, by letter, that his majesty must steadily decline to enter into any measure tending to separate his interest from those of the powers who should continue to make common cause with him in the prosecution of the war.

The session of parliament having commenced with a speech from the throne, Nov. 11th, towards the conclusion his majesty adverted to the unsuccessful negociation recently carried on with France, the papers relative to which he had ordered to be laid before parliament: "You will see in them," said his majesty, "fresh and striking proofs of my earnest desire to contribute to the re-establishment of the general tranquillity. That desire on my part has hitherto been unhappily frustrated, by the determination of the enemy to enter only on a separate negociation, in which it was impossible for me to engage, consistently either with public faith, or with a due regard to the permanent security of Europe."

In the house of commons, Dec. the 1st, Mr. Sheridan moved an address to the throne, assuring his majesty, "that the house had taken into their most serious consideration the papers relative to the negociation for peace with France; and that the result of their reflexions on that important subject, founded as well on due examination of the documents now referred to them, as on experience of the past conduct of most of his majesty's allies, was an humble but earnest desire that his majesty would omit no proper opportunity which might arise, consistently with the good faith ever preserved on the part of his majesty, of entering into a separate negociation with the government of France for a speedy and honorable peace; and further, to implore his majesty not to sanction any new engagements which should preclude such a mode of negociation."

The object of this address, which was the only practicable mode of obtaining peace, was exclaimed against by Mr. Windham, as so extravagant, and even ridiculous, that it wholly precluded the necessity of any observation. He warned the house against listening to the counsels of those who wanted to make a peace of pure love with a jacobin republic, and to take from them the fraternal embrace; and he prayed God to avert such a peace from this country.

Mr. Grey, in a very able speech, acknowledged there were so many objections to the principle of a naval armistice, that ministers were justified in refusing to accede to it; although—admitting the principle—the terms proposed by the French did not seem unreasonable. But, though the proposition of joint negociation was involved in so many difficulties, the enemy offered us an opportunity of treating separately for peace. The precise point here was, whether, knowing as we did the disposition of our allies on former occasions, and

particularly the general conduct of Austria in the present war, ministers were entitled to sacrifice the peace of the country to the prospect of any advantages to be derived from joint negociation? The interests to be attended to were so discordant; the compensations to be made were so much the subject of jealousy; and the propensity to opposition was encouraged by so many circumstances; that it was no wonder to perceive joint negociations so seldom attended with cordiality, or followed up with success. And, upon considering the present case in all its bearings and relations, he thought ministers highly culpable in refusing to treat separately for peace. Their incapacity and want of foresight being evident in the whole transaction, he would give his cordial support to a motion, the adoption of which tended to disentangle the nation from its present embarrassments."

Mr. Dundas, on the other hand, declared, "that it would have been very unwise, engaged as we were in an arduous contest with such an enemy as France, to separate ourselves from such an ally as Austria." And he reminded the house, that by an established maxim of our constitution, in all questions of peace or war, the decision belonged to the king, and that it was not the province of that house to interfere, unless on very great and important occasions; and such occasions could scarcely occur, except where the interposition of the house ought to be accompanied with an advice to his majesty to choose new counsellors. On a division, there appeared for the motion 35—against it 156 voices.

The domestic situation of Great Britain was at this period exceedingly afflictive and alarming. The harvest of the last two years had been beyond all precedent scanty and unproductive; and, although just apprehensions of a scarcity had been very generally entertained in the autumn of 1799, the ports were not opened for a free importation of corn till the ensuing spring. The additional consumption and enormous waste arising from a war of such unbounded extent and expence, greatly, though unavoidably, enhanced the evil; and the rapid and excessive rise of every article of provisions, during the summer and the autumn of the present year, menaced the kingdom with the dreadful prospect of absolute famine. England, with the riches of the world flowing into her lap, was dying of hunger, and, like Midas, starving in the midst of her gold.

It being a very prevalent and popular notion, that the present alarming scarcity was, if not primarily caused, yet at least artificially enhanced, by the evil practices of engrossers, forestallers, and regraters, the law was enforced against these different classes of delinquents with great severity. The statutes relating to offences of this equivocal nature had been indeed repealed; but offences

they still remained at common law; and, in various instances, persons engaged in those branches of trade which naturally led to commercial speculations in the necessities of life, were in the highest court of criminal justice convicted and punished. A vehement clamour was raised all over the kingdom, against corn-factors and millers of the greatest respectability and eminence, as engrossers, forestallers, and regraters. In the month of August, riots in many parts of the country, Birmingham, Nottingham, Oxford, &c. became very frequent and alarming. The houses of bakers, mealmen, &c. were violently attacked; and no corn-factor could sleep in his bed with security.

In the succeeding month, these barbarous and disgraceful commotions extended to the metropolis; but the lord-mayor, Combe, a man of courage and address, immediately took the necessary precautions to secure the public peace. It was observed that the Quakers, who deal largely in this branch of commerce, were the peculiar objects of the popular rage, notwithstanding the general beneficence and attention to the poor which mark the character of that truly respectable sect. The riot becoming more serious, his lordship, accompanied by several of the aldermen, addressed the people on the folly and danger of their conduct, reminding them of the obvious truth, that unless the dealers were protected in bringing their corn to market, both rich and poor must alike perish. At length, finding his expositions of no effect, and that they were proceeding to the commission of the most violent outrages, he read the riot-act; and, with the assistance of the constables, secured several of the rioters; with great humanity forbearing to order the volunteers, who soon reached the spot, to fire upon the misguided and deluded populace—thus, by his firm and judicious conduct, acquiring high and just reputation, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the kingdom.

A royal proclamation immediately issued for the suppression of riots and tumults; and the Duke of Portland, secretary of state for the home department, on occasion of the riots in the midland counties, wrote an excellent letter to the Duke of Marlborough, lord-lieutenant of the county of Oxford, stating “the necessity there must be for the exertion of all the lord-lieutenant’s great influence and authority, to combat and counteract the prejudices which had operated, no less powerfully than unfortunately, in disposing a very large part of the community to believe the scarcity artificial, and owing to the views and speculations of certain interested and rapacious men, who took advantage of the difficulties and distresses of the times to enrich themselves at the expence of the public.” The letter then adverted to the notoriously unfavorable circumstances of

the two last seasons, as fully sufficient to account for the present dearth; and the lord-lieutenant was instructed to prosecute, without distinction, all persons concerned in any acts of violence, or modes of intimidation, in the most vigorous, exemplary, and impressive manner, which the power, military as well as civil, under his command, would most speedily and effectually enable him to do.

A singular incident happened in London, on the 15th of May, threatening the life of the king, when his majesty, accompanied by the queen and princesses, went, as usual, to the theatre. On the king’s entering the box, a man near the orchestra suddenly stood up, and discharged a pistol. On the report of fire-arms, and the confusion which ensued, his majesty stopped short; but upon the immediate seizure of the assassin, came forward, and waved his hand, to show that he was not hurt. Notwithstanding this alarming interruption, the play was performed to the end, when the king and royal family withdrew, amid the loud gratulations of the audience.

The wretch who made this horrid attempt immediately underwent a close examination, in the presence of the Duke of York, who happened to be in the theatre at the time. His name was James Hadfield. He had for some years served as a dragoon in the 15th regiment, and was, during that time, distinguished for his courage and good behaviour. At Lincelles he received several sabre-wounds in the head, and had been left three hours among the slain; these wounds had ever since extremely impaired his intellect; and he appeared, at the period of this attempt on his majesty’s life, as well as on many former occasions, to be totally deranged. He had made use of a horse-pistol, loaded with a brace of slugs; and as he was known to be a dexterous marksman, it was wonderful that the king escaped unhurt. No cause appeared which should have induced him to the perpetration of this crime; but he talked, on his examination, in a mysterious way, of dreams, and of a great commission which he had received in his sleep. He underwent a second examination before the privy-council, but nothing more interesting transpired. On the 26th of June he was brought to trial before the chief justice, Lord Kenyon. The Duke of York deposed to his personal recollection of the man, as one of his orderly dragoons. His exemplary behaviour in that capacity was fully proved; and the wounds received in the king’s service being notoriously the cause of the dreadful insanity under which he laboured, the trial was stopped, and the jury were directed to bring in a verdict of NOT GUILTY. The wretched maniac was immediately, by order of the court, conveyed to the hospital appropriated to persons of that compassionate description. Upon this occasion, ad-

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dresses of sincere congratulation were presented to the throne from all parts of the kingdom.

Soon after the life of Bonaparte was attempted on a similar occasion; not by one person, but by several, as it was said, which sufficiently proved that the consular government did not give general satisfaction. On the 24th of December, as the first consul was going in his carriage from the Thuilleries to the opera, he passed through the Rue Vicaise, a narrow street, in which stood a sort of car of somewhat uncommon construction, and placed so as apparently to obstruct the way. The coachman drove rapidly; but scarcely had he, with great dexterity and good fortune, passed the car a minute, when it blew up with a most dreadful explosion; greatly damaging many of the adjoining houses, and wounding several individuals very dangerously. The velocity with which the carriage moved saved the first consul,

against whose life this machine, filled with combustibles, was no doubt solely designed and directed. Divers of the assassins concerned in this atrocious plot were discovered and brought to trial, and in different modes were punished. But it made a deep and lasting impression upon the mind of the first consul, whose character, from this time, acquired a strong tincture of suspicion and severity. A striking proof of this was exhibited in the subsequent promulgation of an act of government, sanctioned indeed by the senate, by virtue of which 132 persons, accused of disaffection, were sentenced to banishment without any previous trial; and special tribunals were also, by a legislative decree, erected throughout the entire extent of the republic—armed, in all cases, relative to offences against the state, with new and despotic powers, and superseding the constitutional use of juries.

CHAPTER IX.

Naval History.—The Vessels of France and Spain blockaded by the British.—Bombardment of Genoa by the English Fleet.—Attack on Quiberon.—Exploits by Sir John Borlase Warren, Capt. Martin, Lieutenant Burke, &c.—Remarkable Instances of individual Courage.—Capture of Goree, &c.—Failure of two Expeditions to the Coast of Spain.—Surrender of Malta and Curaçoa.—Observations.

DURING this year the naval power of Great Britain was remarkably conspicuous. The ports of Alexandria, Toulon, Cadiz, Brest, and Flushing, with the island of Malta and the fortress of Belleisle, were all blockaded nearly at the same time. The French, unable to send supplies to Egypt, notwithstanding the boasted preparations of Admiral Gantheaume, derived no benefit from their late successes. A numerous garrison, in possession of one of the strongest fortresses in the Mediterranean, was reduced to great extremities; while the combined naval force of France and Spain, confined to the harbour of Brest, and rendered totally useless, was become a burden, instead of a defence, to the respective powers to which it belonged. So decisive, indeed, had been the superiority of England on the ocean, that, since the commencement of the war, no less than 320 ships had been taken from the French, 89 from the Dutch, and 75 from the Spaniards, of which 78 were of the line; while 49 were all that were captured from England, and of these 3 only were vessels of force.

So great was the success of the British navy, that it was intended at the commencement of the campaign to make a powerful diversion in favor

of the allies, by means of an irruption into the southern provinces of France; and an army, chiefly composed of Austrians and emigrants, was to have been landed there from our fleets stationed in that quarter. The sudden return, however, of Bonaparte, and, above all, the change which he effected in the French government, prevented the execution of a design, from which great things had been expected.

Other measures being adopted, Lord Keith appeared with a strong squadron off Genoa, and assisted General Melas in conducting the siege of that city, (as already mentioned in this book, Chapter V.) Some ships detached by the vice-admiral, in conjunction with others sent thither by the King of Naples, contributed greatly to the reduction of the fortress of Savona; and when the imperial commander found it necessary to convert the attack of the former place into a blockade, Captain Morris, of the Phaeton, seized twenty-one corn-vessels; and Captain Oliver, of the Mermaid, took and destroyed nine, which had been previously cut out by Lieutenant Corbett, although moored close to a fort within the small islands of Croisette. Thus the British cruisers, by intercepting all supplies, actually

produced a surrender, in consequence of the famine that ensued. In addition to this, the city itself was four times bombarded; and although its capitulation cannot be ascribed to this measure, it afforded a new opportunity for the display of British valour. Captain Philip Beaver, of the *Aurora*, who was employed on the occasion, learning that the enemy intended to board the flotilla under his command, was resolved to anticipate the design; and notwithstanding a large galley, a cutter, three armed settees, and several gun-boats, after appearing in array off the Mole-head, had assumed a position under the batteries, he attacked, boarded, carried, and brought off their principal galley, *La Prima*, with 257 men on board!

About the same time, the western departments of France were frequently menaced by the appearance of hostile armaments, and kept in continual alarm by partial debarkations. Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Impetueux*, with a flying squadron and three troop-ships, made an attack on Quiberon, June 4. The *Thames* and *Cynthia* having cannonaded the south-west end, and silenced some batteries, Major Ramsay landed with a small body of soldiers, and destroyed them. The same commander was also successful in an attempt upon the Morbihan, having seized several sloops and gun-vessels, and burnt a national corvette of eighteen guns, by means of a detachment from the Queen's regiment, assisted by the gun-launches under Lieutenant Pinfold.

During the night of June 11, Sir John Borlase Warren succeeded in an attack on a convoy at anchor, near a fort within the Penmarks, and by means of the boats of his fleet, under the direction of Captain Martin of the *Fisguard*, cut out a gun-boat, two armed vessels, and six merchantmen. Nor was this all; for a small squadron was soon after chased into Quimper river, and a battery stormed and blown up. So indefatigable was this officer, that, in the course of a few days more, he sent in several boats, under the direction of Lieutenant Burke, to attack some armed vessels and a convoy, moored so as to form a strong line of defence within the sands of Bourneuf Bay. Fifteen sail of merchantmen, and four vessels intended for their protection, were all burnt upon this occasion; but in returning, some mistake having taken place relative to the passage over the sand-banks, the adventurers were consequently exposed to the fire of 400 French soldiers, and 4 officers and 88 men were made prisoners.

The commerce of the enemy was considerably annoyed by the naval exploits which actually stopped for a while the coasting trade of the French: but what was of still greater consequence, they intercepted the supplies of wine, brandy, flour, and provisions, intended for the fleet off Brest. Soon after this, July 7, Captain

Inman, of the *Andromeda*, with a detachment of armed vessels and fire-ships, made an attack on four frigates (one of which carried a broad pendant) anchored in Dunkirk Roads, and Captain Campbell of the *Dart* succeeded in boarding and carrying *La Desirée*, of forty guns; but the rest cut their cables and escaped, by running down the inner channel within the Braak sand.

In the course of this year, some remarkable instances of individual courage and subaltern merit occurred worthy of particular notice. Jeremiah Coghlan, accompanied by Mr. Silas Paddon and a few sailors in three boats, captured, in the month of August, a gun-brig, mounting three long twenty-four and four six-pounders, full of men, moored with springs to her cables, at the entrance of Port Louis, although within pistol-shot of three batteries, surrounded by several armed craft, and not a mile from a seventy-four gun ship and two frigates, the former carrying an admiral's flag. *Le Cerbere*, the prize, was given up by the squadron, as a testimony of approbation for so gallant an exploit. A few days afterwards, Lieutenant Burke boarded a privateer carrying eighteen nine-pounders and 161 men, in Vigo Bay, and towed her out from under the batteries, notwithstanding the desperate resistance of the master and crew, the former of whom was killed.

On the 4th of September, Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Schomberg of the *Minotaur* entered the roads of Barcelona at night with a detachment of boats, and cut out two armed vessels, under a heavy fire from the ships of war, four strong batteries, ten gun-boats, and two schooners, mounting a couple of forty-two pounders each, while the fort of Mount Joui endeavoured in vain to make them desist from their enterprize. This exploit had nearly produced a war between Spain and Denmark.

In the course of the spring of this year, April 5, the fort and island of Goree surrendered to three British men of war in a very unaccountable manner. Sir Charles Hamilton, in the *Melpomene*, of forty-four guns, accompanied by the *Ruby* and *Magnanime*, having learned that some French frigates were anchored in that neighbourhood, proceeded in quest of them. In the mean time, conceiving that the garrison might be intimidated by his appearance, he dispatched a lieutenant with a verbal message, demanding the governor to capitulate. That officer, "anxious," as he very kindly said, "to spare blood-shed," immediately agreed to surrender; after which, the factory of Jool was taken possession of also, and Great Britain thus acquired a settlement of some value without loss or expense.

A secret expedition having been fitted out about the middle of summer, it was generally supposed that Belleisle, a fortress at a little dis-

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tance from the coast of Brittany (captured before by the English in 1761) was the chief object against which this armament was directed, more especially as it had been for some time blockaded in such a manner as to intercept all kinds of supplies. Deterred, as it is thought, by the strength of the place from attempting a landing, the squadron, commanded by Rear-admiral Sir John Borslase Warren, with a convoy of troops under Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, sailed for the coast of Spain, and arrived in the bay of Piaya de Dominos on the 25th of August. The fire of three ships of war, viz. the *Impetueux*, *Brilliant*, and *Cynthia*, and a gun-boat, *St. Vincent*, having silenced a fort of eight 24-pounders, a debarkation was effected during the evening, in a small opening near Cape Prior, under the superintendence of Sir Edward Pellew, and the whole army reached the shore without the loss of a single man. At the same time were landed sixteen field-pieces, attended by seamen from the men of war to carry scaling-ladders and drag the guns up the adjoining heights. The reserve, followed by the other troops in succession as they gained the beach, immediately ascended a ridge of hills; and when they had attained the summit, the rifle corps fell in with, and drove back a party of the enemy, notwithstanding Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, the commander, was wounded.

On the 26th at day-break, a more considerable body of Spaniards was forced to retire by the Earl of Cavan's brigade, supported by some other troops, particularly the first battalion of the fifty-second; so that the English remained in complete possession of the heights of Brion and Balon, which overlook the town of Ferrol, its noble and capacious bay, and the ships of war in the harbour. In this prosperous state of affairs, and at the very moment the army expected to advance, a retreat was ordered to be effected by the general. Sir James Pulteney, in his dispatch, dated August 27, thus vindicated his conduct, remarking that he had now "an opportunity of observing minutely the situation of the place, and of forming, from the reports of prisoners, an idea of the strength of the enemy; when, comparing the difficulties which presented themselves, and the risk attendant on failure, on one hand, with the prospect of success and the advantage to be derived from it on the other, he came to the determination of re-embarking the troops in order to proceed without delay on his further destination." Accordingly, in consequence of the indefatigable exertions of the captains of the squadron, the whole of the army and artillery was again taken on board the men of war and transports before day-break.

It is to be lamented, that Sir James Pulteney, whose conduct upon this occasion has been much

censured, had not been previously provided with sufficient information relative to the strength of the place, and that the inquiry, which was moved for in parliament, July 22, did not take place. Some went so far as to declare, that Ferrol was about to be delivered up, and that an officer had actually set out with the intention of surrendering the keys: but when we take into consideration the courage and talents displayed by this lieutenant-general during the campaign of the preceding year in Holland, (as mentioned in the 15th Chapter of our 3d Book, page 224,) instead of giving credit to unsupported assertions, we must conclude there were substantial reasons for declining the attack.

Soon after this failure on the coast of Galicia, another expedition was directed against the province of Andalusia, which eventually proved equally fortunate for Spain; it being manifestly the intention of both expeditions to annihilate her consequence as a maritime power.

About the close of the preceding year, (Dec. 5, 1799,) Lord Keith transmitted a declaration to the consuls of all neutral powers, stating Cadiz to be in a state of blockade; and on the 22d of July, 1800, Rear-admiral Bickerton published a similar notice. Cadiz, though at this time afflicted with an epidemical distemper, exactly similar to the plague, was also threatened with a visit from a powerful armament. This consisted of the squadron in the Mediterranean, forming 22 ships of the line and 27 frigates, with 84 transports and other vessels, making in all 143 sail, and having an army of 20,000 men on board.

This armament having come to anchor, Oct. 6, Don Thomas de Morla, the governor, immediately addressed a letter to the British admiral, in which he expressed his surprise at the arrival of a hostile squadron, during the prevalence of a disease which "carried off thousands of victims, and threatened not to suspend its ravages until it had cut off all those who had hitherto escaped."—"I have too exalted an opinion of the English people, and of you in particular," he added, "to think you would wish to render our condition more deplorable. However, if, in consequence of the orders your excellency has received, you are inclined to attract the execration of all nations, to cover yourselves with disgrace in the eyes of the whole universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence, I declare to you, that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers much greater than all the perils of war, know how to exhibit a resistance which shall not terminate but with their entire destruction. I hope that the answer of your excellency will inform me, whether I am to speak the language of

consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and revenge."

To this interesting letter, a reply was returned in the names of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and Lord Keith, which, after expressing a due compassion for the deplorable state of Cadiz, stated "that a number of his Catholic majesty's vessels were armed in order to join the naval forces of the French, and to be employed in prolonging the troubles which afflict all the nations of Europe, disturb public order, and destroy the happiness of individuals. We have received orders from our sovereign," added they, "to use every effort to defeat the projects of the common enemy, by endeavouring to take and destroy the ships of war which are in the harbour and arsenal of Cadiz. The number of troops entrusted to our command, leaves but little doubt as to the success of the enterprise. We are not disposed to multiply unnecessarily the evils inseparable from war. Should your excellency consent to give up to us the vessels armed, or arming, in order to act against our king, and to prolong the misfortunes of neighbouring nations, your crews and officers shall be at liberty, and our fleet shall withdraw; otherwise we must act conformably to the orders which have been given to us, and your excellency cannot attribute to any other than yourself, the additional evils which you fear."

The Spanish governor instantly rejected a proposal, which he stiled "insulting to the person to whom it was addressed, and but little honorable to those by whom it was made." Hereupon an attack appeared inevitable, and directions for a landing were prepared on board the *Foudroyant*, and issued October 4. It was intended that the first division of troops was to have been embarked in 102 boats, in the following manner:

Under Captain Stevenson, 1,065 men, composed of part of the 28th, and 50th regiments, together with a detachment from the Corsican rangers;

Under Captain Morrison, 1,021 of the 50th and 28th regiments;

Under Captain Lamour, 1,050 of the 42d regiment;

Under Captain Scott, 196 guards; and

Under Captain Ayscough, 900 guards.

The landing was to have been effected under the direction of Captain Cochrane; but providence defended the wretched inhabitants of Cadiz, for the weather proved so exceedingly unfavorable, that it was deemed proper to abandon the enterprise. It must be observed that this expedition was planned and fitted out before the malady there was known to exist.

We have, however, to mention two other occurrences, more fortunate in their result. Malta, so unjustly seized by Bonaparte in the course of his expedition to Egypt, and of which we have given

an ample account in the fifth chapter of the preceding book, had now experienced a blockade of two years, both by sea and land; in the course of which, General Vaubois had been summoned no less than eight different times. During the whole of this period the natives had exhibited a marked and decided hatred to the French, whom they accused (and with great reason) of spoliation and injustice, and not only prevented any supplies being thrown into La Valetta, but also assisted Brigadier-general Graham in hemming in the city, and checking the excursions of the garrison. At one time of the siege, the inhabitants themselves suffered still more than the garrison, from scarcity, and the blockade on the land side would have entirely ceased, but for a supply from Sicily. A deputation having repaired there to solicit succours from the court, the lady of the English ambassador represented the distresses of the natives in such a forcible manner to the queen, that two vessels laden with corn were instantly purchased and sent off in the course of the same day. This little incident sufficiently proves how unjustly that lady was accused of the want of feeling, as alluded to in the 14th chapter of book III; and it produced such an effect on the mind of the Emperor Paul, that he immediately transmitted the cross of the order of Malta to Lady Hamilton; while by the continuance of his protection to the family of Ferdinand IV. he prevented that prince from experiencing a similar fate with the King of Sardinia.

A reinforcement of troops having arrived under Major-general Pigott, Malta was invested still more closely than before; but as it would have been impolitic to have besieged the place, its reduction was entrusted to the operation of famine alone. At length, all hopes of receiving supplies from France having vanished, an attempt was made to save two frigates in the harbour, viz. *La Justice* and *Diane*; but the latter, in consequence of the vigilance of the blockading squadron, was immediately captured by the English. A few days after this, General Vaubois assembled a council of war in the national palace: and it appearing that the magazines of provisions had been entirely exhausted for more than a month; that the liquors of all kinds were nearly expended, and that the only food remaining for the garrison, and the citizens (which was merely bread) must fail in the course of a week, it was determined that the governor should send a flag of truce to the English commander, to propose a capitulation, while Rear-admiral Villeneuve was to stipulate in favor of the seamen.

Articles were accordingly drawn up on the 5th of September, which were eighteen in number; the British fleet was to enter the port when the capitulation was signed; the national gate to be occupied by a guard of both nations. The gar-

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rison to be prisoners of war, and not serve against Britain till exchanged; every thing public to be given up; all sick to be left behind under the care of French medical officers, and when recovered to be sent to France; no persons to be censured for their conduct under the French in Malta; all who wished to go to France to be permitted to depart; six months to be allowed for the sale of property of those who did not remain. Very few of the articles were refused, and those only which regarded the shipping of the French, which were at or might come into Malta, within twenty days.

It was admitted by the French, that in blockading this island for two years and five days, the English displayed great intrepidity and perseverance. The French garrison and inhabitants suffered every privation; they subsisted a long time on asses and mules' flesh, which was 1s. 6d. a pound. Houses were searched for cats and mice, for food; a fowl cost more than 3l.; a sucking pig, 500 florins; an egg, 1s.; and every thing in proportion. Indeed, the exertions of the British employed on this service were entitled to the highest praise. Two Maltese ships, a frigate, several merchantmen, and five or six gun-boats, found in the harbour, were considered as prizes, and became the property of the victors.

About the same time, the inhabitants of Curaçoa were induced, by peculiar circumstances, to claim the protection of Great Britain. Victor Hughes, aware of the riches contained in this flourishing little colony, and under pretence of anticipating the designs of the English, fitted out an armament, and effected a landing there with 1,500 men. In this critical situation of affairs, Governor Lauffer entered into a correspondence with

Captain Frederic Watkins, of the *Nereide* frigate; and that officer having arrived in sufficient time to prevent the enemy from storming the principal fort, a capitulation was immediately entered into, and the island surrendered to him, September 13. Notwithstanding the great trade carried on by the inhabitants, particularly with the Spanish settlements, forty-four vessels only were taken on this occasion.

The French regretted the loss of Malta, as appeared by the great pains they took to make a set-off of the treaty with America. The *Moniteur* was adopted as the government gazette; and when the French papers said, that the American treaty would console them for the loss of Malta, such was then the sentiment of the government of France. This convention with America was of great length, and related merely to the form to be observed by the ships of both nations with regard to their neutrality. On the whole, it was not a thing of any moment, and seems to have been done more with a view of lulling the Americans, than any other. America gained nothing, and France conceded nothing; the latter power wished to appear generous at a small expense; and both wished to serve themselves.

The American treaty was written in the French and English languages, and signed by three members of each government. Joseph Bonaparte was at the head of the French plenipotentiaries. It enumerated the articles denominated *contraband*, and stated that although they be found on board a vessel, they are only to be condemned, she herself remaining free. By this convention neither nation was to share in the fisheries of the other on its coast; but the whale fishery to be free in all parts of the world.

CHAPTER X.

Disputes with Russia.—State of England.—Complaints and Convention with Denmark.—Declaration of Russia.—Disputes with the Northern Powers.—Treaty of Peace between Austria and France, concluded at Luneville.—Bonaparte's Address on the Occasion.—Remarks on the Same.

EVER since the reign of Peter the Great, the emperors of Russia had acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of Europe. Influenced by a similar ambition, they all successively endeavoured to complete the plan which his genius had conceived, and accordingly aimed at subverting the empire of the Turks, seizing on their European dominions, and placing a Greek emperor once more on the throne of Byzantium. Paul Petrawitz, however, (styled by some of the writers of the

day, the *mad* emperor) instead of wishing to become the successor of Constantine, confined his views to the acquisition of the grand mastership of Malta, and the command of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. No sooner had his imperial majesty received intimation of the surrender of that island, than he applied to the ministers of Great Britain to obtain possession of it, in conformity to a previous agreement.

Great Britain, at the beginning of the contest,

had obtained either the open or secret approbation of every neighbouring court; but the scene was now changed, and that country which had commenced the war with all the states of Europe, as her allies, found at this time the majority leagued against her. They complained that their neutrality was no longer respected, that their shores and harbours were violated by the British cruisers, and that even their men of war were not permitted to afford protection to the convoys entrusted to their charge. They likewise commented on the procrastination, delays, and expences incident to the English court of Admiralty, and resolved to recur to decisive measures for obtaining redress.

Sweden deemed herself greatly injured on a variety of occasions, but more particularly by the detention and condemnation of several merchantmen bound for the Mediterranean, under the convoy of a ship of war. The judge (Sir William Scott) asserted upon this occasion, "That the right of visiting and searching merchantmen upon the high seas, whatever be the ships, cargoes, or destination, is an incontestible right of the lawfully-commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation. That the authority of the sovereign of the neutral country being interposed in any manner of mere force, cannot legally vary the rights of a lawfully-commissioned belligerent cruiser; and that the penalty for the contravention of this right is the confiscation of the property so withheld from visitation and search." This dispute was occasioned by a fleet of Swedish merchantmen, carrying pitch, tar, hemp, deals, and iron, having been seized in the British channel by Commodore Lawford, (June 30, 1798.) It appeared by the instructions delivered to the captain of the frigate, who convoyed these vessels, that in case the ships of any nation should pretend to the rights of search, he was to discover the power to which he belonged, by hoisting his colours and firing a salute, and in the event of violence to resist force by force. He, however, only obeyed the former part of his orders, and was conducted with the ship under his protection to Margate roads, in consequence of a special order from the lords of the Admiralty.

Sweden also complained that one of her merchantmen, without a cargo, had been seized by an English squadron, and employed in an hostile enterprize against two Spanish frigates in the bay of Barcelona, by which stratagem they had both been captured.

Denmark asserted that a number of her vessels had been seized on the most frivolous pretexts, and even carried into the ports of Great Britain, although no species of contraband property whatsoever had been found on board. It was stated at the same time, that the captain of one of her frigates had been detained and treated with harshness. This alluded to the case of his Danish

majesty's frigate the *Haufeneu*. Some English men of war having fallen in with this vessel and her convoy, (December, 1799,) the commander of one of them demanded her destination, and on learning that she was bound for Gibraltar, replied, "that if the captain was going there, he would not visit the convoy; but, in case it should not cast anchor in that port, the ceremony would assuredly take place." Captain Van Dockum, having informed the officer who came on board that he would resist a search, a signal was made to examine the fleet immediately, and a boat from the *Emerald* prepared to execute the order, on which some musquetry was fired from the *Dane*, and one of the English sailors severely wounded. A boat belonging to the *Flora* was at the same time seized and detained until a threat of retaliation had been held out. On their arrival in the bay of Gibraltar, Lord Keith demanded to inspect Captain Van Dockum's instructions, but the latter refused to comply: at the same time he observed, that he was commanded to prohibit the visitation of his convoy, and that he only obeyed his orders by firing on the boats of the English squadron. Having afterwards pledged his honor to this, in presence of the admiral and governor of the castle, and promised to surrender himself before a judge, he was permitted to return on board; but on entering his boat, he transmitted a letter, in which he refused compliance. Hereupon, Lord Keith stated, "that if he neglected to submit, and should thereby attempt to withdraw himself from justice, the affair would be represented to his court." Mr. Merry, the minister of Great Britain at Copenhagen, accordingly presented a note on this subject to Count Bernstorff, dated April 10, 1800, in which he insisted on the right of visiting, and examining merchant vessels on the high seas, whatever their nation might be, and whatever their cargoes or destinations." He also stated, "that his Britannic majesty had no doubt of the displeasure which his Danish majesty would feel on learning this violent and indefensible procedure of an officer in his service; and the king was persuaded of the promptitude with which his Danish majesty would make to his Britannic majesty the formal disavowal and apology which he had so just a right to expect from him in the present case, with a reparation proportioned to the nature of the offence committed." Neither apology nor reparation, however, was made; on the contrary, Count Bernstorff, in his reply, asserted, "that none of the maritime and independent powers of Europe had ever acknowledged the right of permitting neutral vessels to be searched, when escorted either by one or several ships of war." He added, "that the captain of the Danish king's frigate, by repelling a violence which he had no right to expect, had done no more than his duty;

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and that it was on the part of the English frigates that the violation of the rights of a neutral sovereignty, and of a power friendly to his Britannic majesty, had been committed."

An event occurred soon after, that occasioned much perplexity, and was productive of the most disagreeable consequences. Although the armed vessels of the two northern powers had protested against a search, and one of them had actually resorted to small arms, yet nothing in the shape of a regular engagement had hitherto taken place. In the course of this summer, however, the captain of the Freya having refused to permit the vessels under his protection to be examined by the English squadron at the mouth of the channel, although he freely offered to exhibit all their papers for inspection, an action immediately ensued, and after having two men killed, and five wounded, the Dane struck his colours, and was carried into the Downs.

The English ministers, apprehensive of a rupture upon this occasion, and naturally alarmed for the safety of the vessels employed in the Baltic trade, sent Lord Whitworth to Copenhagen in the character of plenipotentiary, while his mission was supported, and his arguments enforced by means of a strong squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line, four bomb-vessels, and five gun-boats, under Admiral Dickson, which entered the Sound; and, in consequence of an invitation for that purpose, anchored in Elsinour roads. After a considerable time spent in discussion, a temporary adjustment took place, in consequence of which the Danish frigate with the convoy were to be released, and the former "repaid in a port of his Britannic majesty, according to the usage followed by friendly and allied powers;" but the decision respecting the right of visiting merchantmen under convoy of a ship of war, was postponed; and, in the mean time, Denmark was to employ her armed vessels for this purpose in the Mediterranean only, a measure rendered necessary in that sea, in consequence of the depredations of the Barbary cruisers. This convention with Denmark took place August 29; but so ineffectual it proved, that the northern powers, in the course of a few months, entered into an association for their mutual protection, and actually revived the treaty of armed neutrality, which had originated towards the conclusion of the American war.

The Emperor of Russia, who had laid an embargo for a few weeks on all the ships and property of English subjects within his dominions; on the 16th of August published a declaration, in which the measures taken in 1780, "for establishing the principles of a wise and impartial neutrality," were appealed to, and he was the first to invite Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, to adopt this plan. After lamenting that "at the epoch of the dissolution of a great power," too

little care was taken to give a new sanction to these principles, on account of the intervention of novel and extraordinary events; the detention of the Danish frigate (the Freya) was mentioned, as tending to prove "how much the independence of crowned heads might be endangered, if they neglected to re-establish the principles and maxims on which the protection and safety of the neutral powers rested. As the manifest interest of his imperial majesty, both in regard to the navigation of his own subjects, and that of his ports bordering upon other nations, required that the seas which wash the coasts of the Russian empire should be sheltered from such acts of violence, he invited the powers who possess harbours in these districts, and particularly his majesty the King of Prussia, his majesty the King of Denmark, and his majesty the King of Sweden, to concert with his imperial majesty respecting measures which would be successively communicated to them, for re-establishing, in their full force, the principles of an armed neutrality, to secure the liberty of the seas."

On the 16th of December, the King of Sweden, in consequence of this invitation, entered into a treaty with the Emperor Paul, in which they laid down certain principles for the extension and security of commerce. By these new regulations, it was maintained that any ship might freely navigate on the coasts of the belligerent powers, and that every thing but what was expressly contraband, should be free. The declaration of the officers commanding ships of war convoying merchantmen, respecting their cargoes, was to be deemed sufficient; no search was to be allowed, and for protecting the trade of the two countries, the contracting parties agreed to equip and provide squadrons.

Soon after the Kings of Prussia and Denmark acceded to this confederacy, and the Emperor of Russia carried his resentment still further, by again laying an embargo on all the British ships in his ports: he likewise issued orders to burn those detained in the harbour of Narva, in consequence of the escape of two vessels in contravention of his commands, and treated the sailors with great severity and harshness. These proceedings were immediately connected with the grand-mastership of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; for his imperial majesty expressly stated, in the court gazette, that he had resorted to this measure, because possession had been taken "of Valetta, and the island of Malta, in the name of the King of Great Britain, and the English flag alone hoisted," &c. and it was asserted, that the sequestration should not be taken off "until the conditions of the convention concluded in the year 1798 were punctually fulfilled."

While Portugal, the faithful ally of Great Britain, was threatened with subjugation, it was

feared that Russia was about to declare in favor of France. The first consul had done all in his power to undermine the naval power of England, endeavouring to obtain by intrigue what he could not by arms. The neutral states took up the consul's cause by the northern confederacy, and Great Britain had to contend against nations united in powerful combination. They pledged themselves to resist the searching neutral ships, when one or more ships were in company, and to convey property into France. When the consul had so far succeeded, he treated the American ministers with a dinner before they left Paris, and what was expected of them was hinted in a toast given by the consul, Le Brun; "To the union of America with the powers of the north, that respect may be procured for the liberty of the seas."

Soon after the armistice of Steyer, as narrated in Chap. VII. a new engagement was entered into at Treviso, January 7-6, 1801, between the Generals Brune and Bellegarde, and a cessation of hostilities was obtained in Italy, by the surrender of Peschiera, Sermione, Verona, Legnano, Ferrara, and Ancona. These armistices led to a final pacification, and articles of peace, after many delays, were concluded at Luneville, between the Emperor of Austria and the first consul of the French republic, including all the principal conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio. The plenipotentiaries named, were the Count Cobenzel and Joseph Bonaparte.

By this famous treaty, containing nineteen articles, it was agreed that there was to be a permanent peace between the French republic and the emperor; the utmost harmony to be observed, and no assistance to be given to those who could disturb it. The Belgic provinces were to be given up to the French, Falkenstein and its dependencies, the Frickthal, and all that belonged to the house of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurzach and Basle. The emperor was to possess Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian Isles dependent on those countries; the Bocca de Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Adriatic Sea, and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrole to the mouth of the said sea, the towing-path of the Adige being the line of limitation. Drawbridges to be established in the middle of the cities of Verona and Porto Legnano, to mark the separation of this line. The Brisgau to be given to the Duke of Modena. Tuscany and the Island of Elba to be possessed by the infant Duke of Parma. The grand duke to obtain a full indemnity in Germany for his Italian states. The French to possess all on the left bank of the Rhine; the towing-path of the Rhine to be the limit between the French republic and the Germanic empire, from where the Rhine leaves Switzerland till it enters the Batavian territory. The French republic to renounce all possession on

the right bank of the Rhine, and restore Dusseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburgh, the fort of Cassel, the fort of Kehl, and Old Brisach; these places to remain in the same state they were at the time of their evacuation. The emperor to give indemnity to the hereditary princes dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine, which should be taken from all the empire, according to arrangements to be determined on when the ratification should be exchanged. Sequestration of property to be taken off on both sides. This treaty to be common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics. The said republics to be guaranteed by both parties. The emperor to renounce all rights which he might have on the countries he possessed before the war, forming part of the Cisalpine republic. The navigation of the Adige and the rivers of the Cisalpine republic to be free, and no toll on any ship of war kept there. All prisoners to be restored within forty days. The other articles were of no great consequence. The Duchy of Tuscany, which was bestowed upon Louis I., the hereditary Prince of Parma, was now converted into a kingdom under the appellation of Etruria.

The ending of a war carried on for near ten years, proved a subject of great exultation to the French nation. The first consul immediately stated the joyful news to the legislative body, the tribunate, and the conservative senate. His address abounded with a flowing description of facts; and he held out, that England alone disturbed the tranquillity of mankind.

"The continental peace," he exclaimed, "has been signed at Luneville. It is such as the French people desired. Their first wish was the boundary of the Rhine. Reverses never shook their resolution: victory never added to their pretensions."

"After having re-established the antient limits of Gaul, they had to give freedom to the people who were united to them by one common origin, as well as by a community of interests and of manners."

"The liberty of the Cisalpines and of Liguria is secured."

"After this duty, there was another which justice and generosity imposed."

"The King of Spain had been faithful to our cause, and suffered for it. Neither our reverses, nor the perfidious insinuations of our enemies, could detach him from our interests: he will have a just recompence; a prince of this blood is to sit on the throne of Tuscany. He will remember what he owes to the fidelity of Spain, and to the friendship of France: his roadsteads and his ports will be shut against our enemies, and will become the asylum of our commerce and our ships."

"Austria, and it is this which is the pledge of peace, Austria, henceforth separated from the

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"By this treaty, every thing is settled with respect to France; it will no longer have to struggle against the forms and the intrigues of a congress.

"The government owes the expression of its satisfaction to the minister plenipotentiary who has conducted the negotiation to this happy termination. There remain neither interpretations to be feared, nor explanations to be demanded, nor those equivocal arrangements in which the diplomatic art deposits the seeds of a new war.

"Wherefore was not this treaty the treaty of a general peace? This was the wish of France! This was the constant object of the efforts of the government!

"But its efforts are in vain. All Europe knows that the British minister has endeavoured to frustrate the negotiations at Luneville.

"In vain did an agent, authorised by the government, declare to him, on the 9th of October, 1800, that France was ready to enter into a separate negotiation. This declaration only produced a refusal, under the pretext that England could not abandon her ally. Since then, when this ally consents to treat without England, that government seeks other means to delay a peace so necessary to the world.

"It violates conventions which humanity had consecrated, and declares war against miserable fishermen.

"It raises pretensions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. The whole commerce of Asia, and of immense colonies, does not satisfy its ambition. All the seas must submit to the exclusive sovereignty of England. It arms against Russia, Denmark, and Sweden; because Russia, Denmark, and Sweden have secured, by treaties of guarantee, the sovereignty and the independence of their flags.

"The powers of the North, unjustly attacked, have a right to reckon upon France. The French

government will avenge with them a common injury to all nations, without ever losing sight, however, that it ought only to fight for peace and for the good of the world."

Such was the style in which Bonaparte addressed his senate; he by no means concealed his antipathy to England, as the natural enemy of France, and with the happy mode of magnifying trifles into weighty and serious objects, he wished to fix that country with the stigma of making war upon miserable fishermen; a phrase which requires an explanation.

A long correspondence had arisen between M. Otto and the transport board, about taking some fishermen on the coast of France. It had been given up for a long time by the English, and the prisoners were released on condition they should not serve against this country; but it was soon evident that the perfidy of France could not be trusted to; those very men, with their boats, were employed in fitting and equipping the enemy's fleet in Brest, and were, therefore, considered as subject to the chances of war. The transport office demanded of M. Otto the return of all the fishermen released on parole; and that those who did not return should be treated with every rigor of the law, if they were again made prisoners. M. Otto, in reply said, he had sent their letter to his government, and added some remarks on this measure, not without reason. A letter arrived from M. Talleyrand, ordering M. Otto to leave England, and ending with a flourish too affected to deserve any comments. He said, in the name of the first consul, that the French government wished to contribute to a general pacification, and to soften the evils of war; that it could not think of making poor fishermen victims; it would keep from all such reprisals, and had ordered all French ships to leave their occupation uninterrupted. This was to shew the greatness of the French and the cruelty of the English; but it was soon ascertained, that these men were employed hostilely against this country, and were in consequence objects of our resentment.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

Important Events.—State of the belligerent Powers.—First Session of the Imperial Parliament.—Interesting Debates relative to the War.—An Embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish Vessels.—Sudden Change of Ministers.—State of Parties.—Indisposition of the King.—The old Ministry remain in Office for some Time.

THE history of the year 1801 is peculiarly interesting, being fraught with a great number of important events. From the Molucca Islands to the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, there was no country or coast that was not a scene of either military preparation or action, or political negotiation. Across the Atlantic the agitations in St. Domingo and Guadaloupe perplexed France and alarmed Britain.

This year was also famous for the first meeting of the imperial parliament—the war in the Baltic with a kindred and hitherto a friendly nation—mutual preparations, for invasion and defence, on the coasts of France and England, and particularly for the various treaties of peace that ensued; which, with the new forms of government imposed on states, were no less remarkable than the actions at sea and land that preceded them.

The situation of Great Britain was, at this time, critical. Misery and discontent seized the less opulent classes of the community, in consequence of the scarcity mentioned in the eighth chapter of the last book. The pressure of the taxes began to be felt by all, and some were considered peculiarly oppressive. In addition to these misfortunes, the battle of Maringo, by intimidating Austria, as well as the courts attached to her interests, had left England without a single ally, that could be serviceable to her; and she was now reduced to the necessity of counteracting those convulsive and concentrated efforts which had formerly proved less terrible by division.

France, on the other hand, never appeared so formidable as at this time: the treaty of Luneville had disarmed the resentment of the only state capable of coping with her in a land war; while the northern confederacy seemed particularly destructive to the commerce of England: for, being unable to contend with that power on the ocean, four allied monarchs had resolved to shut

up all the ports of the continent, and hoped, by thus cutting off her trade, to annihilate her energy.

From this moment the consular government was chiefly occupied in fomenting the differences that had taken place in consequence of the revival of the armed neutrality, in exacting advantageous terms from such of the neighbouring powers as had not yet made their peace with the republic, and in vain attempts to succour the army of the east, at once menaced by the troops and fleets of a powerful and enterprising rival. Great Britain, hitherto acting, for the chief part, in the capacity of an ally, being at length obliged to contend as a principal, now occupied all the attention and resentment of France.

The parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, now called the imperial parliament, assembled for the first time, Jan. 22, being opened by commission, when the lord chancellor acquainted the House of Commons, that it was his majesty's pleasure that they should immediately proceed to elect a speaker. The commons then withdrew and elected their late speaker, Mr. Addington. This election was confirmed the next day by the royal approbation. The king, however, did not meet the parliament till the 2d of February. In his speech from the throne, his majesty declared the great satisfaction he felt, in being enabled, for the first time, to avail himself, at a crisis so important to the interests of the people, of the advice and assistance of the parliament of his united kingdom. He expressed his confident hope that this memorable era, distinguished by the accomplishment of a measure calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire, and to cement more closely the interests and affections of his subjects, would be equally marked by that vigour, energy, and firmness which the present

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circumstances peculiarly required. His majesty mentioned, that the "unfortunate course of events on the continent, and the consequences which must be expected to result from it, could not fail to be matter of anxiety and concern to all who had a just feeling for the security and independence of Europe.

"Your astonishment, as well as your regret, must be excited by the conduct of those powers, whose attention at such a period appears to be more engaged in endeavouring to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which has hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against their common and increasing danger. The representations which I directed to be made to the court of Petersburg, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of my subjects, have been treated with the utmost disrespect; and the proceedings of which I complained, have been aggravated by subsequent acts of injustice and violence. Under these circumstances, a convention has been concluded by that court, with those of Copenhagen and Stockholm, the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, is to renew their former engagements for establishing, by force, a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests of this country.

"In this situation, I could not hesitate as to the conduct which it became me to pursue. I have taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy, and to support those principles which are essential to the maintenance of our naval strength, and which are grounded on the system of public law so long established and recognised in Europe. You may rely on my availing myself of the earliest opportunity which shall afford a prospect of terminating the present contest, on grounds consistent with our security and honor, and with the maintenance of those essential rights on which our naval strength must always depend."

The debates on this occasion took a desultory but interesting turn. The address in the house of peers was moved by the Duke of Montrose, and opposed by Lord Fitzwilliam. This nobleman lamented that the course of events had made so momentous a change in the aspect of Europe, and the affairs of this kingdom. He had deeply felt the consequences of the spirit that had broken out in France, and the destruction to which it led. The people of France had been called on to rally round the standard of order, and to reinstate the ancient order of their kings. The nations of Europe had felt it to be their just and wise policy to join this cause. No man would go further than himself, even yet, in combating for the cause; but he must own the thing

was hopeless. His hopes had been disappointed. The anarchy, however, to a great degree, was gone. France was now, in fact, established into a monarchy, under republican forms, and under a new ruler. It did not depend on the opinion of an individual, and, he feared, it no longer depended on the power and energies of the nation to withstand the organization of the new order of things in France. The die was cast: he must submit. But, he could not think it possible for that house, consistently with their duty, to omit an inquiry into the causes of the failure of our efforts, when such large and almost unbounded powers had been entrusted to ministers, and when they had all Europe in friendship with them in the common cause; and why, instead of succeeding in this great object, they had all at once plunged us into a contest with our new allies. As to the union, he lamented that he could not this day rise to join in an unanimous vote of thanks to his majesty for his most gracious speech from the throne, on the occasion of that event, on which his ideas were sufficiently known. As the event was now past, he would exert himself to suppress all the emotions which he felt, and sincerely wished that the very sanguine expectations of the noble duke might be fulfilled. He could not, however, withhold his astonishment, that, at a crisis so awful, when we were about to be plunged into a new war, his majesty's ministers, instead of giving information to the house, had called on them for new confidence and new support. The war, into which we were now to be plunged, was a war of our own seeking, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned. We had it in our power to suspend the discussion of the question disposed of in the neutral code; for it was suspended, without any evil consequences, in 1780, when, surely, this country was not in the very difficult situation in which she stood at present. In conclusion, Lord Fitzwilliam, declaring that he could not give his support to men who had proved themselves so unfit for the situations they filled, moved, as an amendment to the address, the following addition: "And that this house will proceed with all possible dispatch to make such inquiries into the general state of the nation, but more especially into the conduct of the war, and into our relations with foreign powers, as shall enable us to offer to his majesty such advice as we may think most conducive to the honor of his crown, and the general interests of his people; and, further, to assure his majesty, that if, owing to any unjust and unreasonable pretensions on the part of the enemy, peace cannot be obtained on such terms as are consistent with security; if the representations which his majesty had directed to be made to the court of Petersburg, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of his subjects, have

not received that reparation which the nature of the case requires; and, if the differences which appear unhappily to have arisen between his majesty and the other northern powers, are of a nature which presses for immediate decision; and the impossibility of any equitable adjustment renders new and more extended wars inevitable, we will give his majesty every support which the means of the country can afford, in the just hope and confidence, that his majesty's paternal care for the welfare of his people will induce him to take such measures as shall prevent, henceforward, a calamitous waste of their remaining strength and resources, either by improvident and ineffectual projects, or by general negligence and profusion; and shall ensure a wise and vigorous administration of their affairs, under the unexampled difficulties under which they are now involved." The motion for this amendment was seconded by the Earl of Suffolk, and supported by Lord Darnley, the Earl of Moira, and Lord Holland.

The amendment was opposed, and the original motion for the address supported by the Duke of Athol, Lord Romney, the Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, the Earl of Mulgrave, and Lord Eldon. There were two lords, who, without supporting the amendment, or positively opposing the original motion for an address, embraced the present opportunity of declaring their sentiments on the present critical state of affairs. These were the Earl of Caernarvon and the Earl of Fife. When Lord Caernarvon considered that we were become the objects of resentment, not indeed justly so, of many nations, he thought himself justified in calling for an inquiry; not with a view to impede the exertions of ministers, but because he saw no reason for plunging into war without inquiry. He understood that, on former occasions, we had surrendered some of those rights for which we were now contending. He did not pretend to be versed on the subject: but if we had done so, it was clear, that what we had said to one favored nation, was to be considered as having been said to every nation; because it shewed that such rights were not necessary to our safety. He concluded, by giving it as his opinion, that it would be more reasonable in the house to negative the address, and to confine itself to expressions of its loyalty, and of its determination to support his majesty in the exercise of his rights. To the observation modestly introduced by the Earl of Caernarvon, on rights renounced by special convention not being necessary to our safety, and therefore not such as to be asserted by war, Lord Grenville replied, that he was astonished at hearing noble lords speaking in opposition to great legal authority, after avowing their ignorance on the subject. It was the first time he ever heard it mentioned, that a special agreement with one power was a renunciation of

a right as to other powers. Those who supposed this to be the case, might satisfy themselves by a reference to the instructions given by the American government to their ministers in France.

The Earl of Fife was rather inclined to wish that a motion for inquiry should not now be made; but, if it should be brought forward, he must declare his opinion in its favor.

"I have no desire," said this nobleman, "to give offence to his majesty's ministers, nor to pay court to those who oppose them; nothing could be more improper at present than to debate whether the war was just or unjust, necessary or not necessary; but I can most positively declare, that no war was ever worse conducted. My lords, I have read all the history of this country; I have seen and been intimate with all the different parties, from the death of Mr. Pelham to the present hour. In this horrid war our blood and treasure have been spent in the extravagant folly of secret expeditions; grievous and heavy taxes have been laid on the people, and wasted in expensive embassies, and subsidizing proud, treacherous, and useless foreign princes, who would have acted much better for themselves had you saved your money, and taken no concern with them. I do not condole with you on your present unfortunate situation in having no such friends; I only wish you had been in that situation in the beginning of this war. The noble lord who presides at the admiralty, in his speech, has with ability done justice to the navy: I sincerely wish our ill-spent money had been laid out on our fleets.

"All those, my lords, that ever heard me speak, or ever read a letter from me on the subject, will do me the justice to say, that my sentiments have all along been the same, and that this has hung upon my mind from the day the first battalion of the guards first marched from the parade for Holland. I lament the present scarcity; but, great as our demerits are, it comes not from the Almighty, but from the effects of this ill-conducted war, which I am ready to prove whenever this question is brought forward. What have we gained by our boasted conquests? If a proper regulation for commerce was made, I wish they were all sold, and the money arising laid out to pay the national debt, and to relieve the nation of those oppressive taxes which bear hard on the rich and poor, on their income, their industry, and, what is worse, their liberty; and till some of those are repealed, this nation cannot be called free."

On a division of the house, the amendment was rejected: seventeen against seventy-three. The address was then carried without a division.

The address was moved in the House of Commons, on the same day, by Sir William Watkins

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Wynne, which was seconded and ably supported by Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Grey moved an amendment, similar to the Earl of Fitzwilliam's motion in the house of peers. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Whitbread, and supported by Dr. Lawrence, who said that the present question was not so much whether the practice of the belligerent powers to search neutral bottoms for enemy's property was founded in right, as whether it was consistent with sound policy in the British government, circumstanced as England was, to insist on the right at this period. He professed himself decidedly against the rashness of ministers on the present occasion. Certainly, if the affairs of the nation could be improved, or the dangers which surrounded it be removed by a splendid speech, Mr. Pitt was completely competent to it. In this instance, however, either he should satisfy the house as to the necessity of increasing their dangers, or the house should refuse to sanction his proceedings. It was the policy of the military despot, who now wielded the power of France, to conciliate the northern powers. Should this confederation be driven to unite with him, how dangerous would the state of this country become! "Let us forbear for the present. In other times, less critical, forbearance has been the policy. It was the policy of the magnanimous Queen Elizabeth, who claimed and exercised the right of searching neutral vessels, of Charles II. and of the administration of 1780. The northern powers deny that there is any thing in the convention, recently signed at Petersburg, contrary to existing treaties with England. What was the nature of the convention? It embraced three points: 1st. Free bottoms making free goods: 2d. The permission to search and detain contraband goods: 3d. The nature of blockade. On the two first points various decisions had been pronounced, highly calculated to provoke and irritate the northern powers, particularly some within the last three years, in the West Indies, which could not be vindicated. It was a little too much, on the mere signature of a convention for common protection, at once to commence hostilities against nations much injured by this country. Let us look to ourselves for that conduct which we demand from others. We complained of the violent arrest of our vessels by Russia, and committed an act as violent and unjustifiable towards Sweden and Denmark. Russia, at the commencement of the war, resisted any commerce whatever with France, by any neutral state. We interfered, and moderated her pretensions. Let the same spirit of moderation restrain the rashness of ministers now."

Mr. Tierney followed on the same ground, and in conclusion of an animated speech, remarked that the country looked up to his majesty's mi-

nisters for inquiry; but they were obstinately unwilling to satisfy its inquiries, and utterly incapable of procuring an honorable peace. He asked the house to name the part in Europe that respected them, or the enemy that feared them? The only rational motive for carrying on the war longer was to procure a peace. Was it then to be accounted strange that he should ask, that the millions raised to defray its expenses should be put in the hands of a person who knew how to expend them to advantage?

Mr. Sheridan, in allusion to the tranquillity and apparent satisfaction of the people noticed by the mover and seconder of the address, said, "Sir, I am more alarmed at this unnatural quiet, than I should be, if I heard complaints accompanied with even some tendency to disorder. You have gagged the people, and bound them hand and foot, and then you say, look how quiet they are. Is there any place but this, where a man may speak his sentiments freely? But, the question is put, is there any man capable of the meanness of making submissions to France? Yes, sir, his majesty's ministers, for they have done it. We have heard it asked, whether we could make peace with regicides, and whether a man could be found that would be the bearer of such a proposal? Sir, ministers have done it: they have done it three times, after as lofty boasts as any that have been made for them this day."

The amendment was opposed, and the original motion for an address ably supported by Mr. Pitt, the solicitor-general, and Mr. Dundas. The chancellor of the exchequer, after repelling a variety of objections, maintained, that "our very existence as a nation depended on our possessing and exercising the right of searching neutral vessels;" and he lamented that any member of that house "should only have begun to doubt, when the enemy was ready to begin to combat." He maintained, that our claims on the present occasion arose not only out of positive treaties, but out of the law of nations, and having thus discussed the question of right, he recurred to that of expediency, and asked, "if we were to permit the navy of the enemy to be supplied and recruited—to suffer blockaded ports to be furnished with stores and provisions, and allow neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America, Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic, to Brest or Toulon?" On a division of the house, the amendment was rejected by 245 against 63, and the original motion was carried without a division.

On the 28th of January, an embargo had been laid on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the ports of Great Britain; but the courts of Berlin, although a party to the league, was treated upon this, and every other occasion, with pe-

culiar deference and respect. Preparations were also made to send a fleet into the Sound, and to hazard all the evils likely to result from a war which threatened to exclude the British flag from the navigation of the Baltic, the Elbe, the Ems, the Vistula, and the Weser; to prohibit all intercourse with Hamburgh, Dantzic, Altona, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, and Copenhagen; in short, to interdict the commerce of England from that extensive line of coast, reaching from the borders of the hyperborean regions to the confines of the pillars of Hercules.

Nor were the northern powers inattentive to their own immediate safety; for the most active preparations had for some time past taken place in all the ports of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Their combined navy, if fitted out by a simultaneous movement, would have amounted to near eighty sail of the line; and these, together with the numerous gun-boats and floating batteries, which they either possessed already or could have easily constructed, might have rendered their narrow seas and difficult coasts impervious to the vengeance of an enemy.

A difference of opinion upon certain essential points, between the king and his ministers, had occasioned a variety of murmurs for many days, but the cause of these dissensions was at length ascertained. In order to facilitate the accomplishment of his favorite object, the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Mr. Pitt had promised complete emancipation to the Catholics, without once consulting his majesty on a subject of such magnitude. Of course, when it became a topic of conversation in the cabinet council, the king was astonished and alarmed at the nature and extent of the claim, and would not agree that ministers should bring it forward in parliament: his majesty recollected the coronation oath, by which he had bound himself to "maintain the protestant religion established by law." By this oath, the first king of Hanover came to the throne, and under the same obligation, the present sovereign possesses it. Some, indeed, insist the form of the oath cannot restrain his majesty, in a legal sense, from concurring with both houses of parliament in any legislative act. His majesty's feelings, however, did not accord with those of his minister. Firm in what he held to be his duty, and faithful to what he understood to be the spirit of his oath, he planted himself before the barrier of the constitution, and having conscientiously taken his post, determined to maintain it. And, it must be admitted, that the interpretation of him that takes an oath, not the reasonings of those who talk about it, must and ought to govern the conscience of the taker.

Mr. Pitt, in consequence, determined to resign his offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and his majesty accepted

his resignation. The grand difficulty was now to establish a new administration, which should have sufficient influence to support the old system. After much consultation, Mr. Addington was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and his place, as speaker of the House of Commons, was conferred the next day, Feb. 11, on Sir John Milford. Lord Hawkesbury was made secretary for foreign affairs; Earl St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Eldon (formerly Sir John Scott) succeeded Lord Loughborough in the court of chancery; the Lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated secretaries of state, in the room of Mr. Dundas and the Duke of Portland; Mr. Yorke, secretary at war; his brother, the Earl of Hardwicke, obtained the government of Ireland; and Lord Auckland, the lucrative sinecure of post-master. The Duke of Portland still retained his station as president of the council, and Lord Westmoreland as lord privy seal.

By this unexpected change of ministry, the houses of parliament, and indeed the nation at large, were divided chiefly into three parties.

The first was a very considerable party, though not so great as it had been, who had always set their face against the war, and who were more afraid of the growing influence of the crown than of French fraternization and insurrections among the people. At the head of this party was Mr. Fox.

Secondly, the authors and abettors of the war, who, after all that the nation had suffered, were in reality less desirous of peace than fearful lest an intercourse should be re-established between this country and France, which might favor the introduction of democratical principles. But such an intercourse, it was generally suspected, was not the only evil of which they were apprehensive. In the continuance of the war, the honor, as well as interest, of numbers was involved. Even perpetual war was less dreaded than the humiliation of making peace. It is needless to say, that at the head of this was Mr. Pitt.

The third party consisted of men who wished to put an end to the war on any reasonable terms, who could endure to see France employed in retrieving her commerce and manufactures, and becoming once again a great commercial rival to Great Britain, rather than that she should be compelled, by the necessity of continued military exertion, to maintain and still extend her power and influence farther and farther all around her; and who were of opinion, that sincerity of intention and sound judgment, without any wonderful powers of eloquence, would suffice for all the purpose of negotiation, or any measure of a wise and virtuous government. Of this party there was no head. It was composed chiefly of recruits from both the other parties. The centre of their union,

or rallying point, was probably that party who considered public credit as the great bond of national intercourse, as well as the grand cement and support of individual nations. This they regarded as a vast organization, which one country could not violate without violating the whole system. They expressed their wishes that the world, for the good of the whole, should not, for the sake of any temporary advantage of one nation over another, relapse into barbarism, but advance in general and simultaneous civilization. They professed a disposition to maintain, not only good faith to neighbouring nations, but sincere good-will; and to maintain and act upon all those liberal ideas, which gave so much plausibility and popularity in the world to the first and purest declarations of the constituent assembly of France, before the revolution was contaminated by the imprisonment of the king, and all the concomitant and subsequent horrors. These sentiments were

diffused by the press throughout France and other parts of Europe, and as it was well enough known that they proceeded from some individuals belonging to the small band above-mentioned, must have produced, in some degree, similar sentiments of peace and harmony. These then were the three leading parties to whose principles and conduct, in the present conjecture, every eye was turned, and who shared, in different portions, the favor and confidence of the nation.

His majesty's severe indisposition, at this critical juncture, rendered it impossible for the retiring ministers to return, into the hands of their sovereign, the badges of their office. The old ministry consequently remained in office, notwithstanding the appointment of the new, till the 17th of March, when, on the recovery of his majesty, the appointments of the new ministers were announced in regular form.

CHAPTER II.

Correspondence between the British and Prussian Ambassadors.—The Danes enter Hamburgh, and seize on Hanover.—The British Fleet pass the Sound.—Sanguinary Battle of Copenhagen.—An Armistice.—Death of Paul I.—Anecdotes of the Emperor.—Succeeded by his Son Alexander.—The Disputes with the Northern Powers amicably settled.—Convention with Russia.

DREADING the power of Prussia, to which the electoral dominions of the King of England might become a prey, and hoping to detach that kingdom from the northern confederacy, the English ambassador at Berlin, Lord Carysfort, was directed by the British government to address a note to that court, Jan. 27, containing grievous complaints of the recent renewal of the convention of 1780, and announcing the measure of the embargo "as a pledge against the hostile attacks which were meditated against the rights of his Britannic majesty." His lordship expressed "the conviction of his sovereign, that he might implicitly rely on the friendship of his Prussian majesty;" and he disclaimed the supposition, that "his Prussian majesty had entered, or could enter, into the confederacy, to support by force, principles, in common with other powers, whose hostile views against his Britannic majesty had been openly proved."

In a second note, or memorial, presented Feb. 1, the ambassador informed the court of Berlin, "that the connection between the extraordinary violence committed upon the person and property of his majesty's subjects, and the conclusion of a hostile confederacy, which the Emperor of Russia

had formed for the express and avowed purpose of introducing those innovations into the maritime code, which his Britannic majesty has ever opposed, had at length produced a state of open war between Great Britain and Russia."

Lord Carysfort received in answer, from the Prussian minister, Count Haugwitz, a note, dated February 12. It stated, among other particulars, "that his Prussian majesty could not see, without the utmost grief and concern, the violent and hasty measures to which the court of London had proceeded against the northern naval powers; the negotiation that had been lately carried on among whom was founded on justice and moderation; as the communication of a copy of the convention to such of the belligerent powers, as had the justice and patience to wait for it, would fully prove. The British government had in the present, more than in any former wars, usurped the sovereignty of the seas; and, by arbitrarily framing a naval code, which it would be difficult to unite with the true principles of the law of nations, it exercised over the other friendly and neutral powers an usurped jurisdiction, the legality of which it maintained, and which it considered as an imprescriptible right, sanctioned by all the other tri-

munals of Europe. The sovereigns had never conceded to England the privilege of calling their subjects before its tribunals, and of subjecting them to its laws. In cases where the abuse of power had got the better of equity, and which were but too frequent, the neutral powers had always had the precaution of addressing to it the most energetic proclamations and protests; but experience had ever proved their reclamations fruitless. And it was not surprising that, after so many repeated acts of oppression, they had resolved to find a remedy against it, and for that purpose to establish a well-arranged convention, which fixed their rights, and placed them on a proper level, even with the powers at war. The naval alliance, in the manner in which it had just been consolidated, was intended to lead to that salutary end; and the king hesitated not to declare to his Britannic majesty, that he had again found in it his own principles; that he was fully convinced of its necessity and utility; and that he had formally acceded to the convention, which had been concluded on the 16th of December, 1800, between the courts of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. His majesty was, therefore, among the number of the contracting parties, and had bound himself, in that quality, not only to take a direct share in all the events which interested the cause of the neutral powers, but also, in virtue of his engagements, to maintain that connection by such powerful measures as the impulse of circumstances might require. Unpleasant as the extremes might be to which England had proceeded, yet his majesty doubted not the possibility of a speedy return to conciliating and peaceable dispositions, and he relied on the sentiments of equity which, on former occasions, he had had the advantage of meeting with in his Britannic majesty. It was only by revoking, and entirely taking off, the embargo, that affairs could be brought to their former situation. While those measures existed, which had been resorted to from a common principle, and against an alliance which could no longer be shaken, the hostile resolution which would be the consequence, would be the necessary result of the treaty; and the Prussian minister was authorized to declare to the minister of his Britannic majesty, "that the king, while he expressed his concern at events of which he had not been the cause, would sacredly fulfil the engagements which had been prescribed to him by treaties."

From this note it was evident, that Great Britain had nothing to expect from the neutrality of Prussia. Among the measures, which the *impulse of circumstances* required, were the two which the British government had greatly apprehended: the exclusion of the English commerce from the great rivers of Prussia, and the invasion of Hanover.

A declaration was issued, on the 30th of March by the King of Prussia, to the royal and electoral college of Hanover, in which, after an enumeration of events which he alleged sufficiently proved that the court of London had no inclination to desist from her inadmissible demands, and accept the proposed means of amicable conciliation, he said, that he was "compelled, in conformity to the obligations he had contracted, to take the most efficacious measures in support of the convention, attacked, and to retaliate for the hostile proceedings against it. For this purpose, he would not only shut the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, but likewise take possession of the states belonging to his majesty the King of England, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, situated in Germany. The King of Prussia accordingly demanded, and expected from the electoral college of privy-counsellors at Hanover, that they would submit to this disposition without delay or reply; and that they would voluntarily obey the orders which should be given, relative to the occupation of the electorate by the Prussian troops, and likewise relative to the electoral countries. What his Prussian majesty principally demanded, was, that the Hanoverian corps, which had hitherto occupied part of the northern line of demarkation, should be disarmed and disbanded, with a proportional part of the other troops. He also required, that the generals and other officers should engage, in writing, not to serve against his majesty the King of Prussia; but, on the contrary, to follow strictly his orders, until the present affair should be brought to a conclusion. For the troops that should continue to be embodied, he appointed particular stations. All the other places were to be delivered up to the Prussian troops. The Prussian troops to be subsisted at the expence of the electoral territory, commencing from the end of the month of April. In case of a voluntary submission, his majesty was disposed, and ready to promise solemnly, not only to the nobility, but to the burghesses and all the inhabitants of the electorate, the complete enjoyment of tranquillity, and the security of their property; but, on the contrary, should the government and the general officers attempt to impede the execution of the measures taken, and oppose the entrance of the Prussian troops, his majesty would be obliged, though against his inclination, to revoke his promises, and to treat the electoral states in a hostile manner."

To these conditions, by a convention, concluded on the 3d of April, 1801, the regency of Hanover consented, only expressing their hopes that the number of Prussian troops would be diminished, as much as possible, to ease the country and the inhabitants. The Prussian troops entered the territory of Hanover, and were posted chiefly on the banks of the Elbe and the Weser. An em-

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embargo was laid on the British shipping; but a number of vessels that had taken on board their cargoes of grain were suffered to depart, and sail for England. The firmness and moderation of the Prussian king formed a striking contrast with the capricious rage of his ally the Emperor of Russia. Never was war carried on, by any power, with greater dignity and decorum.

About the same time, a body of Danish troops, to the number of 15,000, under the command of Prince Charles, Landgrave of Hesse, a field-marshal in the Danish service, and father-in-law to the Prince-royal of Denmark, there called the Crown Prince, took possession of Hamburgh, in order, as was declared, by a notification published at the exchange of Hamburgh, April 3, to stop the British navigation and trade on the Elbe. An embargo had already, on the 29th of March, been laid on the British ships at Copenhagen, and the other ports of Denmark.

When the intentions of Prince Charles of Hesse were announced to the senate of Hamburgh, March 28, it sent deputies, on the 29th, to his highness, at Penneburg, a town of Holstein, about fifteen English miles from Hamburgh, to make the strongest representations against a measure so violent and unexpected. The prince, without hesitation, declared his intention to summon the city to surrender to his troops next morning, and even to use force in case of resistance. At the same time, the deputies received the most satisfactory assurances that no fears ought to be entertained for the independence of the city of Hamburgh, or the property of individuals; and farther, that his highness would be satisfied with the possession of the gates and walls, without requiring any troops to be quartered in the city. The senate assembled in the night, unanimously resolved, that it was better to yield to force, than to expose the city to greater force in consequence of any resistance. On the morning of the 23d, the gate, called the Millenthor, and a part of the fortifications, were immediately given up to a corps of Danish troops, and without the least interruption of the public tranquillity. The British consul at Hamburgh, considering the critical situation of affairs, had given repeated information and advice to the captains of British vessels in the Elbe to accelerate their departure. Some took the warning; others, not easily believing that any thing seriously hostile was to be apprehended from the Danes or Prussians, were not in haste, and were accordingly detained.

The English ministry, in such pressing circumstances, naturally had recourse to a mode of conduct, of the same nature with that which had been attended, at least, with partial and temporary success, about six months before. This was to send negociators for peace to Copenhagen, backed by a strong fleet in the Cattegat. A fleet, consisting

of eighteen ships of the line, four frigates, and a number of bomb and gun-boats, amounting, in all, to fifty-two sail, and having on board several regiments of marines and of rifle-men, sailed from Yarmouth, on the 12th of March, for the Baltic. The *Invincible*, of seventy-four guns, soon after sailing, struck on the ridge of sand fourteen miles from Winterton, and was so much damaged, that she sunk in deep water. Admiral Totty, who was on board, with a few officers, 19 marines, and 164 seamen, were saved. All the rest of the marines and seamen perished.

Meanwhile the most active preparations for war were continued and hastened in the ports of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. The young king of Sweden was perpetually in motion. In the course of a tour to inspect the state of defence, and to animate by his presence the armaments on the coasts of his dominions, he had a conference with the Prince of Denmark. A plan of action was concerted. The great object was to guard the passage of the Sound. Besides the forts of Helsingburg and Cronenburg, which were garrisoned each with two regiments, batteries were erected on both the Swedish and Danish sides of the pass, on every point where it was possible for them to bear on the English ships. Batteries also were erected on the island of Amack, and on Sproe in the Belt. The naval batteries of the port of Copenhagen, and the citadel, were in a complete state of defence. Artillerymen were stationed in all the batteries to fire, if necessary, with red-hot shot. The Danish coast was occupied with troops at proper stations. For bearing a part in this measure, the light infantry in garrison, in the citadel of Copenhagen, were detached till farther orders. On the side of the Elbe, the preparations were equally vigorous. Nine gun-boats, well armed, were stationed on that river, a little below the Danish harbour of Altona, which could bring to, and search almost every vessel going up and down. Preparations were made for an encampment of 20,000 Danish soldiers, between Altona and Gluckstadt; and all the regiments in the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein had likewise orders to march at six hours notice.

In the midst of these military preparations, Mr. Vansittart arrived from the court of London, in a frigate; with a flag of truce, at Elsinour, on the 20th of March, with dispatches for the British minister at Copenhagen, Mr. Drummond. Mr. Vansittart had the powers of a plenipotentiary-extraordinary. The *ultimatum* presented by these ministers to the Danish government, required that Denmark should secede from the northern alliance; that a free passage through the Sound should be granted to the English fleet; and that the Danish ships should no longer sail with convoy. Certain advantages are said to have been

held out to the Danes, in order to bring them over to these conditions. The terms offered by the court of London being rejected, Mr. Drummond and Mr. Vansittart received passports to return home.

The connection between the Danes and the English was so intimate, and the war between the two nations so unnatural, that the English who resided at Copenhagen, and who were required immediately to leave Denmark with Mr. Drummond and Mr. Vansittart, refused; and some of them even said, that they would remain in Denmark whatever should be the consequence. Only the English consul, and some other persons, who had particular reasons, went on board an English frigate lying at Elsinour, on the 22d of March, and set sail for the English fleet then lying at Anholt, an island in the Cattegat, eight miles from the coast of Jutland, and ten from Zealand. The rest, who chose at all hazards to stay behind, not only received permission from the Danish government to remain, but were generously permitted to choose the place where they would reside, and were promised, from the laws, full protection and security. The English fleet, in the night between the 22d and 23d, sailed from Anholt to Gilleleve, on the northern coast of Zealand, and there anchored.

The Danish navy consisted of twenty-three ships of the line, one or two of which were unfit for service, and most of them in bad order. They had fourteen frigates and cutter-brigs, from twenty to forty guns, seventeen gun-boats, of twenty-four guns each, together with guard-ships. The fleet, however, was not adequately manned.

Sweden had eighteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, sloops, and other vessels of war, and seventy-four galleys and flat-bottomed boats, besides gun-boats. The Swedish fleet was supposed to be better manned than either that of Denmark or Russia.

The whole navy of Russia consisted of eighty-two sail of the line, besides near forty frigates, exclusive of galleys and other small craft. Several ships of the line, however, were unfit for service. Of the force now stated, there was at Cronstadt, Revel, Petersburg, and Archangel, forty-seven sail of the line. The whole of the Russian fleet was badly manned and officered. Notwithstanding that Russia produces all kinds of naval stores, the ships were but ill equipped. To remedy the want of officers, an academy had been instituted at Cronstadt, where 360 young noblemen and gentlemen were instructed in all the sciences suitable to their profession, and from whence they were promoted to the navy.

The British admiral, Sir Hyde Parker, desirous to know whether the Danes intended to oppose his passage of the Sound, sent a note, dated the London, in the Cattegat, 27th of March, as fol-

lows, to the governor of Cronenburg Castle:—"From the hostile transactions of the court of Denmark, and sending away his Britannic majesty's chargé d'affaires, the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet is anxious to know, what the determination of the Danish court is, and whether the commanding officer of Cronenburg Castle has received orders to fire on the British fleet as they pass into the Sound, as he must deem the firing of the first gun a declaration of war on the part of Denmark."

The governor, Heer Stricker, replied, "I have the honor to inform your excellency, that his majesty the King of Denmark did not send away the chargé d'affaires, but that, on his own demand, he obtained a passport. As a soldier, I cannot meddle with politics; but I am not at liberty to suffer a fleet, whose intention is not yet known, to approach the guns of the castle which I have the honor to command. In case your excellency should think proper to make any proposals to the King of Denmark, I wish to be informed thereof, before the fleet approaches nearer to the castle."

To this note from the governor of Cronenburg, the British admiral sent back another to his excellency. "Finding the intentions of the court of Denmark to be hostile against his Britannic majesty; he regarded his excellency's answer as a declaration of war; and, therefore, agreeably to his instructions, could no longer refrain from hostilities, however reluctant it might be to his feelings; but, at the same time, the admiral would be ready to attend to any proposals of the court of Denmark, for restoring the former amity and friendship which had, for so many years, subsisted between the two courts.

On the 30th of March, the wind having come to the northward, the British fleet passed the Sound, and anchored about five or six miles from the island of Huin. It was fired on from the castle of Cronenburg, which it bombarded in return. There was no firing from the Swedish coast; which enabled the British ships to pass at a greater distance from Cronenburg. There was very little damage done, either by the firing of the castle or by the bombardment. The passage of the strait took up nearly four hours. The admiral, together with the vice-admiral, Lord Nelson, and rear-admiral Graves, reconnoitred the formidable line of ships, radeaus, pontoons, galleys, fire-ships, and gun-boats, stationed in the road of Copenhagen. They were flanked and supported by batteries on the two islands called the Crowns; the largest of which batteries was mounted with from fifty to seventy pieces of cannon. These were again commanded by two ships of seventy guns, and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen; and two sixty-four gun ships, without masts, were moored on the flat,

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on the starboard side of the entrance into the arsenal. The day after, the wind being southerly, the admirals again examined their position, and came to the resolution of attacking the Danes from the southward.

Lord Nelson, who had offered his services for conducting the attack, and had, for this purpose, shifted his flag from the *St. George* to the *Elephant*, a vessel of a smaller size, immediately gave directions for buoying the channel of the Outer Deep and the Middle Ground; after which the detachment, consisting of the *Elephant*, *Defiance*, *Monarch*, *Bellona*, *Edgar*, *Russel*, *Ganges*, *Glatton*, *Isis*, *Agamemnon*, *Polyphemus*, *Ardent*, *Amazon*, *Desirée*, *Blanche*, *Alcmene*; sloops, *Dart*, *Arrow*, *Cruiser*, and *Harpy*; fire-ships, *Zephyr* and *Otter*; bombs, *Discovery*, *Sulphur*, *Hecla*, *Explosion*, *Zebra*, *Terror*, and *Volcano*: these selected for the assault, passed in safety, and anchored off *Draco Point*, April 1. It was agreed on between the admiral and vice-admiral, that the ships remaining with the admiral should weigh at the same moment his lordship did, and menace the Crown batteries, and four Danish ships of the line that lay at the entrance of the arsenal; as also to cover our disabled ships as they should come out of the action.

The prospect opened to the British fleet on entering the Sound was fitted to excite a variety of emotions, mixing or succeeding each other, of the liveliest and most affecting nature. A splendid theatre appeared for war and victory: but the face of nature, and the recollection of a common interest, a common religion, and a common origin and character with the nations on the shores of the Baltic, could not but impress every intelligent and feeling mind with sentiments of regret; and, in the midst of all the apparatus, and almost in the very throat of war, tend, in some sort and degree, to harmonize the mind to peace and concord. Nothing in the northern parts of Europe, or of Asia, presents a prospect equal to the channel of the Sound: which has Denmark on the right, and the islands of *Saltholm* and *Amack*, with part of *Zealand*, and the capital of the kingdom, *Copenhagen*, nearly in front.—On the coast of Denmark, appears a continued succession of rich plains, woods, meadows, superb mansions, neat villas, pleasant gardens, adorned with all the embellishments of art: while the Swedish shore exhibits corn-lands, pastures, a mountainous and picturesque coast. The island of *Nuen*, celebrated for the observatory of *Tycho Brahe*, arrests the attention of the passing voyager. To the eye, looking back from thence, the fortresses of *Elseneur*, *Cronenburg*, and *Helsingburg*, seem to unite, and to bound on the north, a vast lake; but soon as he advances, he discovers the sea, and the whole extent of the plain of *Copenhagen*, its port filled with vessels, and its cultivated envi-

rons. On the side next the sea, this city presents itself in all its magnificence. It is perceived at the distance of several miles. The gothic towers with which it abounds, and which, from a distance, have a majestic appearance, engage and fix the attention of the spectator, by the height of their spires, as well as by the variety of the ornaments with which they are decorated. The number of inhabitants exceeds eighty thousand. It contains the principal fortress of the country; the fleet; the marine arsenals; the only university in Denmark; several academies; a superb library; a veterinary school; a school for cadets in the sea and land service; a museum, containing a great variety of rare and curious objects; a number of fine edifices, statues, and monuments of every kind. The streets are, for the most part, broad and well-paved. There are excellent footways, as in London; and every where the signs of comfort, wealth, and magnificence. The garrison, in time of peace, consists of six regiments of infantry, the foot-guard, the horse-guard, a corps of artillery, a corps of marines, and a squadron of hussars, amounting, in the whole, to about 10,000 men; to which may be added, the city militia, the chief officers of which are appointed by the king, and rank among the officers of the army. The fortress of *Frederickstadt*, supported on one side by the batteries of one of the arsenals, defends the entrance of the harbour, where there is besides another battery, and where, in case of necessity, a number of flat-bottomed boats and floating batteries may be stationed, as, in fact, they were at the present juncture. Such was the city, the capital of a congenial and long friendly nation, that was now pointed out as an object of attack to the British navy.

On the morning of April 2, Lord Nelson made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line, consisting of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, from twenty-six 24-pounders to eighteen 18-pounders, and one bomb-ship, besides schooner gun-vessels. These were supported by the Crown islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries, as above noticed, on the island of *Amack*. The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape. The other seventeen sail, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown islands, after a battle of four hours, were sunk, burnt, or taken.

From the very intricate navigation, the *Bellona* and *Russel* unfortunately grounded; but, although not in the situation assigned them, in such a place as enabled them to be of great service. The *Agamemnon* could not weather the shoal of the middle, and was unavoidably obliged to anchor. The extension of the British line was prevented, by the situation of these three ships,

which Lord Nelson was confident would have silenced the Crown islands, with the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and prevented a heavy loss of men in the *Defiance* and *Monarch*, but which unhappily threw the gallant and good Captain Riou under a very dreadful fire. The consequence was, the death of Captain Riou and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops. The bombs were directed, and took their stations in breast of the *Elephant*, in which the vice-admiral had hoisted his flag, and threw some shells into the arsenal. Captain Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun-brigs, did every thing that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too forcible for them to be of service during the action. The boats of those ships of the line which were not ordered on the attack, afforded the squadron engaged every assistance. The *Desirée* took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship, and performed the greatest service. The action began at five minutes past ten. The van was led by Captain George Murray, of the *Edgar*, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was followed by every captain, officer, and man, in the navy. The loss, in such a battle, was naturally very heavy. The total amount of the killed and wounded was stated at 943. Among the killed, besides Captain Riou, was Captain Moss, of the *Monarch*; among the wounded, Sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the *Bellona*, who lost his leg. Lord Nelson, in his report of the action to Sir H. Parker, bestowed the warmest and most liberal praise on all concerned; and on none more than on those officers and men whose utmost exertions had proved ineffectual.

The carnage on board the Danish ships was excessive: It was calculated by the commander-in-chief, Oliver Fisher, at 1800. The vessels were crowded with men, and from some singular neglect, probably originating in the idea of the wounded being so near the city that they could be immediately accommodated there, there was not on board their block-ships a single surgeon. When the English boarded them, they found hundreds bleeding to death. As soon as the fire of the Danish line had slackened, and Lord Nelson perceived that the ships and batteries of the enemy were in his power, he went to his cabin, and wrote a letter to the prince-royal, representing the expediency of allowing a flag of truce to pass, and stating, that if this was denied, he should be under the necessity of destroying the floating batteries, now in his power, while it would be impossible to save those brave men by whom they were defended. This note was addressed, "To the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes." When, in consequence of this representation, he received permission to land, and went on shore to adjust terms of conciliation, he was received by the brave and generous Danes,

with the loudest acclamations, and treated by the accomplished Prince of Denmark with every mark of respect. The immediate consequence of their conference was an armistice, which soon led to an amicable convention.

The proposal of a truce by Lord Nelson was ascribed by some not to humanity, but to a military stratagem. Three of his line-of-battle ships, the *Bellona*, *Russel*, and *Agamemnon*, as before noticed, lay aground, exposed to the tremendous fire of the crown batteries. It was in order to save these ships, it was said, that Lord Nelson went into his cabin, and sent on shore a flag of truce. If this was his motive, the greatest degree of admiration is due to that coolness and readiness of invention, by which he devised means for extricating the ships from such imminent danger.

The dreadful engagement heard, seen, and felt on the Danish shore, wound up the feelings of every one to the highest pitch of sensibility: but all individual hopes and fears seemed to be lost in a general blaze of patriotic ardor. From the Crown Prince, whose cool intrepidity and judgment were gloriously displayed in the sight of his people and of Europe, to the humblest citizen, one heroic mind and purpose seemed to animate and unite the whole. Never had the Danish valour, in the brightest periods of their history, shone out with more distinguished lustre. The daring pirates of the ninth and tenth centuries did not exhibit greater intrepidity and prowess in invading, than their descendants of the nineteenth century did in resisting an invasion from England.

Lord Nelson told the Crown Prince's aid-de-camp, Colonel Lundholm, who waited on him respecting the proffered flag of truce, that "the French fought bravely, but that they could not have stood an hour the fight which the Danes maintained for four. I have been in 105 engagements in the course of my life, but that of to-day was the most terrible of all." Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, in his dispatches to the admiralty, said, "Were it possible for me to add any thing to the well-earned renown of Lord Nelson, it would be by asserting that his exertions, great as they have heretofore been, never were carried to a higher pitch of zeal for his country's service."

The Swedish fleet at Carlsrona left that port the 31st of March, but was prevented from joining the Danes by contrary winds. Surmises were current that the Swedish government was more eager to incite the Danes than to take themselves a share in actual hostilities. But they were wholly groundless.

On the 22d of March the Danish and Swedish isles in the West Indies were reduced by a squadron under Admiral Duckworth.

The proposals made by Lord Nelson, in the conference with the Prince of Denmark, were

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1st, That Denmark should recede from its alliance with Russia. 2d, That the English should be permitted to repair their ships in the Danish docks. 3d, That the wounded on board the English fleet should be taken care of in Danish hospitals. The last of these conditions was readily granted, the others rejected. An armistice, however, was agreed to, April 9, and prolonged from day to day. A notice of six hours, in case of an intention of renewing hostilities on either side, was to be given previously to the termination of the armistice.

As soon as the disabled ships were refitted, and the Holstein Danish ship of the line, which was converted into a floating hospital, together with the *Isis* and *Monarch*, which were dreadfully shattered, were sent to England, it was determined to pass over the grounds into the Baltic. Accordingly, the guns and part of the stores were taken out of the two three-deckers, the *London* and *St. George*, and placed on board an American merchantman, while the vice-admiral was so eager to obtain intelligence relative to the Swedish fleet, that he proceeded in a boat belonging to his own ship. On this occasion, Lord Nelson actually set off in that species of small vessel denominated a *gig*.

On the arrival of the British squadron before Carlsrona, April 18, Sir Hyde Parker sent in a frigate with a flag of truce and a letter to the governor, in which it was stated, "that the Danish court, having been induced to conclude an armistice, by which the unfortunate disputes between the courts of Copenhagen and St. James's had been accommodated, he was directed to require an explicit declaration from the court of Sweden, relative to its intention to abandon the hostile measures adopted, in conjunction with Russia, against the rights and interests of Great Britain." Vice-admiral Cronstadt replied, in the name of the king, "that it was the unalterable resolution of his Swedish majesty, not to fail, for a moment, in fulfilling with fidelity and sincerity the engagements he had entered into with his allies; but, that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals for the accommodation of disputes, provided they were made by plenipotentiaries, sent on the part of Great Britain, to the United Powers."

On receiving this answer, the admiral left the bay without firing a gun; and all farther hostilities with the northern states were happily prevented by the sudden death of the Emperor Paul, which happened at four o'clock in the morning of March 25, being forty-six years and six months old.

This emperor had disgusted all ranks; his temper and tyranny had left him no friends; the favorite of to-day knew he might be the victim of to-morrow; commerce was at a stand, and the

trading class suffered severely; the very party about his person, who were daily receiving his favors, were so conscious of their danger, that they were the first to promote the plan for dethroning him. A considerable time before his death, this party resolved to force him to abdicate the throne, and to retire far from the seat of government. This fact was known to several well-informed persons in London, and hence arose the eagerness with which his famous challenge, when it first arrived, was regarded as a preliminary to his being deposed. The French papers asserted that his death was plotted by the English government, having for their agent at St. Petersburg an English colonel. Such a charge was as false as infamous.

Paul, about the middle of March, gave his minister a warrant for banishing or imprisoning his wife, the empress, and two sons, Alexander and Constantine. The minister did not put this order into execution; but, went to the sons to inform them of it, saying, "Your father is ruining the country and himself, he will now destroy you; is this to be borne?" The sons owned themselves sensible their father was ruining the country, and drawing on general confusion; but they could not interfere, they must obey. The minister suggested that something must be done to stop him in his course. The sons said they could advise nothing, and would take no part, but would leave it to the ministers to pursue such measures as were best calculated to promote the interests of the empire. Upon this the minister called a secret meeting of the court party; consisting of the ministers, military commanders, officers of state, and chief nobility, amounting in all to nearly forty persons. They dined together, that the bottle might give them courage perhaps; and the minister proposed that the Emperor Paul should be desired to abdicate the throne; that he should retire to a palace at a distance from St. Petersburg, where he should be protected, and pass his life in private. This proposal, to which all parties had agreed individually before, was unanimously adopted; and the party proceeded in a body, late in the evening of the 24th, to the emperor's palace, to put their project into force.

The Emperor Paul had heard of a plot to dethrone him, and had for a considerable time lived in a state of the greatest alarm. He stationed the most faithful guards at the avenues of his palace, and took every precaution against surprise. The guards challenged the party when they approached; the party gave the watch-word, but that would not satisfy the guards; at last their own commanders came forward from among the party, when of course the whole were allowed to pass. They did not go up a back stair-case, as it had been reported, but went up the grand entrance, to

the emperor's bed-room, knowing that was the hour of his retirement. At the bed-room door, a trusty hussar was stationed, who refused the party permission to pass on any terms, and a violent struggle ensued, in which the hussar was overcome. They then entered the bed-room, and to their utter astonishment perceived the emperor had left the bed. They saw nothing of him in the room, and concluded their design had wholly failed, that it could not be concealed, and that their lives must pay for their attempt. But in searching around, the emperor was discovered standing behind a screen, just as he had leaped out of bed, alarmed by the struggle made by the hussar, and apprehensive of some plot. The party now told him the object of their visit, stated to him the acts of injustice and tyranny of which he had been guilty, the ruin he was bringing upon the nation, and the general discontent at his conduct, concluding, by recommending that he should abdicate the throne in favor of his son Alexander, and presenting for his signature an instrument to that effect. Paul trembled, confessed his misconduct, admitted the truth of all with which he had been reproached; but promised to act with the strictest propriety, and just do as they should direct in future, if he was permitted to reign. His abdication, however, was insisted upon, and he was consenting, when, among others, Count Z. whom he had stripped of all the honors and emoluments bestowed by the Empress Catherine, began to reproach him in very severe terms for his personal ill-treatment. Paul, who disliked this person much, replied with bitterness and rage, and a violent altercation ensued, when Count Z. who is a very athletic man, lifted a chair, and striking Paul with the corner point of the seat of it a severe blow on the forehead, the emperor fell senseless to the ground.

This was a circumstance neither foreseen nor provided against; and the whole party were greatly at a loss how to proceed. After such a breach, it was thought it would be impossible to cajole the emperor into abdication; it was dreaded, that nothing could blind his rage if he recovered. Having gone so far, it was deemed necessary for their own safety to go farther; and it was agreed, that the emperor should be put to death. He was strangled, trampled upon, and bruised, for several hours, till it was quite certain he was dead. His body was then laid on the bed; and, in the morning, a physician was called in, to certify that he died of an apoplexy; and that the marks of violence which appeared were occasioned by a fall.

But the revolutionary party did not finish the business completely like masters: they left the hussar at the door, to overhear, and partly witness all that passed, and they allowed him to escape. If he had been put to death also, the truth might

never have been known; but the hussar went forth, and whispered what he knew; the story got abroad, and the empress, Paul's widow, hearing it, sent for the hussar, and took him under her protection. Such is human ambition, or rather vanity, that the empress, who might have rejoiced at being freed from a husband who neglected her for the worst of favorites, and was even going to banish her from his throne, no sooner found her greatness eclipsed by the loss of her lord, and that she was to sink into the antiquated, the neglected character of an empress dowager, than she pretended the most violent grief, threw herself in public over the corpse of Paul, caressed the hussar, published his tale in every quarter, and took all possible steps to stir up a party against the government to espouse her cause. In this she had some success. Alexander sent Count Z. into exile, dismissed the minister, and took every step to shew his respect for his father's memory.

Great was the joy of the people of St. Petersburg, on the news of Paul's death. In ecstacy, transported, they seemed as if reprieved from sentence of death. This spirit prevailed so much, that the shewmen about the streets represented the whole circumstances, with explanations and names, till an order was issued by government, forbidding persons to talk of the emperor Paul's death. Count Z. who carried the first news to Moscow, was waited on by a deputation of the nobles, and next of the merchants, congratulating him in transports of joy, and bestowing on him the richest presents. Many letters were found among the papers of the Turkish valet, the favorite of the emperor Paul, who kept Madame Chevalier, announcing the plot for deposing Paul. One of these had been sent the day before his death, giving the most minute particulars of what was to be done. This letter was seized among Kutusoff's papers, unopened!

For more than a year before his death, Paul had exhibited multiplied symptoms of insanity. In this the predominant ingredient was generally anger or rage. When dispatches were presented to him from the British government, containing terms of conciliation, he returned them unopened, after piercing them in many places with a pen-knife. In a review of some troops in front of his palace, an officer was thrown from his horse, and dislocated his arm. The brutal emperor, instead of shewing any signs of compassion, kicked the officer, as he lay on the ground, with his foot. Yet his madness, though still somewhat tinged with violence, was sometimes mixed with a degree of whimsical humour. In private conversation with a nobleman of his court, without any provocation or preliminary, he gave him a hearty slap in the face, adding, "*This salutation with my hand, Paul,*" alluding to one of the

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epistles from Paul, the apostle. A few days before the young king of Sweden, who had gone to concert the measures of the armed neutrality, left Petersburg, the emperor gave a tournament, a diversion of which he was very fond, and in which he performed personally as a combatant. In the evening, while the glass was in circulation with Russian briskness, a dispatch was received from Bonaparte, together with several caricatures, said to be published in England, in which Paul was represented as a lunatic. The conversation turned on the military successes of his new French friends; the projects formed by the northern confederacy to humble the pride of England, and the invincible prowess which the emperor had displayed all day long in the tournament. His majesty, fired with the spirit of chivalry, immediately resolved to send a defiance to all the potentates of Europe. The court-gazette of St. Petersburg (December 30, 1800) contained the following:—"It is said that his majesty, the emperor, seeing that the powers of Europe cannot agree, and wishing to terminate a war which has raged eleven years, intends to propose a place, where he will invite all other potentates, to fight with them in barriers closed up: for which purpose they are to bring with them their most enlightened ministers and most skilful generals, as squires, umpires, and heralds; such as Thugut, Pitt, and Bernstoff. He himself intends to have with him Count Vander Pablin and Count Kutusoff. It is not known whether this rumour is to be depended upon: meanwhile, it does not seem to be altogether without foundation, as it bears the mark of what has often been imputed to him."

The new emperor, Alexander, proclaimed on the day succeeding the night of his father's death, declared for the laws and system of his august grand-mother. It was among the first acts of his reign, to give orders that the British sailors and masters, who had been taken from the several British ships, in a state of sequestration, and sent to various towns throughout the Russian dominions, should be set at liberty and carefully conducted to the several ports from whence they were taken. All prohibitions against the exportation of corn were removed; and the exportation of all kinds of grain was permitted.

Baron Lisakewitch, the emperor's minister at Denmark, having notified these events to Admiral Parker, the latter immediately returned to Kioge Bay, on purpose to await the orders of his court, in consequence of these interesting changes; and, in the mean time, the benefits of the armistice were extended to the court of Stockholm.

However, Vice-admiral Lord Nelson, (who succeeded soon after to the command), intimated to

Vice-admiral Cronstadt, May 19, "that he was not directed to abstain from hostilities; should he meet the Swedish fleet at sea." In the course of a few days though, a proclamation was published at Stockholm, by which the king made known, "that his allies having resumed their former commercial intercourse with England, and the commander of the British fleet having solemnly declared, that the Swedish merchant vessels should not be molested in the Baltic or the Cattegat, he deemed himself no longer bound to persevere in a resolution which, at present, would merely tend to impede the navigation and commerce between his subjects and those of his Britannic majesty.

The Danish troops now evacuated Hamburg; the free navigation of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems was restored; and the court of Berlin gave assurances that, after certain arrangements should be made for the quiet of Germany, the Prussian troops should evacuate Bremen and Hanover.

The termination of hostilities between Great Britain and Denmark was attended with some pleasing and affecting circumstances, such as might be expected in a reconciliation of friends. The honorable Colonel Stuart, who commanded the military on board the British fleet, and whose gallantry was greatly praised by Lord Nelson, after an armistice was agreed on, brought over a letter from the Prince of Denmark to the King of England, his uncle. When the embargo, that had been laid on the Danish ships in the British ports, was, in consequence of the pacification, taken off, the expence of both laying it on and taking it off was defrayed out of the English treasury. This mild and liberal proceeding gave general satisfaction not only to the government and people of Denmark, but also to the British.

Soon after, Lord St. Helens arrived at the court of St. Petersburg, in quality of minister-plenipotentiary from England: and by a convention, signed June 17, the emperor, on one hand, allowed the right of search, under certain restrictions, by ships of war, but not by privateers; while, on the other, the raw or manufactured commodities of the countries engaged in war might be purchased and carried away by the neutral powers; however, by a subsequent explanatory declaration, the commerce between the mother-country and the colonies was expressly excluded from the benefits of this arrangement.

Thus Great Britain, partly by the sudden demise of the Emperor Paul, and partly by a sacrifice of some of her pretensions, effectually baffled the efforts of a confederacy, which aimed at the decrease of her maritime greatness, and threatened her with a new and disastrous war.



ALEXANDER I.

Emperor of all the Russias.

Engraved by W. R. Cook, by permission from a Miniature.

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CHAPTER III.

Spain proclaims War against Portugal.—Declaration of the Court of Lisbon.—The Armies of France and Spain enter Portugal.—Treaties of Badajoz and Madrid.—Madeira occupied by the English.

PORTUGAL, on account of her attachment to the only remaining enemy of the republic, excited the indignation of the consular government, which prevailed on that of Spain to avenge her cause. Queen Mary, the widow of her uncle, Peter III. incapacitated, partly by age and partly by a terrible malady, from exercising the royal functions, still retained the semblance of sovereignty, while the kingdom was governed by her son, under the name of regent. The Prince of Brasil, conscious that his country had been repeatedly saved, and his family continued on the throne, in consequence of the support and protection of Great Britain, from whom he now expected the assistance of an auxiliary army, was devoted to that power; and, notwithstanding the menaces of a neighbouring court, had hitherto rejected the idea of any treaty that tended to exclude her ships from his ports.

For some time, the King of Spain, actuated by a natural attachment to his family, had delayed the vengeance of his ally; but, dreading the power of the first consul, and fearful of an invasion, he at length complied with his wish, and reserved for himself the task of chastising his own son-in-law.

A declaration of war against Portugal was accordingly published by the court of Madrid, on the 3d of March, because that country obstinately refused to ratify the treaty concluded with France by the Spanish court, in the year 1797; in which it was agreed, that Portugal should separate itself from Great Britain, and, as a security of its being faithful, allow its ports to be garrisoned by Spanish troops; that she had granted protection in her ports to the fleets of Britain, and aided them in their hostilities against France and Spain. "We have seen Portuguese," added his catholic majesty, "mixed with British ships, forming a part of their fleets, facilitating their movements, and participating in all those acts of hostility which the English commit against me. Their ports have become the public markets of the Spanish and French prizes taken upon their coasts, and in sight of their fortresses; while their admiralty releases all the captures made by my subjects. The French republic, irritated at these outrages, is desirous of inflicting a just punishment; and its victorious armies would have long since spread desolation through all her provinces, if my fraternal affection for the most faithful

queen and her august children had not suspended the blow."

After complaining that the prince regent "had evaded the royal promise, so often pledged, in favor of peace," and, in complaisance to England, his enemy, "abused those engagements which his majesty had entered into with France," it was stated, that the King of Spain had ordered his ambassador to quit Lisbon, and given a passport to the Portuguese minister at the court of Madrid to depart, "being decided," concluded Charles IV. "to attack that power, by uniting my forces with those of the republic, whose cause is become the same as my own, as well as to avenge the particular insults that have been offered to myself. For this purpose I declare war against her most faithful majesty, her kingdom, and subjects; wishing this resolution to be promulgated through all my states, in order that convenient measures may be taken for the defence of my kingdom and my ships, as well as against the territories and vessels of my enemies."

The counter-manifesto, published by the court of Lisbon, April 24, and addressed "to the clergy, nobility, and people," was replete with energy and spirit. After congratulating the nation on retaining its independence, notwithstanding the subjugation of so many other countries, the prince regent maintained, that Portugal had always evinced a scrupulous fidelity in the fulfilment of its promises, in respect to foreign states. A remarkable proof of this, he observed, was afforded in the recent assistance given to Spain, (alluding to the troops sent to the succour of his catholic majesty, in 1793), which, by terminating hostilities against France, not only involved the nation that succoured her, but declared war, because the former had observed the faith of treaties inviolate. "This alone," added his royal highness, "is sufficient to arouse the dormant spirit of patriotism; but there are still more powerful motives to animate you. It is intended to degrade and debase, by reducing you to supplicate for the preservation of your commerce. Spain even demands that our ports should be guarded by her troops, as a security for our fidelity; but a nation who knew how to resist the Romans, to conquer Asia, to discover a passage to the east, to break, when she was still weak, the hereditary yoke of a foreign sceptre, to recover and maintain her in-

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“Portuguese! we will still preserve the courage and the sentiments of honor transmitted to us by our ancestors. Justice is on our side: the true God, propitious to our cause, will punish, by means of our arms, the injuries committed by our enemies; he will crown with glory our generals and our legitimate sovereign, while our zeal, the equity of our cause, and the remembrance of our exploits, will secure us victory.”

The Prince of Peace, (Duke of Alcudia,) having been declared generalissimo of the Spanish forces, to the amount of 35,000 men, immediately entered Portugal, and in the course of fifty days overran that country, though in one of his dispatches, he allowed his troops to have been “ill-clothed, ill-fed, and ill-supplied with ammunition and accoutrements.” Having penetrated by two different routs into Alentejo, May 20, he obtained possession of Campo-Major and all the fortified places in that extensive province, compelled the enemy to retire beyond the Tagus, and transmitted eleven standards to Madrid. Immediately after these exploits, June 6, the prince regent, who had only received a subsidy of 300,000*l.* from England, was obliged to consent to a treaty of peace, consisting of the following articles:

Art. 1. “That there shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between his Catholic majesty, the King of Spain, and the Prince Regent of Portugal and Algarve, as well by sea as land, through the whole extent of their kingdoms and possessions; and all captures which shall be made by sea, after the ratification of the present treaty, shall be faithfully restored, with all their goods and effects, or their respective value paid.

2. “His royal highness will shut the ports of his whole territories against the ships of Great Britain in general.

3. “His Catholic majesty will restore to his royal highness the fortresses and places Garumena, Aronches, Portalegri, Castel Davide, Barbaamar, Campo-Major, and Ouguella, and all the territories hitherto conquered by his arms, or which may hereafter be conquered, with all their artillery, fire-arms, or other warlike stores, and in the same condition in which they were surrendered to him; and his Catholic majesty will take, as a conquest, the fortress of Olivenza, with its territory and inhabitants, from the Guadiana, and unite the same for ever to his own territory and subjects, as that river above-mentioned shall be the boundary of the respective kingdoms on that part.

4. “His royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal and Algarva will not permit any depôts of prohibited and contraband goods, which may be prejudicial to the interests of the crown of

Spain, to be formed on the frontiers of his kingdom, exclusive of such as appertain to the revenues of the crown of Portugal, or are necessary for the consumption of the respective territories in which they are established; and if this, or any other article, shall not be maintained, the treaty, which is now concluded between the three powers, including the interchangeable guarantee, shall be null and void, as is expressed in the articles of the present treaty.

5. “His royal highness will immediately repair and make good all damages or injuries which the subjects of his Catholic majesty may have sustained during the present war from the ships of Great Britain, or the subjects of the court of Portugal, and for which they can rightfully claim indemnification; and, in like manner, his Catholic majesty engages to make suitable satisfaction for all captures which may have been made by the Spaniards before the present war, in violation of, or within cannon-shot of, the Portuguese territory.

6. “Within the space of three months, reckoning from the ratification of the present treaty, his royal highness will pay to the treasury of his Catholic majesty the expenses left unpaid when they withdrew from the war with France, and which were occasioned by the same; according to the estimate given in by the ambassador of his Catholic majesty, or which may be given in anew; with the exception, however, of any error that may be found in the said estimate.

7. “As soon as the present treaty shall be signed, all hostilities shall cease, on both sides, within twenty-four hours, without any contributions or requisitions being laid, after that time, on any of the conquered places, except such as may be allowed to friendly troops in time of peace; and as soon as this treaty shall be ratified, the Spanish troops shall leave the Portuguese territory within six days, and shall begin their march within six hours after receiving notice, without offering any violence or injury to the inhabitants in their way; and they shall pay for whatever may be necessary for them, according to the current price of the country.

8. “All prisoners who may have been taken by sea or land, shall, within fifteen days after the ratification of the present treaty, be set at liberty and delivered up on both sides; and, at the same time, all debts which they may have contracted during their imprisonment, shall be paid. The sick and wounded shall remain in the respective hospitals, there to be taken care of, and in like manner delivered up, as soon as they shall be able to begin their march.

9. “His Catholic majesty engages to guarantee to his royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal the entire possession of all his states, without the least exception or reserve.

10. "The two high contracting parties engage to renew the treaty of defensive alliance which existed between the two monarchies, but with such clauses and alterations as the connections entered into by the Spanish monarchy with the French republic may demand; and in the same treaty shall be regulated what aid shall be maturely afforded, should necessity require.

11. "The present treaty shall be ratified within ten days after it is signed, or sooner if possible. In witness of this, we, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary, have subscribed the present treaty with our own hands, and sealed it with our arms.

"THE PRINCE OF PEACE.
"LOUIS PINTO DI SOUZA."

Done at Badajoz, June 6, 1801.

Humiliating as these articles were, to which the prince regent was obliged to accede, still Portugal was far from being in a tranquil state; the concessions having been made to his Catholic majesty alone, afforded cause of suspicion to France, and as the pacification did not appear in exact conformity with the wishes of the consular government, General St. Cyr, who had been invested with the character of ambassador to the court of Madrid, was immediately placed at the head of 20,000 troops. The French general immediately entered Portugal, and invested the fortress of Almeida, within thirty leagues of the capital. As Portugal, in her exhausted state, could make no resistance, the English subsidy having been unaccompanied by a body of troops, long expected, and no doubt originally intended to have been sent, the court of Lisbon became alarmed for its safety. This event produced another humiliating treaty between the French republic and the kingdom of Portugal, signed at Madrid, September 29, by Lucien Bonaparte, in the name of the French people, and his excellency Cyprian Bibeiro Freire, member of his royal highness's council, and minister plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty.

By this treaty, highly favorable to France, it was agreed, in like manner, that prisoners of war should be given up on both sides, and the political relations between the two powers re-established on the same footing as before the war. Portugal engaged that all her ports and harbours should be immediately shut to all English ships of war and merchantmen, and so remain till peace between France and England; and that the same ports and harbours should be open to all ships of war or merchantmen belonging to France or her allies. She also engaged not to furnish, during the present war, the enemies of the French republic or its allies, with any aid in troops, ships, arms, ammunition, provisions, or money. The limits of the republic in Guiana were extended, on conditions that the Indians of the two Guianas,

who, in the course of the war, might have been taken from their habitations, should be respectively restored; and that the citizens or subjects of the two powers, who might find themselves comprehended in the new-determined limits, might reciprocally retire into the possessions of their respective states: and that they should have power, also, to dispose of their property during the space of two years. In order to fix the commercial relations between France and Portugal, it was agreed,

1st. "That the communications shall be re-established immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, and that the agencies and commissaries of commerce shall be put in possession of the rights, immunities, and prerogatives which they enjoyed before the war.

2d. "That the citizens and subjects of the two powers shall equally and respectively enjoy, in the states of both, all the rights which are enjoyed by the subjects of the most favored nations.

3d. "That the articles of trade and commerce, the produce of the soil or manufactories of each of the two states, shall be reciprocally admitted without restriction, and without their being subjected to any duty which shall not bear equally upon analogous articles imported by other nations.

4th. "That the French cloths may be immediately introduced into Portugal, on the footing of the most favored merchandises.

5th. "All stipulations, in regard to commerce, inserted in preceding treaties, and not contrary to the present treaty, shall be provisionally continued until the conclusion of a definitive treaty."

Thus the French dominions in South America was extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the river of the Amazons; and the foundation of a vast empire was silently and secretly laid, under the specious colour and pretext of ascertaining a disputed boundary.

The English ministry, apprehending that the island of Madeira might be also delivered up to an insatiable enemy, very wisely sent a squadron thither, with a small body of land-forces under Colonel Clinton; and that officer, on the very day a landing was effected, obtained possession of the forts which commanded the bay of Funchiale.

In the mean time, such of the states of Europe as had not made peace with the French republic, being bereaved of support in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, were eager to solicit the consul's clemency. The treaty by which the King of Naples purchased his safety, and prevented the re-establishment of the Parthenopean republic, was exceedingly humiliating; he agreed to shut the ports of Naples and Sicily against the ships of war of Great Britain and Turkey; he renounced Porto Longone, with all his possessions in the isle of Elba, the presidial states in Tuscany, and

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the principality of Piombino. But what must have been far more disagreeable to this prince, he not only stipulated, by a specific article, to pay the sum of five hundred thousand livres, by way of indemnification for the lives lost, and the

damages sustained during the late disorders in the kingdom of Naples, but he also agreed to permit all those who had been either imprisoned or banished, on account of their political opinions, to be liberated, and return to their native country.

CHAPTER IV.

State of the French Army in Egypt, after the Assassination of Kleber, and Character of the new Commander, Menou.—The English Ministry's Plan for the Conquest of Egypt.—Preparations for executing the same.—The Squadron assembles at Marmorice.—Description of the Bay.—General Orders, &c.

NOTHING gave the French army more general disgust than the attempts made by their new commander, Menou, to tarnish the glory of their late general, Kleber, who was adored by the soldiers, even more than Bonaparte; they did not forget his conduct with respect to the latter, when left by him without money or resources necessary in a foreign country. Kleber loved the service he was engaged in, and would not venture its disgrace by checking his men's spirits; he, therefore, hushed the feelings of his own breast to stifle those of his army; this reflected lustre on his name, and the army did not forget it. They abhorred the meanness of Menou, who endeavoured, in many ways, to cast disgrace on the memory of him whom he had succeeded.

Menou, who had been confirmed in the command by the French consul, having married a native, had assumed the name of Abdallah, and acted (as already intimated) in exact conformity to the customs of the country. He was alike unpopular both with the men and the generals; his conduct having given dissatisfaction to those who were his equals in military science. He displaced General Dumas without any reason; Dumas wrote to Menou, expressing his astonishment and ignorance of what cause he had given; and said he should wait for dispatches from government, unless he had charges for a court-martial; no answer was returned, and Menou refused to see him. Generals Regnier and Friant waited on Menou, to discourse on the business; the only cause he assigned was, there was an incompatibility in their dispositions; that he could not transact business with General Dumas, and protested on his honor that nothing personal influenced him. Regnier did not press the matter, as Menou very peremptorily offered to resign his command; he begged, however, he would come to an explanation with General Dumas, and either continue him in his station, or remove him to

another command. Dumas, unwilling to create any controversy, retired from the situation of the chief of the staff, and took the command of the two provinces of Benisouef and Fayoum; the general orders announced his departure, and contained praises on his conduct.

Menou wished to form a party, but failed; and, finding that the major part of the army was discontented with him, in hopes of obtaining popularity, he made six new generals of brigade, and filled up the vacancies in the army. Many officers, wishing to remain in their old corps, refused the promotion, but they were forced to take their new rank. In this, political finesse was his motive; for though those he advanced deserved it for their services, yet he thought, by bestowing favors, to remove enmity. He employed spies and tale-bearers on all occasions, in order to acquire the reputation of an able general, though he had never distinguished himself as a warrior.

The finances of an army like the French, distant from their own country, with no passage over-land, and that by sea exposed to certain dangers, were of great importance; money should have been husbanded as precious; but this Menou neglected to do, and another source of difficulty flowed on the army.

When Kleber was assassinated, part of the contribution in money, and the whole of that in merchandize, were unpaid. Menou, however, collected them, with some of the usual territorial imposts. The troops were ordered to be paid regularly, without deduction, and most of the arrears discharged; several causes raised the expenses to seventeen or eighteen hundred thousand francs per month, though all was said to be meant to reduce the expenses of Kleber's administration, which never exceeded thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand francs; another instance of the hostility of Menou towards the memory of Kleber.

Large receipts from the new duties were announced in general orders, yet, in three months the funds were expended, and money was soon required. The Copts were ordered to furnish a forced loan, and were promised a mortgage on the contributions in arrear; that security would have produced more had it been put in effect. New wants succeeded; a second loan was furnished by the Copts; perhaps it was prudent to make them give up some of their plunder; but Kleber looked on them as a reserve for times of difficulty, and got what he wanted from them during the siege of Cairo.

The revenue of Egypt might amount to 2,100,000 francs per annum; but the collecting of them relied on the tranquillity of the country; any thing that might compel the troops to concentrate, would suspend the receipts; for, throughout the east, it requires a military force to collect the contributions. Economy was an essential point, in order, that if the revenue suddenly failed, enough might be found for the army; but nothing could check General Menou, nor deter him from augmenting the expenditure; he persuaded himself that want could never disturb the country.

Such was the state of the French army, and the character of its chief; and the great inducement which the English ministry had to send so small an army into Egypt, was from the information which they gained in intercepted letters from that country, whereby it appeared that the French were in a deplorable condition, without resources, and almost without a leader; dissensions in the army, and no cordiality among the generals: their numbers thinned by disease, and the survivors dispirited by a long seclusion from Europe.

The conduct of Menou in several instances gave universal discontent; the inhabitants complained that a Mussulman general, from whom they had expected so much, made them regret the loss of a Christian general. Under the Turks and Mamelukes they had borne all caprices; but experience taught them the mildness of European manners. In short, the popular odium had arrived to such a pitch, that many of the generals proposed to bring him to a trial; others thought General Regnier should take the command, satisfied that Menou was unfit; and a more moderate party wished to remonstrate and advise with him. Menou listened to them with a variety of emotions, and made many promises of alterations.

The grand vizier was at Jaffa since he retreated from Heliopolis, with 10 or 12,000 horse and foot. Some English engineers had repaired the fortifications at this place, and the breach at El-Arisch. He received reinforcements, but the desertions more than counterbalanced them, and the plague greatly reduced his numbers; no supplies could

be got from the villages, and he was forced to import the subsistence of his army from Europe, subject to great disadvantages. Having obtained only a little money from Constantinople, he attempted to raise the value of the coin, but the army revolted, and he pacified them with great difficulty. He demanded aid of the English; part of the British army appeared off Jaffa; however, as the plague made ravages among the vizier's troops, they would not land, but sailed for Rhodes.

The vizier received from Constantinople the plan of the campaign, and orders to act in unison with the English generals. General Koehler, some few officers of the line, and about forty privates, were employed in putting the vizier's troops into discipline.

Menou was acquainted with these hostile dispositions by means of spies; yet he thought the vizier only would attempt a descent on Egypt, and that the English would fix themselves at Rhodes, and be ready to share in the partition of the Ottoman Empire, by getting the Archipelago. Two French frigates, which came to Alexandria, and brought some troops and some supplies, gave more certain information of the enemy's designs against Egypt; and also announced the sending more considerable succours. The Turks were unwilling to enter vigorously into active measures, the threats of the Emperor Paul having had great weight with them. Paul seemed resolved to over-run the Ottoman Empire; and the Turks dreaded the sight of a Russian army. The grand vizier had also to withstand the intrigues of the capoutan bashaw, the steady friend of the French, whose interest was high in the Seraglio.

The vizier thought the best thing he could do would be to make a peace with Menou, in order to ensure the evacuation of Egypt; this had already been nearly finished by the treaty of El-Arisch, which the English broke. A way, however, was open to renew this negotiation with Menou, without exciting the suspicion of the English. Kleber had encouraged Mourad Bey to correspond with Ibrahim Bey, in order to get at the plans of the allies. This was the vizier's channel, and he requested Mourad to offer himself as a mediator between the Turks and French; Mourad hated the Turks, but policy made him keep on good terms with all parties. This proposal to Mourad Bey was just at the time he usually sent the tribute for his provinces to Cairo, and he gave the papers to Osman Bey Bardici. This last laid before Menou a statement of the English forces, and a plan of the ensuing campaign. The English army, he insisted, was 18,000 men; they were to make a landing, while the vizier crossed the desert, and the English fleet, with troops from India, might arrive at Suez.

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Menou, instead of accepting the offered assistance of Mourad Bey, and trying by dissensions to weaken the English and Turks, behaved towards Osman Bey with great abruptness, and seemed rather to look on him as a spy than the ambassador of a mediatorial power. He said he wanted no aid from any person, and observed, that Mourad Bey would do well to remain quiet in the provinces ceded to him. Osman remained to take back dispatches from General Menou. When the news arrived that the English fleet appeared in Aboukir road, he repeated Mourad's offers to assist the French with all his power; but he only got evasive answers, and was ordered to quit Cairo.

The plague shewed itself in Cairo and many of the adjoining villages, and it also broke out in Upper Egypt. There had been a great scarcity of corn since the death of Kleber, and the arrival of two ships from France at Alexandria gave a great deal of pleasure; *La Regenerée* brought some men and ammunition, and *La Lodi* news of Gantheaume's squadron, with reinforcements.

The expulsion of the French from Egypt having been determined on by the British cabinet, this bold exploit was reserved for troops who had been for some months chiefly employed in coasting along the shores of Spain and the borders of the Mediterranean in quest of adventures, thus distracting the enemy and concealing their grand object.

All minds were now anxiously directed towards Egypt. It was a novel and interesting spectacle, to contemplate the two most powerful European nations contending in Africa for the possession of Asia. Not only to England and France, but the whole civilized world, the issue of this contest was of the utmost importance. With respect to England, the difficulties to be surmounted were proportioned to the magnitude of the object. The vizier, with his usual irresolution, yet debating on the propriety of co-operation; while the capoutan bashaw, who was at Constantinople with part of his fleet, inclined to treat with the enemy. The English taking the unpopular side, that of the government, still less was to be hoped from the countenance and support of the people, whom the French had long flattered with the idea of freedom and independence. It remained also to justify the breach of faith, so speciously attributed to this nation, in the treaty of El-Arisch. These were serious obstacles to the progress of the expedition to Egypt; but they were not the only impediments. This expedition had to contend with an army, habituated to the country, respected, at least, if not beloved, by the inhabitants, and flushed with reputation and success; an army, inured to danger, aware of the importance of Egypt to their government, determined to defend the possession of it; and encouraged in this de-

termination, no less by the assurance of speedily receiving effectual succours, than by the promise of reward, and the love of glory.

The French force in Egypt at this time, distributed in different posts, garrisons, and, we may add, hospitals, amounted to about 30,000. The number of their allies, consisting of Copts, Greeks, Arabs, Mamalukes, and the corps of camp-followers, or adventurers from France, was computed at 15,000.

The English fleet, ships of war of various kinds, boats, and transports, were assembled, in November 1800, at Malta. The command of the land-forces, declined by General Stuart, devolved on Sir Ralph Abercromby. It was determined that the fleet should sail from this place, in two divisions, for the Bay of Macri, in Caramania, on the southern coast of Asia-Minor.

The cause of repairing to one more rendezvous before they took their final departure for the sandy shores of Egypt, was to make certain preparations which could not so well be done at Malta, and also in the expectation of being there joined by a Turkish fleet, and receiving other assistance from the Porte. The stay of the English army at Malta proved an unexpected source of wealth to the island, and the Maltese had reason to remember the generosity and good conduct of the troops. The first battalion of the 27th regiment, and three companies of the second, were unfortunately left behind, in consequence of their very sickly state: they were to follow as soon as possible.

A corps of Maltese pioneers was embodied to accompany the army, and to be attached to the staff corps. Major-general Pigott was left to command at Malta, with Major-general Villettes, and Brigadier-general Moncrief under him; and Captain Ball of the royal navy, to act as civil governor, no one having then been appointed to the island.

The celebrated Tallien, unable to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers, was taken on his passage from Egypt to France, and brought into Malta. He was accompanied by a number of other French officers, having been dispatched with a note to the consular government, descriptive of Menou's conduct, which the army in Egypt drew up, as they were fully persuaded that this general had obtained a confirmation of his command by misrepresenting their situation in his dispatches. Tallien and his associates were brought to London, where they remained for a few days, and then, being liberated on their parole, they returned to Paris.

After a voyage of nine days, the first division of the fleet, commanded by Lord Keith, and with Sir Ralph Abercromby on board, came to an anchor in the harbour of Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania. Three days after, January 1, the

second division of the fleet arrived, which completed the whole of the English ships of war and transports employed in this expedition.

Marmorice Bay, which must be represented as a most beautiful spot, would require the glowing language of landscape description to do it justice. It is a magnificent bason of water (though the entrance into it is narrow) sufficiently capacious to contain 5 or 600 ships of the line, and surrounded by lofty mountains, rising one above the other, like an amphitheatre, most of them thickly covered with trees, composing the richest variety of shades, and reaching down to the very edge of the water, into which some of them actually dip their pendant branches. In other parts of the surrounding scenery, huge masses of rock, broken and rugged, with scarcely a sign of vegetation on them, project into the water, varying the scene and adding considerably to its wild sublimity. From the place of anchorage, such is the land-locked state of the harbour, the entrance to it is not perceptible.

The town of Marmorice stands at the bottom of the bay: the houses being of a greyish stone, and partly built upon a rock of the same colour, jetting into the sea, it is difficult to distinguish the town from the adjoining hills. Indeed, it consists only of a few miserable hovels, heaped together without any regularity, (which portray the wretchedness of the inhabitants, who are for the most part Greeks,) and the remains of an old castle, with two or three unserviceable guns, mounted on its walls. In this castle, most of the women, on the arrival of the English, were locked up; but when the people found that they came with amicable intentions, they were soon liberated.

At the extremity of the town stands a neat mosque with a lofty minaret, from which the Iman, with a loud voice, calls the followers of Mahomet to prayers, no bells being allowed in the Turkish dominions. Near this mosque is a plentiful spring, where the Turks, previous to their entering it, perform their ablutions.

Several regiments being indisposed, from a long confinement on board ship and constant living on salt provisions, the commander-in-chief ordered all the sick men to be sent on shore, and there encamped. Every possible advantage was derived from this salutary measure, and malady thereby happily prevented. Change of diet also contributed much to this desirable end. Ships were sent to Macri, Rhodes, and the neighbouring places for cattle, vegetables, &c.; and fresh bread was occasionally issued to the army.

It is customary, in the navy, to victual the soldiers at only three quarters allowance, this quantity being deemed sufficient for men who work little, and who are only a short time at sea. The present case, however, was different, the soldiers, who were on board troop-ships weakly manned,

being obliged to do as much work as the sailors, and detained on board for months together. Sir Ralph Abercromby, fully aware of this, represented the business to Admiral Lord Keith, who immediately placed the soldier on the same footing with the sailor in this instance.

Upwards of 300 horses had been purchased by order of Lord Elgin, the British ambassador at Constantinople; but they were so small, as well as so galled in their backs, that the greater part of them, if not all, was either shot or sold. Such was their condition, that some were disposed of at the low price of a dollar. It was, indeed, generally believed, that this disappointment was owing to the knavery of the people employed in conveying these animals, and that they had been changed on the road. The officers were the only mounted men at this time in the regiments. The best horses, however, were soon procured, by the parties sent into the country to purchase them. They were not more than fourteen hands high, but were spirited and handsome stallions.

During the time that the fleet remained in Marmorice Bay, the boats were exercised in their stations in a line, and practised in all the manœuvres necessary for landing troops. The coopers of the ships were also employed in making small casks, containing from eight to ten gallons, for the convenience of carrying water with the troops on horseback, and small scuttle barrels, capable of holding about an hundred weight of boiled meat, to be transported in the same way. Canteens were also prepared to hold two quarts, as well as buckets for the purpose of drawing water from the wells that might hereafter be dug in the sands of Egypt. The navy carpenters were also engaged in making sledges for drawing water or provisions over the sand, with hand-barrows, wooden pumps, &c. A part of the army had been alternately encamped on shore, and were employed in fatigue parties, cutting wood, and other preparatory exercises. An hospital was erected, and the sick conveyed from the ships to receive the advantages it afforded. The Maltese corps, of about 500 pioneers, were sent round in the Dolphin to Karacatch, and employed there in cutting wood and loading transports with fuel for the use of the army in Egypt. In short, no attention was omitted that superior knowledge and the most active zeal could suggest for the advantage of every person and every thing connected with this important expedition.

During the time the fleet and army remained in Marmorice harbour, the following were the general orders at large, issued by Sir Ralph Abercromby, preparatory to the great enterprise entrusted to him:—

“Until further orders, the brigade, commanded by Brigadier-general Finch, is posted in order of battle on the right of the second line.

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"The situation of the brigades in line is from right to left, as follows:

First line, brigade of guards,
Major-general Coote,
Major-general Craddock,
Major-general Earl of Cavan.

The second line,
Brigadier-general Finch,
Brigadier-general Stuart,
Brigadier-general Doyle.

"The regiments and corps of each brigade, and of the reserve, unless when, under peculiar circumstances, Major-general Moore may think it necessary to alter the arrangement of the latter, are posted according to seniority, from flank to centre.

"As nearly as circumstances will admit, the disembarkation of the army will take place in the following order:

1st. "The infantry of the reserve, with ten pieces of light artillery.

2d. "The brigade of guards.

3d. "The remainder of the first line, with the additional pieces of light artillery.

4th. "The infantry of the second line.

5th. "The mounted detachment of cavalry of the reserve, and of Brigadier-general Finch's brigade.

6th. "The dismounted part of the same brigade.

7th. "Pioneers of the army, the horse department of the artillery, and such additional pieces of ordnance and ammunition as may be wanted.

"When the troops are ordered to land, the men are to get into the flat-bottomed boats as expeditiously as possible, but without hurry or disorder: they are then to sit down in the boats; and, in rowing to the shore, the strictest silence is to be observed. The troops are positively ordered not to load till formed on the beach. The formation is to be effected as soon as possible, the men to fall in a line opposite to where they land; nor is any individual or body of men, on conceiving themselves displaced, to attempt to regain the situation by closing to either flank, till ordered so to do by the general officer on whom they depend, or the senior officer present on the spot.

"The troops are to land with sixty rounds of ammunition, and two spare flints per man: the ammunition which cannot be contained in the pouches, is to be carefully put up in the packs. Three days bread, and three days pork, ready cooked, is to be carried by officers and men; the same quantity of rum is to be landed with the troops: it is not, however, to be delivered out, but carried in cags, and put in charge of the quartermaster of each regiment, with a party sufficient for the purpose.

"Each man will carry his canteen full of water,

and the men will carry their entrenching tools, and the proportion of necessaries specified in the orders of the 15th of August, viz. two shirts, one pair of shoes, and two pair of socks, neatly made up in their packs or knapsacks, with their camp-kettles and blankets. Regiments having both blankets and great coats, will leave the latter on board.

"It is necessary that the officers should bring on shore, in the first instance, such articles only as they can carry themselves. Officers' servants are, on all occasions of service, to be present under arms with the corps to which they belong, and not to carry more than any other soldier: they are to mount all piquets and guards with their masters.

"The smallest number of batmen possible will be admitted; mounted officers alone are entitled to them. Music, drummers, and men, that are best for active service, to be selected for all regimental duties, not purely military; and officers commanding corps will be held strictly responsible for their being at all times, and in every situation, in the most effective state.

"A proportion of the general hospital staff must be attached, in the first instance, to each brigade, and will be allowed such orderlies as are absolutely necessary, from the brigades. Regimental surgeons are to be allowed an orderly man each, to carry their field chest of instruments.

"The spare arms, tents, horses, appointments of dismounted cavalry, and every article of spare baggage, to be left in charge of a careful non-commissioned officer on board of each ship.

"After the troops have landed, the sick of such regiments as are embarked in transports are to be collected in one of the vessels occupied by the corps under the care of an assistant-surgeon, who will, as soon as possible, report himself the state of the men in his charge to the inspector-general of hospitals on board his majesty's ship the *Niger*. In case of there being but one medical officer present, with any regiment thus situated, his duty must be assisted by a careful non-commissioned officer. The regiments embarked in ships of war will leave their sick men under the care of the surgeon of the ship, who will be entitled to the allowance established in such a case. If necessary, a small portion of orderly men may be left with the sick, selected from the convalescent men. Regiments that have women will employ them in their place.

"The women are particularly prohibited from disembarking, on any pretence whatever, until the commanding officer of the corps has obtained the commander-in-chief's express permission for that purpose.

"More detailed instructions, relative to the artillery, engineers, and commissaries, will be com-

municated to the respective officers at the head of each of those departments.

" In the first instance, the troops will not have it in their power to bring forward their tents; but the ground on which the army, or any considerable detachment of it may encamp, must be taken up regularly, the usual guards and piquets mounted, and patrols sent out in different directions. Every officer occupying a post will esteem it his first duty to patrol in the neighbourhood, in order to ascertain the nature of the country, the avenues that lead to it, and the means of strengthening it.

" All horses, mules, or camels, taken or found, are to be sent off as soon as possible to the commissary-general for the public service. Nor is any individual to purchase or appropriate any horse, mule, or camel, until permission for that purpose is given.

" The commander-in-chief has had much satisfaction in observing the behaviour of the troops, in their transactions with the inhabitants, during the stay of the army at Marmorice, and he trusts that their continuation of the same regular conduct will merit that approbation which he will at all times be anxious to bestow upon them. Every instance of an opposite conduct will be punished in the most exemplary manner. It will be the duty of officers of every rank to point out to the soldiers what they will expose themselves to by the neglect of discipline and good conduct.

" The manners, customs, and religious opinions of the inhabitants are to be most religiously respected, and the severest punishment will await those who give just cause of offence in those particulars.

" Straggling from camp, or lagging behind on the march, are to be strictly prohibited, and officers are enjoined to prevent it. Plundering and marauding will expose the offenders to suffer immediate death; and officers are strictly enjoined to employ every means, and use all the precaution in their power, for the preservation of the health of the troops under their command.

" The utmost vigilance will be expected from officers in situations of active duty, whether upon the out-posts, or more immediately with the army. Reports to head-quarters, or to the general officers on whom they depend, must be made with as little delay as possible, but without precipitation, and, if possible, not till the subject has been thoroughly examined.

" The circumstances under which it is probable the army will be called on to act, require that the exertion of every individual should be made to concur to enforce the most exact discipline, as well as the most rigid economy in the consumption of provisions, fuel and water, and to diminish, as much as possible, the labour of the soldiers.

" With these important objects before them, so

important and so essential to the success of the expedition, the commander-in-chief is confident that officers will not repine at any temporary inconvenience they may feel, or regret any privations they may undergo; but will, on the contrary, animate, by their example, the soldiers under their command to a similar conduct.

" On the arrival of the army, however, on the ground where it is to encamp, the general officers commanding brigades will be responsible that the regimental quarter and rear-guard are immediately mounted; and that patrols are instantly sent out in the neighbourhood of their respective encampments, to ascertain the nature of the ground; and that the non-commissioned officers and men are warned for public duty, are paraded, and ready to march to their respective posts as soon as possible. They will themselves patrol in the neighbourhood of the ground they occupy, and make a report thereupon to head-quarters.

" Besides such advanced posts as it may be found necessary to place in order to cover the army, piquets will occasionally be formed from each brigade for the security of the camp; and it will be the duty of the general officers commanding each brigade to post them. They will be commanded by the field-officers of the brigade on duty for the day. In general they will be drawn in an hour after sun-rise: the hour, however, at which they will be withdrawn must be general, as the whole army will be ordered from head-quarters.

" In-lying piquets will occasionally be ordered to mount; and when the duty is done by regiments, the in-lying piquets will turn out in case of alarm, at the head of their own encampments, unless otherwise notified. If it should be necessary to do the duty promiscuously, the officers and men of the in-lying piquets will remain in their own lines, and an alarm-post will be assigned for the piquets of each brigade, at which they will assemble. If it should be necessary to mount both out-lying and in-lying piquets, an additional field-officer per brigade will be on duty daily, unless otherwise directed in general orders.

" There will be on duty daily a general officer of the day, a field-officer per brigade, a captain, and a subaltern, per regiment, and orderly subaltern per brigade, and at head-quarters an orderly adjutant and quarter-master per brigade. Mounted orderlies will only be permitted for the general officers of the day, or for such officers of the general staff of the army as may be hereafter necessary.

" In regiments furnishing the orderly adjutant and quarter-master, a subaltern of the day, or an officer named for that purpose, in regimental orders, may be directed to do their duty with the corps.

" On all duties of fatigue, the utmost attention.

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of officers will be required to maintain regularity, and carry on the service with dispatch. As circumstances may require, the fatigue parties will be commanded by a field-officer, or brigaded under different officers of that rank. When fatigue parties relieve one another in the performance of the same piece of service, such as bringing forward provisions, guns, and stores, the relieving party is to be stationed in such a manner, that the least possible delay may be occasioned. It will be a general rule that men going on a detachment, whether with arms or on duties of fatigue, will carry their provisions ready cooked.

"When parties are ordered to march immediately, the field-officer of the day will, as soon as possible, report them to the general officer of the day. The majors of brigade and orderly adjutants will inspect all parties for duty. They who are unfit, from whatever cause, to go on duty, will be sent back to their regiments, and others immediately sent in their place. In general, the field-officers of the day will inspect all parties, with or without arms, that may be ordered, before they march off.

"The field-officers of the day will go frequent rounds within the camp of his brigade, both by day and by night; and will, in his report to the general officer of the day, specify the different hours at which he visited the different posts.

"In case of out-lying piquets being ordered for the security of the camp, under the field-officer of the day, the additional field-officer on duty will remain in camp to command the in-lying piquets. The general officer of the day will visit, at such times as he shall think fit, the different guards or piquets posted for the security of the camp, and will be responsible that the duty is done correctly.

"The general officers will encamp with their brigades, or have quarters immediately in their rear.

"When the army is stationary, the relief of all the common duties will be at sun-set. It will be a constant regulation, that all troops on actual duty with arms, whether at the advanced posts or with the army, comprehending the in-lying piquets, as well as the troops warned as next for duty, shall, unless otherwise ordered, be under arms an hour before sun-rise. The advanced posts of the army, distinct from such piquets as may be occasionally mounted for the security of the camp, will be put under charge of an officer named for that purpose, to whom instructions, relating to them, and suited to circumstances, will be communicated.

"In general orders, however, it is directed that

all such posts shall connect themselves by patrols from each other, and avoid leaving any space unexplored, or suffer any breach in the chain. Their advanced sentries will, in general, be doubled. If attacked, or apprehensive of attack, they must acquaint the posts on each flank, and the nearest post of the army in the rear: if forced to retire, they will, on no account, omit to acquaint the posts nearest them on either flank, and will always fall back on the army: no advanced post is to detach to either flank, in order to support another, unless ordered by a general officer so to do.

"These regulations not only apply to permanent posts in the front of the army, but also to such out-lying piquets as may be posted for the more immediate security of the camp.

"The general and field-officers on duty must make themselves masters of the nearest and best communications between the army and advanced posts, in order to be able to give immediate support when necessary. Every report made from the advanced posts to head-quarters, is to be forwarded with the greatest dispatch; and any officer who should occasion delay will be called to the strictest account.

"Deserters from the enemy that may come in at any of the posts of the army, are to be forwarded immediately to head-quarters, where they will be taken charge of by the provost-marshal or his guard till examined.

"Flags of truce will be universally stopped at the advanced post until reported to head-quarters, and orders are received respecting them. As soon as the disembarkation of the army is effected, a boat will be found near the shore, with spare ammunition, which will be distinguished by an ordnance flag, from which supplies can be procured when necessary.

"Admiral Lord Keith having signified to Sir Ralph Abercromby, that a battalion of marines, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith, is to be landed to serve with the army, it will be attached to the third brigade, and to take post in the order of battle, between the 50th and 79th regiments.

"As the soldiers' canteens have been out of use for some time, it will be necessary to take the precaution to have them filled with water for some days previous to the disembarkation of the army; and commanding officers of regiments are desired to give directions respecting it. When the army lands, only one day's allowance of spirits will be issued to the troops, and will be carried in rear of the regiments."

CHAPTER V.

Inferiority of the British Army to the French.—Their total Ignorance of the Interior of Egypt.—Sudden Loss of Major M'Kerras, one of the Engineers.—Order of Sailing from Marmorice Bay.—The English effect a Landing.—Action of the 13th of March.—Surrender of Aboukir Castle.—Battle of Aboukir, and Defeat of the INVINCIBLES.—Capture of the INVINCIBLE Standard.—Death and Character of Sir Ralph Abercromby.—Arrival of a Body of Turks.—Capture of Rosetta and Rhamanieh.—The British Army receive his Majesty's Thanks.—Defeat of the French by the Turks.—Surrender of Cairo.—Failure of the Expedition under Admiral Gantheaume.—Surrender of Alexandria.

THE British army consisted of 15,330 men, including 999 sick and 500 Maltese: the effective force did not exceed 12,000. Among these not a single officer was acquainted with the interior of the country about to be subjugated, nor was there even a map which could be depended upon. Sir Sidney Smith, as far as he had seen, certainly gave correct information; but he had never been in the interior. So little did Sir Ralph Abercromby know of the strength of those he was getting ready to attack, that he rated them, at the highest, at 10,000 French and 5,000 auxiliaries; and this was beyond the number on which the expedition was originally formed. To complete this state of uncertainty, Major M'Kerras, one of the engineers, who had been dispatched in the *Penelope* to reconnoitre the coast, was killed; and Major Fletcher, of the same corps, and the crew who were also in the boat, were made prisoners.

This unexpected news did not reach the British army till a week after their embarkation, and their regret was considerably increased, on reflecting how seriously the loss of Major M'Kerras must be felt by the expedition. He had been ashore on the peninsula of Aboukir a few days previous to the arrival of the English, to compare and rectify some plans of it; and was returning to the *Peterel* sloop of war, when his boat was chased by a French germe, and an unlucky shot struck him in the forehead. Endued with a great share of professional talent, active, enterprising, and ever indefatigable in the prosecution of the public service, his death was no less a misfortune to the army, than a calamity to his friends.

The following is a list of the English forces:—

Guards—Major-general Ludlow.

1st, or Royals . . . }
2d battalion, 54th . . } Major-general Coote.
92d . . . }

8th }
13th } Major-general Cradeck.
90th }

2d, or Queen's }
50th . . . } Major-general Lord Cavan.
79th . . . }

18th }
30th } Brigadier-general Doyle.
44th }
89th }

Minorca . . }
De Rolle's } Major-general Stuart.
Dillon's . . }

RESERVE.

40th flank companies
23d . . . }
28th . . . }
42d . . . } Major-gen. Moore.
58th . . . }
Corsican Rangers . . }
Detach. 11th dragoons }
Do. Hompesch's reg. }

12th dragoons }
26th ditto . . } Brigadier-gen. Finch.

Artillery and pioneers, Brigadier-gen. Lawson.

Since the fleet had been in a state of preparation for sailing, the winds had been altogether unfavorable till the 23d of February, when, with a fine gale at N.N.W. the whole fleet got out without the least confusion or accident, and, at sun-set, made sail towards the coast of Egypt.

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ORDER OF SAILING.



The squadrons to be one mile asunder.

During the passage the Greek and Turkish vessels separated from the squadron, amidst a hard gale, in which one laden with mules had foundered; and as the cavalry and artillery horses were embarked on board of them, this circumstance was productive of considerable disappointment. After a boisterous passage of six days, the Arabs' tower was descried; and in the course of the next morning the convoy arrived in Aboukir Bay, a scene endeared to the English by the battle of the Nile, and now bursting afresh upon their recollection, in consequence of having anchored in the very spot where that memorable action had been fought.

As it was impossible to make all the necessary preparations for landing in the course of that day, this was deferred until the succeeding one, when a heavy gale occurred and continued for some time. As soon as the wind had abated, (March 7), General Abercromby proceeded in a boat to examine the shore; Sir Sidney Smith also seized this opportunity of reconnoitering the neighbouring lake, and being actuated by the spirit of adventure, he went on shore, and returned soon after with a French colonel, an ass, and an Arab Fellah, its driver, to the no small amusement of the sailors and soldiers of the fleet, who considered these captives as the first-fruits of victory.

The wind being moderate, and the weather fine, at two o'clock in the morning of the 8th of March, a rocket was fired from the Foudroyant, commanded by Admiral Lord Keith, which was the signal for all the boats to repair to the appointed ships. About half-past three, the boats being filled with troops, began to move off towards the rendezvous. At dawn they had got about half-way to the shore, and began to form their line of landing out of gun-shot, agreeable to the following order:

The 40th flank companies on the right;
The 23d regiment on their left;
The 28th, 42d, and 58th regiments, with
The brigade of guards, and
Corsican rangers on the left.

The first division was under the command of Major-general Moore, the Hon. Major-general Ludlow, and Major-general Coote. Three armed vessels were stationed in a line opposite the shore, and out of gun-shot, round which the boats were to form, and wait the order for pushing to the land. Each flat-bottomed boat contained about fifty men, exclusive of the sailors employed in rowing. The soldiers were ordered to sit down on the bottom, holding their fire-locks between their knees. All the boats of the fleet were engaged, either in towing the flats, or carrying troops.

They contained in the whole near 5000 men. Six thousand had been intended for landing, but above 1000 remained in the ships from the want of means to convey them.

The moment was awful: along a space of six miles to the shore, nothing was to be heard but the deep murmur of thousands of oars dipping in the sea, and incessantly urging the flower of a brave army to the severest destiny of man.

The line of the English boats reached the rendezvous about day-light, where, after making the necessary military preparations, which were not completed till eight o'clock, they remained for some time in the midst of the bay, menacing every part of the coast, for such was the extent of anchorage occupied by the fleet, and so great the distance of many of them from any one given point, that it was not till nine o'clock that the signal could be made for the boats to advance. Under the direction of the honorable Captain Cochrane, of the *Ajax*, protected by the necessary vessels, and attended by those under Sir Sidney Smith, who had the charge of the launches and field-artillery, the whole division moved towards the shore. It was ten o'clock before the troops arrived at the point of disembarkation, which was narrow, and a sand-hill, that commanded the whole, seemed nearly inaccessible.

The French, fully prepared for their reception, permitted them to advance till they were within reach of their numerous batteries, with which they had occupied, at distances, a space of nearly three miles; when they opened so tremendous a discharge of grape-shot, and shells of all dimensions, as threatened the English with immediate destruction. The boats had a long way to row, and were, for some time, under the fire of fifteen pieces of artillery, and the musketry of 2,500 men. Undaunted by this dreadful prospect, with the fire of the castle flanking their right, they made good their landing, overcoming the impetuosity of the French, who poured down in torrents to the beach, and even attacked the English in their boats, breaking the charge of a body of cavalry. The English regiments went up to the mouth of the cannon, seized them, and drove the French artillerymen from their batteries with the bayonet. Emulous of the glory of this arduous day, the seamen, harnessing themselves to the field-artillery, with ropes drew it on shore, in defiance of the batteries, to which they replied only by loud and triumphant shouts.

The 23d regiment and the four flank companies of the 40th ascended the great sand-hill, to which all the fortifications of the enemy appeared to refer, with a coolness and intrepidity that, for some moments, paralyzed opposition, and reflected immortal honor on their commander, Colonel Spencer. These troops, having gained the summit, took seven pieces of artillery, and pursued the

enemy down the back of the hill. The centre hill carried, all the support of the enemy's flanks was cut off, and the English were playing upon their rear. There were not more than 2000 of the English landed when the enemy began to yield. The French employed about 4000 infantry and 600 cavalry in this engagement. Victory was the reward of resolution, intrepidity, and ardor. The English took possession of the height, their advanced post being about four miles from Aboukir, while the French retreated towards Alexandria.

The fort of Aboukir was summoned to surrender; but on its refusal, a party was left to reduce it.

In this engagement 4 officers, 4 serjeants, 24 rank and file were killed; 26 officers, 34 serjeants, 5 drummers, and 450 rank and file wounded; 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, and 32 rank and file missing.

The return of killed and wounded in the disembarkation was 22 seamen killed, 7 officers, and 65 seamen wounded, and 3 missing.

The ordnance taken consisted of one twenty-six pounder, three four-pounders, and one six-inch howitzer; brass. One nine-pounder, one six-pounder, one ammunition-waggon, and a small quantity of shells, shot, and musket ammunition.

The following general orders were issued on the next day (March 9,) by the commander-in-chief, to demonstrate the high sense he entertained of the conduct and service of every department of the army and navy.

"The gallant behaviour of the troops in the action of yesterday claims, from the commander-in-chief, the warmest praise that he can bestow; and it is with particular satisfaction that he observed their conduct marked equally for ardent bravery and by coolness, regularity, and order.

"Major-generals Coote, Ludlow, and Moore, and Brigadier-general Oakes, who led the troops that effected the landing, and were engaged, will be pleased to accept Sir Ralph Abercromby's thanks for the able manner in which they conducted the whole operation.

"The commander-in-chief has much pleasure in acknowledging the effectual assistance received from the navy on this occasion, in consequence of the judicious arrangements directed by Admiral Lord Keith; and it is his intention to request his lordship to communicate the same to Captain Cochrane, of the *Ajax*, who superintended the disembarkation, as well as the officers and men employed under him on that service, and officers and men in the gun-boats and armed launches that covered the landings. Sir Sidney Smith, the captains, officers, and men from the ships of war who acted with the army on shore, will be pleased to accept Sir Ralph Abercromby's thanks, for the activity with which they brought forward the field-artillery, and for the intrepidity and zeal with

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About nine in the forenoon of March 10, the line got under arms and marched against an outpost of the enemy, at the distance of three miles, which took three hours to reach in consequence of the depth of sand. On the approach of the English the enemy fled, leaving behind one twelve-pounder, which they spiked, dismounted, and threw over the works: they also destroyed a large quantity of biscuit and barley. The remainder of the troops were landed this day, and provision, ammunition, guns, and stores of every description, were brought up with the greatest facility in boats.

A flag of truce was again sent to the garrison of Aboukir, but the commander of that place would not suffer the officer who bore it to approach, and even ordered a gun to be discharged at him.

While the English were engaged in landing their stores and provisions, the French commander, Menou, took this opportunity of reinforcing the garrison, so that when the English came within sight of the enemy on the evening of the 12th, they found them strongly posted among sand-hills and palm-trees, four miles from the walls of the ancient Alexandria eastward. The English were deficient in artillery, and their cavalry was badly mounted.

At seven in the morning, March 13, the army marched in two lines by the left, with an intention to turn the right flank of the enemy; and the troops had proceeded but a short distance towards their object, when the whole cavalry of the French, and a considerable body of infantry, and several pieces of cannon, poured down from the heights to attack the heads of both lines, which were commanded by Major-general Craddock and Major-general Lord Cavan. This attack, which was very impetuous, was repulsed by the advanced guard, consisting of the 90th and 92d regiments, with incomparable gallantry and coolness. The first line then formed two lines to the front of march, with the utmost quickness and precision, and continued to advance in that manner; while the second line, with the exception of its first brigade, continuing still in column, turned the right of the French army and drove it from its position. Thus the British forces continued to advance on the enemy, driving them with the utmost vigour from position to position, till they had reached the fortified heights which form the principal defence of Alexandria. They were, however, regular in their retreat, and continued the engagement throughout the day.

It was the intention of the commander-in-chief to have attacked them on the heights, where they had posted themselves; and for that purpose the reserve, under the command of Major-general Moore, which had remained in column during the

whole day, was brought forward; and the second line, under the command of Major-general Hutchinson, marched to the left, over a part of the Lake Mariotis, with a view to attack the enemy on both flanks; but, on a more attentive examination of their position, it was believed to be commanded by the guns of the forts, and consequently it was more than probable that it could not be kept. Sir Ralph Abercromby, therefore, employed a very wise discretion in seeing that those troops, who had just demonstrated such admirable courage, and were willing to continue it to whatever point the superior command might direct them, should not be exposed to a certain loss, for an uncertain advantage. They were accordingly withdrawn; and, in the evening the army took up the ground from which the enemy had been driven, occupying a position with their right to the sea, and their left to the canal of Alexandria and Lake Mariotis, at the distance of about a league from that town; a situation of great advantage, as it cut off the communication between Alexandria, except by way of the desert.

The French general in this action had his horse shot under him, and Sir Ralph Abercromby was, for a moment, in danger of being enveloped by the French cavalry; but was saved by the intrepidity of the 90th regiment, who rushed forward to receive the charge of the cavalry on their bayonets; but the impetuosity of the latter was not equal to the reception that menaced them, and they desisted, though with considerable loss, from the rash manœuvre.

The loss of the English in this action was very considerable, 1300 men being killed and wounded. The situation of the wounded was peculiarly distressing, for, as they chiefly suffered by common shot, even such as recovered were necessarily rendered cripples and wholly unfit for service. The loss of the French may justly be calculated at 700 men. General of division Lanusse was slightly wounded. The English took four pieces of cannon and one howitzer.

The force of the English in the field was about 14,000; that of the enemy nearly 7000. Although so much superior in point of numbers, the British army laboured under great disadvantages from their deficiency in cavalry and artillery; in both of which the French had the decided superiority.

The sentiments of Sir Ralph Abercromby, respecting the conduct of the troops under his command, were expressed in the general orders, dated March 14, at the camp near Alexandria.

"The commander-in-chief has the greatest satisfaction in thanking the troops for their soldier-like and intrepid conduct in the action of yesterday. He feels it particularly incumbent on him to express his most perfect satisfaction at the steady and gallant behaviour of Major-general Craddock's brigade; and he desires that Major-

general Craddock will assure them, that their meritorious conduct commands his admiration. To the 90th and 92d regiment and Dillon's, an equal share of praise is due; and when it has been well earned, the commander-in-chief has the greatest pleasure in bestowing it."

Soon after this victory the Arabs came to the English with various kinds of provision; as sheep, goats, fowls, eggs, and, in short, every thing that the country afforded. They had been treated with an unrelenting barbarity during the period in which the French had possessed the sway of Egypt; and were now happy to engage in a friendly intercourse with the people who had given so fair a promise of terminating the tyranny which oppressed them. For the more speedy arrival of these Arabs, their ready undertaking to supply the army with cattle, horses, and other provisions, as well as the fidelity with which they fulfilled all their engagements, and the regulations which governed the market, the army was indebted to the activity and local knowledge of Mr. Baldwin, so well known for his long and useful residence, as his majesty's consul-general, in this part of the world.

The English with their right to the sea, near the Bochan camp, and their left to the canal of Alexandria, at this time dry, opposite the point of lake Maadie, were assiduously employed in getting their heavy cannon on shore, and fortifying their camp. They however severely felt the want of horses and camels to assist in bringing up the heavy guns; even the provisions were brought on men's shoulders from the magazine, a mile and a half distant, and the heavy casks of liquor required great labour to roll them through the sands. Through the intelligent activity of Sir Sidney Smith they had discovered plenty of water, and were liberally supplied with provisions, notwithstanding a market was forbidden under pain of death, by General Menou.

Till this time the army had no covering but their great coats; but new tents were brought up, which sheltered them from the night air, which sometimes was extremely cold.

Leaving a strong guard on the heights of Nicopolis, to impose on the English, the French employed themselves in repairing the works of Alexandria; dispatching also a vessel to acquaint the consular government with what had happened, and to inform Gantheaume of the position of the English fleet.

On the 17th a flag of truce came in from the enemy, with the information that Colonel Bryce, of the guards, had died in consequence of the wounds which he had received in the night of the 14th.

A part of the garrison of fort Aboukir made a sortie against the works that had been thrown up against it. The marine officer and 50 men who manned them were not able to resist the assault;

and, if the 2d, or Queen's regiment, had not fortunately arrived at this critical moment, the French, instead of being powerfully repulsed, would have possessed themselves of the English battery.

On the 18th, after five days blockade, Aboukir Castle surrendered to the British troops, in which were twelve French guns, a considerable quantity of ammunition, and the garrison, amounting to 190 men, were made prisoners of war. The officers and men composing it were sent on board the English fleet with the private property of each individual, a liberality of conduct which doubtless would not have been adopted by the enemy, had the circumstances of the business been reversed. The Turkish Capoutan Bey having arrived about this time, the English and Turkish colours were both displayed on the forts.

On the 19th, General Menou having made some advances, the supply of provisions totally failed; by some of his patrol having killed several Arabs bringing sheep for the market. On the 20th, a column of French infantry and cavalry were seen passing the ground near Lake Mareotis into Alexandria. An Arab chief also informed Sir Sydney Smith, by letter, of Menou's approach with a large force, and of his intention to attack the British camp the next morning. On this night the position of the army was strengthened by a battery, not closed in the rear, a little to the left in front, and near the ruins of Pompey's palace. The guards had also a redoubt in front of their right, and a battery on their left, called the citadel, having the signal-staff hoisted upon it. On the left of the whole line there was also a redoubt, which, in its whole extent, contained two twenty-four pounders and thirty-four field-pieces.

The battle of Aboukir, which took place March 21, crowned the British arms with success, and at once finished the labors, and immortalized the fame of the gallant commander-in-chief. The particulars of this battle are thus related by a respectable and distinguished officer, who was in the action:

"On the memorable 21st of March, the army, as usual, was under arms at three o'clock in the morning: all was quiet till half-past three, when the report of a musket was heard at the extremity of the left; instantly afterwards a cannon fired, scattered musketry followed, and then two more guns. All were now convinced that a united attack was commencing; and General Moore, who was officer of the night, on the first alarm proceeded to the left; but was so impressed with the idea that it was too far distant, that he turned back to the right. A solemn stillness then succeeded, but it was only of a short duration; every ear was all attention, and every eye directed towards the eastern sky, when, on a sudden, loud acclamations were heard on the right, to which a roar of musketry instantly succeeded, and the enemy's attack in that quarter was now

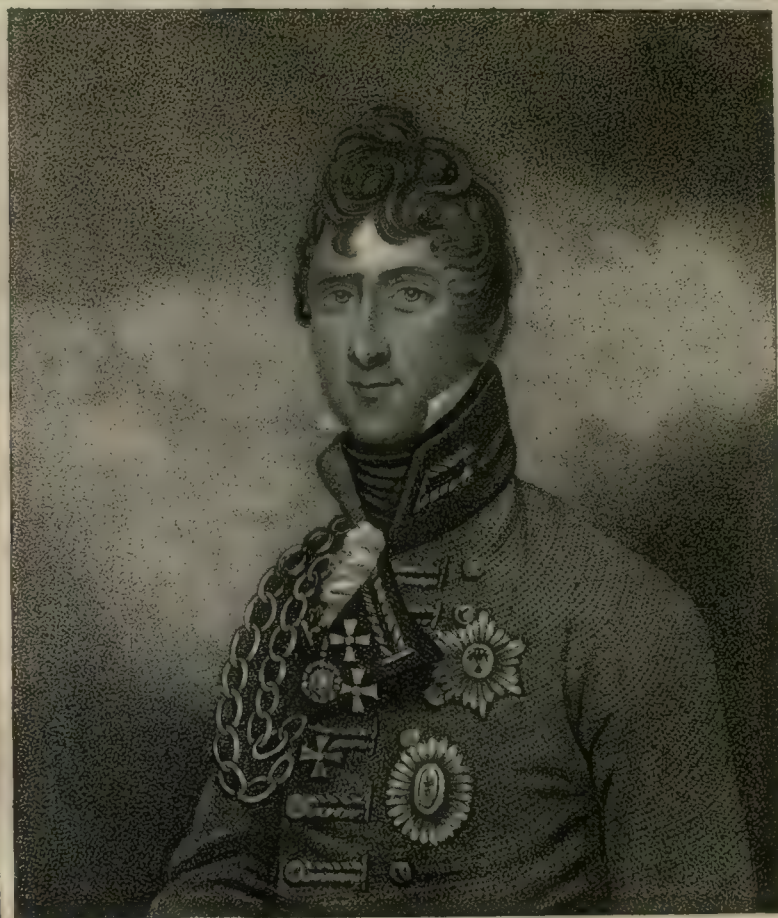
no longer doubtful. The enemy advanced upon, and continued to push in, all the videts and piquets upon the main body, but Colonel Houston of the 58th, faintly perceiving a French column advancing upon him, and dreading lest the English piquets should be between them and his men, suffered it to come so near him, that he could plainly see the enemy's glazed hats before he ordered his grenadiers to fire. Their discharge was followed by that of the whole regiment, and being rapidly repeated, made the French retire to a hollow some distance in their rear. Soon after they wheeled to the right, and attempted to pass a redoubt opposite to its left, in conjunction with another column, but the 28th regiment seeing them approach the battery, with a heavy fire checked those who attempted to storm the redoubt where they were stationed. But now the main body of the two columns joined a third, and forced in behind the redoubt, while others were to attack it in front; when Colonel Crowdjye commanding the left of the 58th, wheeled back two companies, and, after firing two or three rounds, ordered a charge with the bayonet, and being at this instant joined by the 23d, while the 42d were also advancing, the French troops that had entered the rear of the redoubt, after sustaining a very severe loss, were obliged to surrender. Here both the 58th and 28th had been attacked in front, flank, and rear. It is allowed, that the 28th experienced a momentary relief from the advance of the 42d, but, during the time they were engaged, the first line of the enemy's cavalry, passing the left of the redoubt, attacked, and, charging in a mass, for a while overwhelmed that gallant corps, but which, though broken, was not defeated. In fact, such was the dilemma in which they were placed during this contest, that Colonel Spencer, with a part of the 40th, having taken a station in the avenues of the ruins, was, for some moments, afraid to fire lest they should destroy the 42d, then intermingled with the enemy. But even when he began to fire, which in some measure checked the progress of the French cavalry, he must certainly have been overpowered, if General Stuart had not advanced with the foreign brigade, pouring in such a heavy and well-directed fire; which, as nothing could withstand, the enemy, from destruction and flight, was no longer visible.

"In this furious charge of cavalry, General Abercromby received his mortal wound. He was alone, near the redoubts just spoken of, when some French dragoons penetrating to the spot, he was thrown from his horse. From the tassel of his sword, the man that rode at him, and endeavoured to cut him down, must have been an officer. This sword, however, the veteran general seized, and wrested from him before he could effect his destruction; and, at the same

instant, this daring assailant was bayoneted by a private of the 42d. Sir Ralph only complained of a contusion in his breast, supposed to have been given in the scuffle, by the hilt of the sword, but was entirely ignorant of the moment he received the wound in the thigh, which occasioned his death. After this wound Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer that came to the general, and from him received that sword which the latter had so gloriously acquired from the French officer. The cause of this present was the general's observation, that Sir Sidney's sword had been broken.

"As soon as the French cavalry were driven out of the camp, Sir Ralph walked to a redoubt, where he could take a view of the whole field of battle. Then to the right it appeared, the reserve of the French cavalry had attempted another charge against the foreign brigade, without success. After this their infantry, one battalion excepted, no longer acting in a body, fired only in scattered parties. As the ammunition of the British was exhausted, several of the regiments of the reserve not only remained some time without firing a shot, but even the guns in the battery had but one cartridge left. But while this was the state of affairs on the right, it was found the centre had been attacked. At day-break, a body of French grenadiers had advanced upon it, supported by a heavy line of infantry. The guards were posted there, and at first threw out their flankers to oppose the enemy; but these being driven in, and, as the enemy's columns had approached very close, General Ludlow ordering the brigade to fire, they did so with the utmost precision; and, after some little local manœuvring, the advance of General Coote with his brigade determined the enemy to retire, and separate themselves as sharp-shooters; and thus, while the French cannon played without intermission, the former kept up a very destructive fire: consequently the left of the British was never engaged any farther than being exposed to a distant cannonade, and a partial discharge of musketry.

"During the interval the British were without ammunition, the French on the right, advancing close to the redoubt, were pelted with stones by the 28th; and returning the same measures of offence, they killed a serjeant of that regiment, by beating in his forehead. But as these troops, as well as the British, were without ammunition, they were very easily driven away by the grenadiers, who moved out after them; and, soon after, the whole of the enemy's force moved off the ground. Thus, unable to make the impression expected upon the British lines, General Menou made a retreat in very good order, but this was principally owing to the want of ammunition among the British; otherwise the batteries, as



SIR ROBT. WILSON.

*Engraved by ROBERTS from an Original Picture for
 Pitt's History of the War.*

LONDON

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well as the cannon on the left and the king's cutters on the right must have done great execution.

"About ten in the forenoon the action had every where terminated, while Sir Ralph Abercromby never quitted the battery he retired to; and as he continued walking about, many officers had no suspicion of his being wounded, but from the blood trickling down his clothes. At length getting faint, he was put on a hammock, and conveyed to a boat, which carried him on board Lord Keith's ship, being accompanied by his friend Sir Thomas Dwyer.

"The battle was fought by the right of the English army alone. The French army was 9,700 strong, including 1,500 cavalry, with 46 pieces of cannon. The whole British army, reduced by the actions on the 8th and 13th, by the men left in care of the wounded, the absence of the 92d regiment, the marines and dismounted dragoons, did not yield an effective force of 10,000 men, including 300 cavalry; yet it must be remembered that it was only the half of this number that contested with the whole united force of the enemy. The field of battle in front of the British works being very contracted, the killed and wounded presented a distressing spectacle. Near 1,700 French and 400 horses were found on the field. On the part of the British there were 60 officers and 233 men killed; and 16 officers and 1,190 men wounded.

"Though this battle neither decided the fate of Egypt nor gained any ground, yet it answered many important purposes, principally that of securing the position to our army, and the impression it made on the Bedouin Arabs of the British valour: in consequence of which a communication was opened with the interior of the country, and the market supplied with every commodity. For thousands of these people came to be eye-witnesses of the contest, and declared it to be such a one as their fathers never recorded.

"On the 28th of March brave Gen. Abercromby breathed his last. His death was first made known to the army the next morning. For his cure he had undergone the most painful operations with great firmness; but as the ball could not be extracted, a mortification ensued. This eminent man had also served his country in a legislative capacity. In the year 1774 he was elected to represent the county of Kinross in parliament, and continued a member of the house of commons until the next annual election in 1780. His chief talents however were of the martial kind. In his military character he was strictly uniform and regular, preserving the best order and discipline possible throughout all ranks of those under his command. In action he possessed that intrepidity, coolness, and presence of mind requisite; and characteristic of the British nation. In his private cha-

racter he was modest and unassuming; in all his transactions disinterested and upright, and in his morals circumspect, and unstained by licentious vices. In company he was naturally reserved, and in promiscuous or mixed society extremely silent; yet perfectly easy of access, and free from haughtiness. In his domestic relations he was unimpeachable, and fulfilled the several duties of a son, brother, husband, father, and friend, with that rectitude inseparable to a character of his magnanimity."

Sir Ralph Abercromby died of a wound in the hip, near the thigh, and not in the breast, as mentioned in his epitaph: he was in the 68th year of his age. During the early part of the engagement, when in the darkness of night, unable to distinguish friend from foe, he was involved among the enemy, he was rescued from immediate destruction, only by the affectionate valour of his own troops. To the first of these who came up to him, he said, "Soldier, if you know me, don't name me!" At that instant, a French dragoon suspecting the prize he had lost, rode up to the general, in the midst of his own guard, made a cut at him, but, not being quite near enough, merely penetrated to his shirt, grazing the skin with the point of his sabre. The dragoon's horse wheeling about, he made a second attempt by a lunge, that passed the general's side and right arm, which he instantly closed. The dragoon being at this instant shot, the sabre remained in the general's possession, who presented it to Sir S. Smith, as before observed. When General Menou was about to order a second charge of cavalry, he was apprised by the officers of the impropriety, and that they would be totally destroyed, without being able to render any essential service. The French general, however, rashly persevered, when General Roize and the chief officers under him soon felt the fatal effects of the error which they were compelled to commit, although they exhibited the talents of brave men, furious with desperation, at being thus wantonly sacrificed. General Roize was killed, and his cavalry totally routed, broken, and destroyed. Bonaparte's *invincible* legion were finally defeated, with prodigious slaughter, and the *invincible* standard taken from them. The signal honor of taking this standard had been claimed and disputed by several corps, but of the various statements that have been made, the greatest credit is undoubtedly due to the testimony of Sir Robert Wilson, who has reconciled the seeming contradictions, and faithfully detailed the capture, loss, and recapture of the invincible standard. Sir Robert Wilson declared it was first taken by Serjeant Sinclair, who being ordered forward by an officer, gave it to a private who was killed, and the standard consequently fell into the hands of the enemy: but the honor of

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retaking it justly belonged to Antoine Lutz, a native of Rosheim, in Alsace. The regiment of Stuart, or the Queen's German regiment, in which this gallant soldier served as a private, pursuing the enemy's infantry, Lutz, being one of the foremost, came within a few yards of the French officer who bore this standard, and who was consequently in the rear of his regiment. Lutz levelled his musket at this officer, and shot him in the back. He immediately fell forward on his face, and the colours dropped from his left shoulder to the ground. Lutz, after taking the prudent precaution to re-load his piece, seized the colours, and was in the act of carrying them back to his regiment as his lawful prize, when two French dragoons galloped towards him. On their near approach he threw down his standard, and fired, when he killed one of their horses, and the rider's foot being entangled in the stirrup, Lutz rushed upon him, when the dragoon begged his life, and gave up his pistol as a token of submission. The other dragoon fled.—Lutz took up the colours again; and making the dragoon march before him, conveyed them both in safety to the regiment; the colours he presented to Lieutenant Moncrieff, who gave him all the money he happened to have about him and sent him off with them to the head-quarters, where he received, from the adjutant-general, by order of the commander-in-chief, twenty dollars, as a reward for his conduct. This was the substance of Lutz's account, which contained many other particulars.

This splendid trophy was soon brought to England, and hung up in the metropolitan church of the United Kingdoms, as a grateful offering to that God who giveth the victory.

The command of the British army now devolved upon General Hutchinson, who had served under General Sir Ralph Abercromby, by whom he was warmly beloved, and highly esteemed, and who lamented the death of his illustrious predecessor in genuine strains of friendship.

A flag of truce was sent to Alexandria, March 23, with an offer to the French army, that if they would surrender they should be immediately sent to France with their small-arms, colours, and private property; leaving the artillery and shipping then at Alexandria. To this proposal the French general haughtily replied, "that the French army could not listen to such ignoble terms, and that any future propositions of a similar nature would not even be received." At the same time the British commander-in-chief was desired to accept the sincere acknowledgments which he so well merited, for the very humane care and attention which had been manifested to the wounded officers and soldiers of the French army, whom the fortune of war had submitted to his power."

The French line, passing in front of the British, extended from the Rosetta gate of the ancient city along the Aboukir road, to the Alexandrian canal, then over a bridge to the edge of Lake Mareotis; and turning to their right along the edge of the lake, encompassed the gardens on both sides of the canal, to the western environ of Alexandria. Separated from the enemy by a valley of about a mile, the British extended from the sea to where the canal formed an elbow, in a southern direction; they were in possession of lakes Aboukir and Maadie, with armed launches up to the left of their front, and along the northern bank of the canal. Both armies were sufficiently exhausted, to be desirous of a temporary repose. By the engagements of the 8th, 13th, and 21st of March, Egypt had in reality been delivered from the dominion of its tyrannical invaders.

On the 26th of March, Turkish vessels, and about 5,000 troops under the Capoutan Pacha, arrived in the road of Aboukir. These men were generally armed with Tower muskets, which were new, but out of order, and without bayonets. A few were armed with rifle-pieces. They were all very indifferently clothed, except about 150 of the marines.

These Turkish troops having taken post at Maison quarrée, joined a detachment under Col. Spencer, which, encamping at Etko, on the 7th, reached Rosetta on the 8th of April. After a spirited but inadequate resistance, fort Julian and Rosetta surrendered on the 19th. The garrison of the former had been twice summoned, but terms of capitulation were peremptorily refused; it consisted of 11 officers, 264 men, 16 guns of different calibres, 2 mortars, and 2 howitzers. The reduction of Rosetta facilitated the procuring of supplies, as well as the operations of the army. Had the enemy concentrated their force at this place, superior as they were in cavalry, the contest might have terminated very differently. But the divisions of the French army were at their height; and so little was Menou acquainted with the designs and movements of his antagonist, that the death of General Abercromby was unknown to him till the 8th of April, when he was informed of that event by a deserter. He had then but recently reinforced Rahmaniah, Rosetta, and Lesbeh. El Aft, indeed, was more firmly secured by the junction of Generals Le Grange, Morand, and Valentin, who, with 3,900 men, had ably entrenched themselves in that position. The English had, April 13, cut the dyke which separates Lake Maadie from that of Mareotis, but the waters did not spread with the expected rapidity. They, however, possessed a good flotilla on the Nile; and were encouraged by a reinforcement of 2,900 men, which landed at Aboukir on the 5th of May.

Seven thousand English, and 6,000 Turks, sup-

ported by a flotilla, having advanced against El Aft, the batteries on the right bank of the Nile were so much harassed by the English flotilla, that they abandoned this post on the 7th of May, and, leaving a sufficient garrison at Alexandria, fell back on Rahmanieh. By the possession of this post, and by means of their cavalry, they hoped to keep the greatest part of the Delta in their power, preserve their communication with Cairo, and be ready, in case that Gantheaume's squadron should arrive at any point, to facilitate the debarkation of the troops which they expected, and which, of course, would not attempt to gain the port of Alexandria. By this time Lord Keith, reinforced by part of the squadron under Sir J. Borlase Warren, and also by the Capoutan Pacha with four ships of the line, had, altogether, seventeen sail of the line before Alexandria, and one in the bay of Aboukir. Sir Sidney Smith had proceeded up the Nile with a number of Albanians, and the English gun-boats. Some gun-boats of the French had been enabled to retreat, before them, to Cairo. The French at this time in Alexandria drew their subsistence from Rahmanieh, on the backs of camels, across the shallowest parts of the inundation.

In consequence of the movement of the French, General Hutchinson resolved also to move at the head of 4,000 troops; and instead of merely keeping his position before Alexandria, to commence a campaign in the field, by an attack on Rahmanieh, which he made on the 9th. Between the 9th and 10th of May, the enemy retreated to Cairo; and the greater part of their flotilla, prevented from escaping by the batteries on the right of the Nile, became the property of the victors. The loss of Rahmanieh is said to have deeply affected the French. By this event Alexandria was insulated; and the end for which Rahmanieh had been occupied by Menou, the command of the Delta, and the landing of the troops under Gantheaume, appeared no longer attainable. The murmurs of the army only augmented the jealousy of the commander-in-chief, who, dreading a mutiny in favor of a new general, sent Regnier on board a ship bound for France, where he found Damas, Daure, and Boyer, companions of his fortune, because, like himself, supposed the enemies of Menou. About this time, a convoy of germs, coming from Cairo by Lake Menouf, ignorant of the retreat of General Legrange from Rahmanieh, fell into the possession of the English, with 150 prisoners, and several guns intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy was extremely valuable; consisting of clothing, wine, spirits, stores, and nearly 5000*l.* in money.

When the Mamelukes took possession of Cairo, after the battle of Heliopolis, they rendered a most essential service to the vizier, by recalling

the French from the pursuit of his flying forces, and employing them in the reduction of that city. His army being thus preserved from absolute dispersion, was permitted to recruit at Jaffa. But here it immoveably remained; the vizier having resolved not to move a step to the assistance of the English, till, in fact, they had conquered for themselves. It was not, therefore, until informed of the brilliant success of his allies, and aided by their artillery and officers, that he was induced to march, at the head of 25,000 men, with whom he reached Belbeis on the 7th of May, and immediately threw up entrenchments. Numbers, who waited only to ascertain whether this army would pass the desert unmolested, convinced of their security, now flocked to his standard. The French forces at Cairo, under General Belliard, being about this time strengthened by the junctions of General Legrange, from Rahmanieh, it was resolved to defeat the vizier before the arrival of the Anglo-Turkish army, commanded by General Hutchinson. Nearly 5,000 infantry, and 900 cavalry, chiefly from Rahmanieh, were selected for the execution of this design. Had the French been permitted to make an attack on such a rabble as the Turkish army, which they would have done, and probably in the night, their defeat would have been certain. Major Holloway, Major Hope, of the artillery, and other English officers present, therefore, persuaded the vizier to anticipate an attack by making one.

On the 15th of May, his highness, the grand vizier, received intelligence that the enemy were in full march from Cairo, on the road towards Belbeis. The vizier, after it was dark, ordered Tahir-Bashaw, with 3,000 cavalry, and three light field-pieces, to advance to meet them; and, if a favorable opportunity should offer, during the obscurity of the night, to attack; but, if not, to impede their march as much as possible. About ten o'clock at night they met, three leagues from the Ottoman camp, when each halted, and lay on their arms during the night, and until eight o'clock in the morning, at which time Tahir-Bashaw commenced an attack. He was soon after reinforced by 1,500 cavalry. It was now found that the enemy had come forward with about 14 pieces of artillery, 600 cavalry, and 4,000 infantry. The vizier, therefore, ordered Mahomed-Bashaw to move forward with 5,000 men, cavalry and Albanian infantry, and nine light field-pieces. The French had 8-pounders in the field. The other English officers, besides Major Holloway and Major Hope, were Captain Lacey, of the royal engineers, and Captain Leake, of the royal artillery. Captain Lacey accompanied Mahomed-Bashaw, and Captain Leake Tahir-Bashaw. Each of these officers received their orders from Major Holloway, remaining still near the person

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of the vizier; who, after sending forward his advanced guard, came up himself and took the command. Major Hope was with the artillery.

The enemy moved into a wood of date-trees, where they were attacked by the Turkish cavalry and infantry with great spirit for three hours, when, retiring from the wood, they took a position on the left, their left flanked by a wood, and forming a hollow square on the right. The Albanese infantry advanced to the edge of the wood, and, in this situation, galled them much; and, on the Turks threatening their right, the French changed their position, and attempted to gain the heights, in which they were prevented by a rapid movement of Turkish cavalry, who gained the summit. In this manœuvre they were annoyed by two guns, which were advanced on the occasion. At this time, the French commenced a decided retreat, and were driven beyond El-Hanka, a distance not less than seven miles from the place of the first operations. The grand vizier, who had commanded his troops, as Major Holloway reported, with great gallantry and prompt decision, then gave orders for them not to pursue them any farther. The loss on either side, for the time in which they were engaged, was small. The Turks had about thirty killed, and eighty wounded. The French had about fifty killed. The number of their wounded could not be ascertained, as they carried them off the field. The disposition of the Turkish army, the order of march, and all their movements, were arranged by Major Holloway. It was by following his counsels, that the grand vizier was enabled, during near seven hours, to keep in check the French army, to counteract its plans, to attack it, to seize every advantage of position and ground, and, at last, after manœuvring with science for so long a time, to repulse it with loss, and gain a complete victory.

While this passed on the side of Cairo, fort Lesbeh surrendered to a detachment from the vizier's army.—These successes reanimated the drooping energy of the vizier, and taught him to confide in the spirit and genius of his allies. On the same day, a detachment from the troops, under General Hutchinson, surprised a convoy, conducted by Colonel Cavalier, who had been foraging for the garrison of Alexandria. Six hundred men, (infantry, cavalry, and artillery,) the prime of the enemy, together with a considerable portion of their dromedary corps, one 4-pounder, and 550 camels, were on this occasion surrendered. From the 9th to the 20th, the English had taken near 1,600 prisoners, including those taken at fort Bourlos, which followed the evacuation of fort Lesbeh. It was about this period, that Osman-Bey-Tambourgi, the successor of Mourad, assured General Hutchinson, as

the versatile Mourad himself had also done on his part, of his attachment to the English, whom he joined with 1,500 Mamelukes. While, from political motives, Osman and others encamped near the English, they privately, according to the usual policy and perfidy of barbarians, assured the French that they would commit no hostility against them, and they kept their word! Mourad-Bey died on the 21st of April, after an illness of three days, but not without strong suspicions of his having been poisoned. The situation of affairs not permitting the interment of his remains in the sepulchre of the Mamelukes, he was buried at Savuagni, near Tahta; his companion in arms breaking his weapons over his tomb, and declaring that no one was now worthy to wield them!

On the capture of Rahmanieh, Gen. Hutchinson proceeded to invest Cairo. Owing, however, to the low state of the river, the bar at Rosetta, and the consequent difficulty of bringing the heavy artillery up the river, as well as procuring provisions, General Hutchinson did not arrive at Embabeh, before Ghazah, till the 20th of June. He resolved to attack Ghazah on the left, while the vizier pressed Cairo on the right bank of the Nile; and a bridge of boats was thrown over the river at Chobra, to keep up a communication between the armies. The fortifications of Cairo, which were commenced by Kleber, had been assiduously continued by Menou; but, extending over a space of twelve miles, they did not admit much defence with a garrison of 8,000, who had, besides, to overawe the inhabitants, agitated at the proximity of a victorious army, and dreading the resentment of the vizier.

On the 21st, the combined forces advanced on both sides of the river. A capitulation was desired by the garrison on the 22d, which, being assented to, was negotiated by Brigadier-general Hope, and ratified on the 27th. The French could not have effected a retreat: as little were they competent to the defence of Cairo, their ammunition nearly exhausted, their treasury empty, and provisioned only to the middle of July. By this capitulation, they were to be conveyed to the French ports, in the Mediterranean, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and effects, within fifty days from the date of the ratification; men of letters and naturalists were permitted to retain their papers and collections; an exoneration was granted to such of the people as had adhered to the cause of France; and it was stipulated, that Menou might avail himself of these conditions, for the surrender of Alexandria, provided his acceptance of them was notified to the general commanding before Alexandria, within ten days from the date of the communication being made to him. It was also sti-

pulated, in a private article of this convention, that the wife, daughter, aid-de-camp, and all the effects of General Menou, should be sent from Cairo to Alexandria by the allied powers. There were embarked, in all, from Cairo, at Aboukir, upwards of 13,000 persons, exclusive of 1,000 sick, and a number of invalids. During a novel and critical march, in conducting this garrison through the country, notwithstanding the mixture of Turks, British, and French, considerable harmony prevailed.

The articles were not published to the British army till a copy, printed by General Belliard, was got from Cairo. The 30th regiment took possession of a fort, and the grenadiers and some of the body guards of the Capoutan Pacha the gate of Ghazah.

At this moment, when such an important and commanding acquisition was obtained by the British arms, when the possession of the capital of Egypt had added to the achievements of British prowess, the commander-in-chief received his majesty's orders to communicate his royal thanks to the army for their conduct and services in Egypt; and they immediately appeared in the general orders, which were issued July 14, 1801.

"Lieutenant-general Hutchinson has received his majesty's orders, dated Horse-guards, May 16, to return the generals, officers, and soldiers of the army, his thanks for the brilliant services that they have rendered to their country, and for the manner in which they have sustained and increased the honor of the British name, and the glory of the British arms.

"You landed in Egypt to attack an enemy your superior in numbers, provided with a formidable body of cavalry and artillery, accustomed to the climate, flushed with former victory, and animated by a consciousness of hard and well-earned renown.

"Notwithstanding these advantages, you have constantly seen a warlike and a veteran enemy fly before you; and you are now in possession of their capital. Such are the effects of good order, discipline, and obedience, without which courage itself must be unavailing, and success can be but momentary.

"Such are the incitements which ought to induce you to persevere in a contest that has led you to victory, acquired you the applause of your sovereign, the thanks of parliament, and the gratitude of your country.

"To such authorities it would be superfluous for me to add my testimony: but he assured that your services and conduct have made the deepest impression on my heart, and never can be eradicated from my memory.

"During the course of this arduous undertaking, you have suffered some privations, which

you have borne with the firmness of men and the spirit of soldiers. On such painful occasions no man has ever felt more forcibly than I have done; but you yourselves must know, that they are the natural consequences and effects of war, which no human prudence could obviate. Every exertion has been made to diminish their extent and duration: but they have now ceased, and, I hope, are never likely to return.

"Nothing now remains to terminate your glorious career, but the final expulsion of the French from Egypt; an event which your country anticipates; and a service which, to such troops as you, can neither be doubtful or difficult."

The French evacuated Cairo in the night of the 10th of July, and sent notice to Colonel Stuart. An arrangement had been made previously, that when Cairo was taken possession of, part of the Pacha's body-guard should enter also; but, as the evacuation was not known till very late at night, the quarter-master-general directed the 39th to march and occupy the citadel. The Capoutan Pacha, when he knew this, could scarcely be appeased, though every circumstance was explained to him.

The French totally evacuated Ghazah on the 15th; and with the allied army began their march for Rosetta. Gen. Hutchinson remained at Cairo, both from indisposition, and a wish to settle the government of Egypt.

Menou received the news of the surrender of Cairo with great vexation; he was anxious that General Belliard should have held out, as the reinforcements expected by Admiral Ganteaume might have made a great change in affairs; the negotiations for peace he knew, too, were commenced; and when the Nile rose, the siege could not be carried on.

Scarcely was the capitulation of Cairo signed, when an army, under General Baird, appeared on the banks of the Nile, from India. A part of that force had arrived from the bay of Bengal, September 14, 1800, at Trincomalé, in the isle of Ceylon, where it staid two months, and where it was augmented by a number of troops that had been sent down there from Bombay. The fleet leaving Ceylon on the 18th of February, 1801, steered along the coast of Malabar, still ignorant of their destination, till they arrived, March 23, at Bombay. The health of the troops much impaired, was soon restored by the vegetables of that place. Here General Baird took the command of the little army, which, after a passage of twenty weeks from Trincomalé, arrived at Cossir in Egypt. The troops that landed, under Colonel Murray, at Suez, was an advanced division of the Bombay detachment. The navigation of the Red Sea was arduous, difficult, and dangerous; from rocks and shoals, and contrary winds blowing sometimes directly from the quarter of their desti-

nation. Two of their transports were lost, and many others damaged. After staying a short time at Cossir, they crossed the desert of Thebes, with many difficulties, in ten days, and arrived at Gennat, on the banks of the Nile, about 400 miles from Grand Cairo. The route of the army from Cossir was through a defile of 150 miles, between hills and barren rocks. In this desert not a particle of herbage was to be seen, and scarcely any kind of vegetation, until they arrived at the banks of the Nile, which was first descried at Reneh. This long and toilsome march they could not have performed without the friendly aid of the Mamelukes and Arabs.

The joy which the soldiers expressed, at the sight of water, is not to be described: though the vehemence of their thirst was thereby increased, and also their impatience to allay it. The army marched along the river from Gennat to Kingé, from whence they fell down in boats to Cairo. This, though the distance was above 300 miles, was effected, through the rapidity of the stream, in nine days. The French, as the English army advanced, evacuated their posts on the river, and retreated to their head-quarters. The whole of the Indian army now assembled, under General Baird, opposite Grand Cairo, consisted of 5000 British, and 2000 sepoys. After halting here for some weeks, they were marched down the country, and encamped before Rosetta, twenty-five miles from Alexandria. It was extremely mortifying to this brave army from the east, that, after tasting so deeply of the toils and hardships of war, fortune did not permit them to participate on this occasion in its glories.

General Menou, far from appearing to approve of the article in the capitulation at Cairo, agreeably to which he might have surrendered on the terms acceded to by General Belliard, increased the fortifications round Alexandria, particularly at Necropolis, and avowed, in his dispatches, the determination of burying himself under its ruins. To relieve the place of a number of useless mouths, about the middle of May, the members of the institute, and the commission of arts, though they had been formerly put in military requisition, were ordered to depart for France. They embarked in a small vessel; but, when they were quitting the port, the English refused to let them pass. Attempting to return, they were menaced with being sunk by the French! And it was not till after several days anxiously passed, during which they were supported by the English, that Menou could be prevailed on to take off his prohibition of their return. Nor did Menou yet despair of receiving the reinforcement intrusted to Gantheaume, who, after remaining two days within thirty leagues of Alexandria, was obliged to bear away on being discovered by the English fleet. It was therefore resolved by the allies to

accelerate their attack. On the 17th of August, 2000 Albanians attempted a sand-hill commanding the sea-shore, to the left of Necropolis. A party of 200, under Colonel Spencer, took possession of a hill, in front of the enemy's right, between the lakes and the first bridge of Alexandria. General Menou, who was in that part of the French intrenched camp opposite the hill, sent about 600 men to drive Colonel Spencer from his position. They advanced in columns with fixed bayonets, and without firing a shot, till they got very close to the English. The colonel then gave immediate orders to charge. It was obeyed, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter.

At sunrise on the 18th, the inundation having taken effect, Lake Mareotis was covered with vessels and boats, containing troops, which were protected by fifty gun-boats.

The troops commanded by Major-general Coote, being gallantly assisted by the Turkish corvettes under Captain Cochrane, as well as by a flotilla on the lake, commanded by Captain Stevenson, landed at the castle of Marabout, which soon became a heap of ruins, and capitulated on the 21st. In endeavouring to fire the English shipping, the French had consumed their own flotilla, and two of their frigates were sunk near the fort. Thus terminated the expedition under Gantheaume, on which Menou so much depended.

On the 22d, the allies entered the harbour of the old port, opening a severe cannonade on some troops posted on the bank of the ancient canal, in which they were supported by the flotilla on Lake Mareotis. A detachment under Major-general Coote took seven pieces of cannon, and made considerable impression on the French, who had fixed themselves to the right of fort Le Turcq, strengthened by reinforcements from Necropolis.

An aid-de-camp of General Menou having brought a letter on the 24th, addressed to General Hutchinson, which was the first communication Menou had permitted by land, it was generally believed he wished to surrender; it was, however, merely complimentary, for the attention shewn his wife; whom the Turks, when she fell into the hands of the English at the surrender of Cairo, would have beheaded for marrying a Frenchman had not General Hutchinson interposed his authority. The letter also requested his brother-in-law might be admitted into Alexandria, and some trunks belonging to his wife. This letter was looked on as a preliminary. The English army made various movements; the French fire was silenced, and finding that they had withdrawn their guns, the English batteries ceased to fire.

The first aid-de-camp of General Menou came in the evening of the 26th, with a letter to demand an armistice for three days, while he might prepare articles of capitulation; this was agreed

to, and hostilities were to cease immediately; but the date of the armistice was only to commence from the time the French fired three unshotted guns, to be returned by three from the British, when the colours of both armies were to be lowered from the flag-staff; this was to take place at twelve next day.

General Menou's aid-de-camp on the 29th came in, but in place of the articles of capitulation, he brought a proposal to continue the armistice for thirty-six hours. General Hutchinson was much incensed at this, and wrote back that he should order hostilities to recommence at twelve at night. At nine, however, the aid-de-camp returned, and told him that proposals should be sent next day by two o'clock; this was accepted; the next day, at one o'clock, two officers arrived at the head-quarters with the articles of capitulation; many were refused, yet the purpose of surrendering was confirmed. The articles were returned at night; and agreed to as corrected by General Hutchinson. General Hope went into Alexandria next day to begin them. General Menou received him with great attention, and invited him to dinner. Lord Keith came on shore to ratify the terms. The same conditions were granted to Menou which were allowed to Belliard.

The French general, who had pompously declared his determination to bury himself in the ruins of Alexandria, declared he had been necessitated to this capitulation by the evacuation of Cairo; but Alexandria could not long have resisted this necessity independently of the evacuation, a fact known to General Hutchinson, and which probably induced him not to precipitate the fate of the enemy as he might have done, by more vigorous measures. The garrison was in great distress, and threatened by the near approaches of famine, having for a long time subsisted on horse-flesh.

The return of the garrison of Alexandria given in by General Menou, was in *total* of the military and civil departments, 11,213; with such a force it must be confessed, that Menou, entrenched within a fortified town, capitulated dishonorably as a military man; and the victory of the 21st must reflect constant honor on the British arms.

The articles of capitulation were in number 22. An attempt was made to include the acquisitions of the *learned men* among the articles of confiscation; but, on their resolutely declaring that they would burn their papers rather than resign them to the English, the contest was relinquished. A cargo, however, of Egyptian antiquities, which they could neither conceal, nor consume by fire, was brought to the British Museum. The inhabitants of Constantinople, considering the surrender of Alexandria as the termination of the war in Egypt, manifested on the occasion the most enthusiastic joy. The cannons of the serag-

lio were fired; the city was splendidly illuminated; and the sultan ordered fifty gold medals to be struck, bearing a crescent and star in the centre, with a suitable inscription, to be distributed among the English officers in Egypt; to several of whom the grand vizier, in the name of his sovereign, had before made both honorable and valuable presents. A magnificent palace was built in Pera, and dedicated to be the residence, in all times to come, of the English ambassador at the Ottoman Porte.

During this arduous and interesting contest, the English lost twenty-four officers, and about 7 or 800 private men, including the naval as well as the military service. Very different was the fate of France: which, in this memorable expedition to the East, united not less than from 30 to 40,000 of their best troops, and almost annihilated her navy. Of the whole number of French sent to Egypt, in the course of three years, there returned 23,000. They were accompanied by several hundreds of the natives of both sexes.

The joy in England was universal at the successful termination of the war in Egypt, and all wished to pay some mark of respect to the brave men who had sustained the honor of the British name in so noble a manner. General Hutchinson was created a peer, and a pension of 2000*l.* a-year settled on him. Admiral Keith was also created a British peer. General Coote invested with the order of the Bath, and each regiment on that service allowed to carry a sphinx in their colors, and the word "Egypt" inscribed. The grand signior established an order of knighthood, which he named the "Order of the Crescent," which included the general officers of the English army and naval officers of equal rank. The remains of Sir Ralph Abercromby were carried to Malta, and there buried in one of the bastions of La Vallette. A tomb-stone of black marble, with an inscription in Latin, was placed on the spot of his interment. A peerage was granted to his widow, with a pension of 2000*l.* a-year.

General Hutchinson obtained leave, on account of his health, to return to England, and resigned his command to Lord Cavan, who remained in Egypt. Part of the English troops returned at the same time with Lord Hutchinson. The British force left in Egypt in October, was 5000 men, exclusive of the Indian army: forming, altogether, a body of 12,000 men.

From the commencement of the war in Egypt, the Porte had formed a secret resolution to change the government of that country, at the same time that both the grand vizier and Capoutan Bashaw held out to both the Beys and Mamelukes the most unequivocal assurances that their authority would be immediately restored on the destruction of the infidels.—On the expulsion of the French from Egypt, accordingly, seven of the Beys

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were invited to Alexandria, to hold a conference with the Capoutan Bashaw, on the subject of certain arrangements necessary to be made for their re-establishment. They were received, on their arrival, with every demonstration of hospitality and respect. On pretence of a wish that they might accompany him, in a visit of ceremony, to the British commander at Alexandria, but, in reality, with a view to send them to Constantinople, he treacherously engaged them to go on board a ship of war, whither he was, himself, to accompany them. However, after they had gone into the boats that were to carry them to the ship, they began to recollect the repeated advices and warnings that had been given them by General Hutchinson, never to trust themselves on board any Turkish vessels, and to apprehend some violence, after they should be lodged in the frigate. They required of the officers who had charge of them, to re-conduct them to the shore. The officers, pleading the orders of the high-admiral, refused to comply with their request. The Beys, grasping their arms, began to use force. A conflict ensued, in which four of the Beys were killed, and three wounded. Several of the boatmen shared the same fate. The grand vizier too, at the same time, attempted to secure as many of the Beys as he could by force, or fraud. Some fell into his hands: others made their escape into Upper Egypt.

General Hutchinson, apprised of all this, ordered his troops under arms, remonstrated severely with both the grand vizier and Capoutan Bashaw, and reclaimed, in a menacing tone, the wounded Beys, the bodies of the slain for honorable sepulture, and the Beys also who were in the power of the vizier. The Capoutan Bashaw imputed the disaster that had befallen the seven Beys, whom he had invited to his residence, to themselves: whose suspicions, he said, were without foundation; and excused his own conduct from the orders that had been sent, both to himself and the grand vizier, from the Porte: which was well assured, that it was never the intention of the court of London to take any part in the internal regulations, or government, of Egypt; but, after the expulsion of the French, to leave the Ottomans to establish there what form of government they should think proper. The Capoutan Bashaw maintained great pomp and splendor: such as he deemed suitable to the sovereign dignity of the Porte. He affected to treat General Hutchinson, in some sort, as the guest of the grand signior; in sending regularly a second course, consisting of all the delicacies that could be provided, to his table. Thus he artfully combined an air of hospitality with an air of superiority and supremacy in Egypt. There were not a few, who said, that the general should have declined to accept the

hospitality of the Turkish high-admiral, assumed greater state himself, and, in a word, a tone of mastery and control, for a time, in a province recovered, almost solely, from the French, by the British arms. They were even of opinion, that it would have been a wise magnanimous policy to have punished the treachery of the bashaw, and avenged the death of the three Beys, by hanging him up at the yard-arm of the frigate on board of which he meant to decoy them. So great an act of justice would have struck the East with an admiration and awe of the British name, and exalted it above every other in the world.

There were, however, other considerations that weighed down the opposite scale in the balance. Had it been the purpose of the English government to retain possession of any post or posts in Egypt, such a measure might perhaps have been accounted not less eligible than daring. But it was not the design of Britain to do any thing that might offend, and alienate, but, on the contrary, to cultivate the favor of her Turkish ally.

General Hutchinson did not embrace a line of conduct that would probably have been condemned by his court as extravagant and imprudent: nor yet did he tamely and meanly acquiesce in a measure dictated by barbarian perfidy. But, steering a middle course, he demanded, with inflexible firmness, the freedom of the Beys, which was granted. There could not have been a fitter agent in this business than General Stewart, who, at the head of a strong detachment, carried the remonstrances and demands of the British commander-in-chief to the Capoutan Bashaw.

But the Beys, though left at their own disposal, foresaw the evacuation of Egypt by the English, and the establishment of the power of the Turks, at least in the lower regions of that country. Their faithful Mamelukes were either dispersed, or had fallen by the sword. They listened, therefore, to the fair promises that were made to them by the Capoutan Bashaw and grand vizier, and solemnly confirmed by their oaths on the Koran, of protection, favor, and preferment, if they would throw themselves into the arms of the sultan. They consented to relinquish their pretensions to any authority in Egypt; and signified this consent, in writing to the grand signior, and also to General Hutchinson. The Porte extended to Egypt the system of government by Bashaws.

Thus terminated the revolution occasioned by the French invasion of Egypt. In the midst of all the toils, dangers, and conflicts of war and insurrection, the French were assiduous in exploring that renowned land, under all the views of physical and moral science; and in making collections in antiquities and natural history.

Though they failed in the attempt to extend their political power, they enlarged the sphere of their knowledge; and they acquired information that might be of great use in the case of their ever engaging in another expedition, with or without the consent of the Porte, to Egypt. Bonaparte, the author and conductor of the expedition to Egypt, on a retrospect of its progress, vicissitudes, and termination, consoled the French nation with the reflection, that "the army of the East had left, in Egypt, an immortal memory, which would, perhaps, one day revive there the arts and institutions of society. And that history, at least, would not pass over in silence all that

the French had done to introduce into that country the arts and improvements of Europe. BOOK V.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that, by the surrender of Alexandria, the French frigate, *La Justice*, fell into the hands of the English, and was by them ceded to the Turks. The capture of this completed the total annihilation of the fleet of Admiral Brueys. Of the four sail which escaped, under Admiral Gantheaume, on the morning of August 2, the *Genereux*, *Guillaume Tell*, and *La Diane* frigate, had already been captured at different periods by the English; *La Justice* had alone, till this period, escaped the defeat in Aboukir Bay. CHAP. V.
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CHAPTER VI.

Great Object of Bonaparte in the War.—Menaces of invading England.—By whom such Invasion was first projected.—Policy of the Consul's Threats.—Inadequacy of his boasted Preparations.—Effects of the same on the British Nation.—Preparations for repelling the intended Invasion.—Vain-glorying of the Consular Government.—Martial Law proclaimed in Ireland.

WHILE the possession of Egypt was uncertain, the establishment of a French colony there was Bonaparte's chief design: it was the grand pivot on which the aggrandisement of France, and his own glory and fame were to turn. Around this favorite project, other collateral objects were arranged: To harass, distract, and exhaust the financial resources of England, by menaces of invasion, was, of itself, a wise measure of war: but it derived an additional interest and importance, in the eyes of the chief consul, as it might afford an opportunity, while the English fleets should be detained on their coasts, of slipping out a fleet, with succours to the French army in Egypt. While all was in movement on the side of the land, and camps were formed near the sea-coast, ships were equipped and victualled in the principal ports, and gun-boats, and other light vessels of war, were constructed and drawn, from time to time, to places of rendezvous on the British channel.

The plan of a descent on Britain in flat-bottomed boats, from Boulogne, was first proposed by the famous Lally, in 1744. It was for a moment adopted by the French ministry, but quickly abandoned, as impracticable. There had not arisen any circumstances in the British army, or in the character of the British nation, and certainly not in the navy, that presented greater facilities of invasion, in the course of the last fifty years, than could be hoped for at any former period. Nor was the first consul of France so devoid of prudence, or desperate in fortune, as to

hazard so extravagant and frantic a project: At the same time, therefore, that the necessity of vigilance, and preparation for defence was allowed on all hands, the most reflecting and judicious part of the British nation were fully persuaded that no descent of any consequence would be attempted, unless it should be invited by too great carelessness or contempt of the enemy. The policy of Bonaparte was two-fold: to divide and distract, and to exhaust the resources of the British government; and, at the same time, to occupy and keep in exercise a very numerous army. This army he could not, in prudence or with safety, either to the republic, as it was still called, or to himself, permit to languish in absolute idleness, or to indulge the restless genius of Frenchmen, in listening to various schemes of endless innovation.

The state of the continent was still critical and unsettled. The indemnities of Germany were yet to be fixed; the clamours of discontented states, and the intrigues of cabinets to be overawed. It was natural, therefore, in these circumstances, that France should station her disposable troops along the frontier, in a sort of activity, and in the expectation of services, in order to prevent idleness, cabal, remissness, and desertion.

But, while it was ridiculously asserted, and as ridiculously believed by many, that France had, in the month of August, from 60 to 80,000 men assembled in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, 30,000 near Calais and Boulogne, 30,000 in

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Flanders and Holland, and 60 or 70,000 more in the neighbourhood of Rochford and Brest, all her preparations were, in reality, but slight, and utterly inadequate to the object which she professed to have in contemplation. There was little danger of an attack from an enemy, whom even light ships of war every where insulted on their own coasts, who were every where attacked, and almost constantly with success, by British squadrons, and individual ships of inferior force, and the amount of whose progress towards invasion was little more than to smuggle a few gun-boats along their own coasts, when they had the good fortune to escape being captured in the main seas, by regaining the ports from whence they came. The vessels were frequently drawn along shore by horses.

After the battle of Maringo had led to a negotiation with Austria, and preliminaries of peace were signed on the part of that power, though afterwards disavowed by the Count St. Julien, a grand camp began to be formed at Amiens, in September, 1800. It was occupied by detachments from what was called the *chosen army*, commanded by General Murat, and was strengthened, from time to time, by additional numbers. A camp was also formed between Bruges and Ostend; another between Gravelines and Dunkirk; and a third at Boulogne: which was destined, as it was generally understood, to be the principal point from which the French, like the Romans, under Julius Caesar, were to pass over into Britain. These three camps, by the month of July, 1801, were occupied by a great number of troops, among whom were many emigrant Irishmen; as there also were in camps formed at Brest, St. Maloes, and on the coast of Normandy. The building of ships, and other preparations for an immense naval armament, were carried on with great activity, all along the Dutch and Flemish coasts, as well as those of France. Rumours were industriously circulated, and by almost all the French, and by many of the English, credited, that a corps of 25,000 men, all chosen troops, under the command of General Hedouville, conveyed by thirty French and Spanish ships of the line, and a proportionable number of frigates, would sail from Brest; that a second corps of 12,000 men, under the command of General Humbert, and escorted by five ships of the line, and a frigate, would sail from the harbours of Normandy; and a third corps, consisting of 20,000, under the convoy of one ship of the line, eight frigates, and a great number of smaller ships of war, from the harbours of Flanders and Piccardy. This is the most moderate computation of the force that was destined by the French government for the invasion of England, or of Ireland. Other statements raised it to twice that number of men. All was in motion, from

the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Garonne. The islands of Jersey and Guernsey were threatened with immediate invasion from St. Maloes, Granville, and Cherbourg. Besides the armament at Brest, destined, as was supposed, to make a descent on the west of England, or, more probably, on Ireland, there was a fleet of eight or nine vessels, under the command of Admiral Gantheaume, ready to sail on some unknown expedition; and another, of five ships of the line, under Admiral La Touche. The combined fleets of France and Spain, that lay in the harbour of Brest, ready, according to every appearance, to sail, amounted, so early as January, to fifty-two sail of the line.

Bonaparte, in order to combine his preparations at land with his preparations by sea, and to restore and improve the navy, had lately divided the whole extent of the sea-coasts of France into six maritime prefectures; namely, those of Brest, Toulon, L'Orient, Rochford, Havre, and Antwerp. Not only ships, but gun-boats, and flat-bottomed boats, were equipped under the direction of the prefects, along the whole line of the coast. Redoubts were thrown up, and furnaces prepared for the heating of balls, in the places supposed to be most liable to attacks by the English. Telegraphs were erected for communication among the different prefectures, with one another, and with Paris. Proclamations were issued, from time to time, by the prefects, calculated to animate the courage and the hopes of the French seamen. If any little advantage was gained, by accident or by superiority of numbers, over any of the British ships, it was magnified into an important victory, and a signal instance of naval prowess. The British isles, and all the wealth of their commercial towns, were pointed out as the modern Carthage, whose spoils were to reward the enterprise and valour of the modern Romans.

The British government and nation beheld these hostile preparations and threats without dismay, though not without a degree of anxiety as well as indignation. From Caithness to the Land's End, all glowed with ardour to meet the enemy on the theatre of either land or sea. The French had acquired the greatest glory, throughout the whole course of the present war, by their martial achievements on the continent. Their title to fame and renown was just, and not to be disputed. Yet all their exploits were found insufficient to overcome the inveterate and salutary prejudice, that one Englishman is fully a match for two Frenchmen. Not only the soldiers, but many of the officers, and even some of the commanders of the militia regiments, professed a firm persuasion of that maxim; not at any popular meetings, but in their social and convivial parties with one another.

Orders were given, early in 1801, by the British ministry, to construct, as soon as possible, a number of gun-boats for the protection of the English coasts, particularly at the entrances into ports and the mouths of navigable rivers. Application was made, with success, by government, to the directors of the East-India company, for the use of such ships as were not taken up, for the commerce of India, for the current year, to be employed in different ways and for different purposes. The town of Liverpool solicited and obtained permission, from the legislature, to provide various means for their own defence: and this noble example was followed in other parts of the kingdom.

As the hostile preparations of the enemy increased, the activity of the British government, and the zeal of the people, were increased in proportion. In the end of July, a circular letter was issued from the office of the secretary of state for the home department, to the lord-lieutenants of counties; communicating intelligence which had been received, "That the naval and military preparations which had been for some time past carried on, in the ports and on the coasts of France and Holland, had of late been pursued to a great extent, and with increased activity; and that these preparations being apparently directed to the object of making an attack on some part of the United Kingdom, his majesty considered it as of the utmost importance, that the most effectual steps should be taken without loss of time, for employing, to the best advantage, that part of his military force, which the voluntary zeal and spirit of his subjects had placed in his hands, for the public security. The lords-lieutenant were requested by the secretary, in the name of his majesty, to signify to the commanders of the several corps of volunteer cavalry and infantry within their respective counties, his majesty's earnest wish that all corps of that description might be kept in a state of the utmost readiness for such immediate service as might be conformable to their respective engagements, and as the exigencies of affairs might require. And it was particularly recommended, that, under the present circumstances, the respective corps of volunteer cavalry and infantry should assemble, for the purpose of performing their military exercises, as frequently as their necessary avocations would admit."

This recommendation and request was obeyed, throughout every part of the united kingdom, with the utmost alacrity. Field-days and reviews were to be seen at every town, and almost in every parish. The whole country assumed a military air, and an attitude of defiance. The volunteers were ready either to march to any place where any body of the enemy should land or attempt a landing, or to take upon themselves the

duty of the garrisons, if it should be thought necessary to withdraw the regulars. As it was understood that the Dutch fleet, under Admiral De Winter, was ready to put to sea, and that the flotilla at Dunkirk, reinforced from time to time by detachments of troops from Amiens and Calais, and other parts of the coast, was ready to act at the same time that the flotilla at Boulogne was in a like state of forwardness, the lord-lieutenant of the counties of Suffolk and Essex, as well as the lieutenants of Kent and Sussex, directed inventories to be sent to them of the horses, waggons, and other articles in the counties. A number of posting and hand-bills were printed, by order of government, to be distributed, in case of necessity, among the people, calling upon them to take up arms, and to employ other means calculated to embarrass and obstruct the progress of the enemy in case of actual invasion.

Towards the end of July, when the preparations of the enemy were so forward as to menace an actual attempt, strong piquet guards were mounted all along the coast, and orders issued for all the volunteers of the southern districts to be alert, and in a state of preparation to march, on immediate notice. Four complete parks of artillery, forming a hollow square, were so arranged, at Woolwich, as to be able to set off, at a moment's warning, to any part of the country. The horses were harnessed in the centre, and the drivers and engineers slept on the spot. In the rear of the guns, which were in general 9 and 12 pounders, were the *chevaux-de-frize*, and ammunition-waggons.

Orders were given for re-embodiment of the supplementary militia, disbanded at Christmas, 1799, and their joining their respective regiments. Instructions were given out respecting the state in which the troops were required to move at a moment's warning. "Being properly provided with country carriages, ammunition, and provisions, and leaving all incumbrances behind them, they were to march, as much as possible, together, in the small brigades of contiguous regiments into which they should be divided, agreeably to the particular routes and orders that would be immediately forwarded from head-quarters, on the certainty of the enemy's appearance. Such brigades were to have each an appointed commander, or otherwise to be commanded by the eldest officer in rank for the time. In the first hurry of assembling the troops, on the landing of an enemy, it might not be possible, in all cases, to prescribe positive routes, and to prevent crossing, crowding, and interfering in the march of so many bodies, moving from different places, and tending to the same point. The prudence and the arrangement of the senior officers, must therefore, in the best manner, obviate such unavoidable difficulties. When the troops marched

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in corps, and encamped, they would be the more easily provided for: but when it was necessary that they should be cantoned, or hurried on, they would be under a necessity of putting up with the most crowded and slightest accommodation; and a rigorous discipline must prevent them from requiring more than the country and circumstances could allow. On the routes where troops were to march sufficient bread might certainly be provided, in the large towns, on a short notice. Should this not be the case, commanding officers were, themselves, to obviate the difficulty in the best general mode they could, and not to permit individuals to trespass or commit outrages. Whether the troops should be cantoned, or encamped, a commissary was to attend each brigade, to regulate, and provide for the march, and to whom every necessary assistance was to be given. If there should be no commissary or assistant quartermaster, and the pressure should be such, that provision of straw, forage, or bread, must be had on the spot, the commanding-officer was to appoint one or more intelligent officers to act as commissaries, and assistant quartermasters for the time, who should go forward with proper assistance, call upon the magistrate or magistrates of the neighbourhood, and, representing the necessity of the case, as the only means of preserving property, and the regularity of the troops, induce them to take such immediate measures, and give such orders, as would, on the spot, produce the necessary supplies: for all which the commanding-officers of each regiment would give full and distinct acknowledgments (signed also by the commissary or assistant quartermaster) in writing, specifying in words the quantities of each article received, the number of persons and horses thereby provided for, and for what time. Registers of every receipt, so granted, were to be kept by commanding-officers, as necessary checks if called on. And the receipts themselves were to be afterwards collected, and discharged by the commissary-general, at the fair rates of the country. The troops were to encamp on the commons, wherever there were such. Otherwise, they were ordered to encamp on such grass-fields as should be most convenient for their march, and to which they could do the least damage. But, if unavoidable damage should be done, the commanding officer of the encamping corps was to grant a certificate of the nature and amount."

Thus, in the inland arrangements, the government united the safety of the public with justice to individuals.

On the sea-coast, all along the channel, from the Nore to Falmouth, a system of night signals was employed to announce any approach of danger. Frigates and gun-boats were stationed at proper places near the British shore. The return of the Baltic fleet, while it added to the

amount of England's disposable naval force, inspired, if possible, into her seamen and marines, still higher sentiments of courage, honor, and glory. Such was the immensity of Britain's navy, that her fleets, squadrons, and cruisers, blocked up the enemy in their principal ports, and watched their flotillas of gun-boats, while they endeavoured, with various success, to skulk close to the shore, from one place to another, and annoyed, and quashed their trade in every quarter of the world. A chain of English vessels of war stretched along the whole extent of the French coast on the channel, generally about two or three miles from land. Frigates were stationed behind the promontories, for intercepting any vessels that should venture to put to sea, not knowing their danger. Sometimes the English frigates, and other lighter vessels, would dash in, and cut out the enemy's ships from their creeks and harbours. The Dutch fleet, and the preparations in the adjacent ports of the enemy, were watched, and held in check by squadrons under the command of the admirals Dickson and Greaves. That under Dickson, who had the chief command of both, amounted to twelve sail of the line, besides frigates. That under Greaves, to five or six sail of the line, besides other vessels. The harbour of Toulon was watched, and the neighbouring coasts scoured by Sir John Borlase Warren. Admiral Cornwallis, with fourteen sail of three-deckers, and one 80 gun-ship, besides frigates, and other armed vessels, cruised off Brest. A squadron of eight sail of seventy-fours, and two of eighty-four, besides frigates, cutters, and gun-boats, under Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez, blockaded Cadiz.

So great, at this time, the summer of 1801, was the immense strength of the navy of England, that she had a fleet in the Indian ocean; a fleet in the Red Sea; a fleet at the mouth of the Nile; two fleets in or near the Mediterranean; a small fleet in the Baltic; a fleet in the West Indies; detached cruisers and convoy-ships in every direction; and a channel fleet: while a flotilla of vessels of different descriptions, under the command of Lord Nelson, who was invested with the supreme command of maritime affairs from the Land's End to Yarmouth, guarded the British shores, and struck terror into those of France.

Such was, in general, the disposition of Britain's fleets in the months of February, March, April, May, June, and July; though, on so variable an element, and amidst such complicated and shifting scenes, they underwent, of course, many variations, which shall be noticed in our chapter devoted to naval history.

The nature of the maritime war that was, at this time, carried on close in on the French side of the channel, and the extreme absurdity of the

threatened invasion will appear from the mention of one circumstance, that when their vessels were enabled to skulk along the shore, and to escape from the British ships of war, by means of batteries on land; this was published as matter of congratulation and triumph. The following article, extracted from the French journals, was considered as a piece of great and good news.

Brest, August 22d. "Four *chasse-marées*, laden with salt, having doubled the point of Penmarck, were chased about nine o'clock in the morning by an English frigate, which endeavoured to cut off their retreat from Audierne. The troops of artillery and infantry were at their post; already the frigate had discharged several shots on one of the *chasse-marées*, and had considerably damaged it. It was on the point of surrendering when the crew were loudly encouraged from the battery of Cremence to continue their voyage, with assurances that they would receive the necessary degree of protection from a battery near at hand. Encouraged by this, the vessel continued its course, and arrived in safety at the place of its destination.

"The officer commanding the battery, seeing that the three other vessels were making the shore at an intermediate point, and that the frigate had manned three boats, to defeat their design, for want of horses, caused the cannoniers to drag along the beach a field-piece three quarters of the way. But their strength failing them, they took up their muskets, and, conjointly with the infantry, flew to the place where the vessels were aground. But the enemy had previously reached the place, and had time, in spite of a very brisk fire from the battery of Sock, to set fire to two of the *chasse-marées*, and to carry off the third. Two officers of the 40th, with a number of the fusileers and cannoniers precipitated themselves on board the vessels. In the face of 150 shots from the frigate, which was at anchor opposite to them, they succeeded in extinguishing the fire on board one of them, and brought her safe into the port of Audierne. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the activity and zeal of the officers, fusileers, and cannoniers."

Thus the French and English were busily employed in keeping each other on the alert. A mighty force was collected on either side of the channel. More and more troops were continually drawing to the French coast. Reinforcements, on the other hand, were daily sent to the British, so that, by the beginning of August, the sea was covered in a manner with their ships of war along the whole extent of the coast, from which the enemy might attempt to execute their threats of invasion. But a system of mere defence was not considered as worthy of the British nation. Even menaces of invasion were not to pass with impunity. It would have been mad-

ness to have attempted an invasion of France; but there were different points on the coasts of France, Flanders, and Holland, where deep wounds might be given; and where the painful and tedious preparations of the enemy might be disconcerted in a moment.

To turn the tide of war from defensive to offensive, was deemed a not less wise than magnanimous conduct. The nature of war merely defensive was dispiriting. It gave the enemy not only the choice of his time and place, but the advantage of courage and energy in his attack. It was better to hazard something in offensive war than to lower the public mind by suspense. At the very point of time, therefore, when the project of invading England appeared to be ripe for execution, it was determined that Lord Nelson, with a flotilla of gun-boats and other armed vessels, backed by some ships of the line, should carry the terrors of war home to the doors of France. A fitter agent for this purpose could not have been chosen than Lord Nelson. His very name was a tower of strength: and every thing possible to be done was to be expected from the skill as well as gallantry of his conduct.

While the armament to be directed by Lord Nelson was drawing together at Sheerness and the Nore, and of which further mention shall be made in our naval history, a stop was put to all intercourse between England and the opposite coasts. Orders were sent by government not to suffer any persons whatever to land from France, Flanders, or Holland.

The French, instead of making attacks on England, were wholly employed in preparations for defence against the dreaded attacks of the English armament. At Boulogne, Dunkirk, Dieppe, Havre, Cherbourg, and other places, where the English might direct their attacks, land-forces were collected from the neighbouring quarters; batteries were constructed, and furnaces erected for heating red-hot shot; all which had fires in them ready for service. The French were every where on their coasts; they kept on the alert, and felt that anxiety and alarm which unavoidably arise in the most courageous breasts from ignorance of the particular point to be attacked by a brave and enterprising commander.

The war between France and Britain assumed now an aspect extremely interesting to every individual of the French and British nations. In former wars, and in the preceding part of the present, hostilities were carried on in distant colonies. In Italy, Germany, or other parts of the continent, the nations seemed now to come to close quarters with each other. The contest bore somewhat of the character of the struggles between the French and English in the days of the Henrys and Edwards. The French encampments, on the coast of Picardy, were seen

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Among the principal measures of precaution which the legislature of Great Britain thought proper to adopt for the internal security and peace of the empire, was a bill for continuing the execution of martial law in Ireland. This bill was introduced to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, March 12, who observed, that after the union of England and Scotland it was necessary to pass laws for Scotland of unusual severity, and unconstitutional in their nature. He alluded to the laws for disarming the Highlanders: which laws were passed by a parliament strenuous in the support of the rights of the subject. Lord Castlereagh, therefore, only called on the house to do that for Ireland, which, on a former occasion, it had done for Scotland. Without a continuance of the same system of prudence and precaution, with regard to Ireland, that country would be placed in a most unfortunate predicament. He had always entertained a firm conviction, that neither the constitution nor the liberties of Ireland could be preserved, but by the measures adopted for the suppression of rebellion. The house would see in what a situation Ireland would be placed if parliament, from any scruples, should withhold its sanction to a measure on which its safety and existence depended. It would have the effect of instilling into the government such apprehensions, that it would be impossible for those to whom it was intrusted, to discharge their duties to the public in the manner they had hitherto done, under the idea that the local parliament would always give them the means of acting with vigor. As to waiting for a communication from his majesty, the *habeas corpus* suspension-act had been frequently renewed, without either any communication from the crown, or inquiry by a committee, and merely on the idea that the circumstances of the country remained the same as when it first passed. The suspension of the *habeas corpus* in Ireland, in 1799, was without any communication. It was, no doubt, in the power of parliament to go into an inquiry if they thought this necessary; but where there were grounds for the house to proceed without inquiry, it had never been usual, nor was it necessary to chain it down to the suspension of its proceedings, till an inquiry had taken place. His wish was to propose that this bill should only be continued for a limited time, namely, for three months, in order that parliament might have time to go into an inquiry. Lord Castlereagh having clearly shewn that, on the present question, there was no necessity for either a communication from the throne, or an inquiry by parliament, proceeded to state the reasons that appeared to him to be

conclusive, for the measure to be proposed. From an examination of facts and circumstances, respecting the origin, progress, and termination of open rebellion, and the actual state of Ireland, in which there was still a secret rebellion; he shewed that nothing but the exercise of martial law could give free course to justice, and save the country. Though Jacobinism had been put down in the field, it yet continued to afflict the land in a manner not less destructive to the jurisprudence of the country, but more difficult to be attacked by the king's forces in the field. The whole nature of the remaining disturbances in Ireland was directed, first, against the properties and persons of the well-affected; and, secondly, against the course of justice. The house would therefore be sensible, that unless those persons, who were engaged in acts of rebellion, could be brought summarily to trial, the friends of government would be subjected to certain destruction.

Lord Castlereagh did not expect that rebellion would altogether cease to exist during the war. He knew that the spirit of rebellion had too many friends in every part of the empire: but he did not, at present, propose to extend the rebellion act beyond three months. There was a measure which his lordship took the liberty of proposing, as subsidiary to this. There were persons in custody in Ireland, under the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. His lordship wished to leave them in the hands of the civil power; and for that purpose he would propose, that the act for suspending the *habeas corpus* be continued for the same period as that for the suppression of rebellion.

The necessity of martial law was strenuously maintained by all the gentlemen from Ireland, Sir Lawrence Parsons alone excepted, who considered the measure wholly unnecessary. "Were not," he asked, "the courts of law open, at this time, to try rebels?" During the last two years, assizes had been regularly held throughout Ireland, twice a year, without a single exception. He defied the noble lord to bring one instance of its being otherwise. He was astonished to hear that juries could not discharge their duty. In what county had that happened? He knew of no complaint on that topic, but that juries were sometimes too prompt to condemn. He had a respect for the army, and he knew that, in their proper stations, they graced their professions. But he would not choose to take officers from the horse-guards, to supersede the legal judges of the land. He asked Mr. Pitt, if he, when he was a barrister, would have trusted the case of any of his clients to be decided by a colonel of the horse-guards? Courts-martial could not ascertain the difference between innocence and guilt. They had no principles on which to decide; but were, in their decisions, creatures of mere caprice

and accident. If it were so easy to decide on such questions, if there were no such thing as the science of evidence and law, why had we judges? Why one law for England, and another for Ireland? It was not pretended that this act helped, in any way, to take the rebels. No: they were in custody; and the pretence was, that no jury would try them. He desired to know of an instance of a jury not being found to try rebels? No one had ever occurred, though it had sometimes happened, that juries were sometimes too prompt to do their duty in such cases. Judges of the law should not be sent to administer justice steadily and severely, but to administer justice. They would then be feared and loved. Courts-martial might be feared, but never could be loved." Sir Lawrence called the attention of the house to the opinion of a great lawyer, on the means of calming the minds of the Irish. He spoke of Sir John Davies, the best present that England ever sent to Ireland. He was the attorney-general of James I. and he wished that every attorney-general of the day had as much respect for the constitution as that great lawyer. He was sent to Ireland after a rebellion. The rebels having been put down by the king's arms, the administration of justice was restored. The judges went the circuits; and most sweet and welcome, said Sir John Davies, was this course to the common people; and so happy and effectual was this policy, that in six circuits, held in five years, there was a less number of criminals than in one circuit in England. Sir Lawrence recommended this example to the house. "Arbitrary measures never civilized men. If they could have done so, Morocco would have been civilized and happy long since. The present measure was in the spirit of a quack; it might heal the sore, but not correct the habit." He recommended to the house, to grace its first act towards Ireland, by rescuing that country from military tyrants.

Mr. Grey also contended, that the act proposed was a suspension of all law, and a violation of the constitution, without necessity. So did Mr. Whitbread. This position they rested chiefly on the evidence that had been given by the honorable baronet, who had just delivered his sentiments on the question before the house. Mr. Grey asked, why it had not been necessary to use

martial law against the Whiteboys? Mr. Bouverie did not contend whether martial law was necessary in Ireland or not; all he should insist on was, that it was not proposed in regular shape and form.

Doctor Lawrence asked, why, with 100,000 men in Ireland, the number of officers constituting a court-martial was limited to three, when, even in Wales, five were required? Immediately after the rebellion, he observed, there was, indeed, a murmur, a general dismay, arising from various causes, into which he would not then enter, as well as from Jacobinical principles: but the moment it burst out, it vanished. The danger was not such now as rendered the present measure necessary. He should applaud a vigorous government, under strict responsibility in dangerous times; but a system of the kind now creeping in, and, as it were, begging the question, he should always oppose.

Mr. Dennis Brown referred to the report of the secret committee, and the confessions of the traitors; and affirmed, that had it not been for martial-law, they should not now see an Irish member in that house. He declared, that jurors and witnesses had been murdered by the rebels, for acting on trials. He would mention a fact, that would shew the state of the country. Many persons, who were loyal and well-disposed, had subscribed to support the traitors in prison.—And when he asked, how they could do so improper an act? they declared, that they were compelled to subscribe, to protect themselves and families from the partisans of the traitors.

Sir George Hill contended, that palliatives were unfit for Ireland. The instance of Sir John Davies, quoted by the honorable baronet, was not applicable to the present state of Ireland. The mode of conduct then pursued was adopted long after a rebellion subdued; but the present measure, in the midst of rebellion still existing. Sir George corroborated the statements of Mr. Dennis Browne, as to the danger of jurors and witnesses.

The bill was strongly supported by Mr. Pitt; and after some interesting debates in both houses, became a law. The acts for suspending the *habeas corpus* act, and preventing seditious and tumultuous meetings, were also revived.

CHAPTER VII.

Naval History of this Period.—Lord Nelson's Bombardment of the Flotilla at Boulogne.—Description of the Harbour.—Operations.—A second Attack.—Its unfortunate Failure.—Exultation of France.—Surrender of Swedish, Danish, and Dutch Settlements.—Capture of Ternate.—Severe Actions in the Mediterranean.—Various Captures.—Sally from Porto Ferrajo.—Loss of the Swiftsure.—Miscellaneous Services.

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ALTHOUGH no grand or decisive battle took place, the naval campaign of this year was, as usual, brilliant on the part of Great Britain; and the fleets, squadrons, detachments, and cruisers, either employed for home defence, or occupied in distant quarters of the globe, under the superintendence of Earl St. Vincent, (now at the head of the admiralty-board) did not fail to convey a proper idea of the maritime greatness of this country.

Having, in the preceding chapter, alluded to the expedition against the flotilla at Boulogne, we shall, in the present, give an accurate account of this bold and interesting exploit.

On the 30th of July, Lord Nelson hoisted his flag on board the *Leyden*, of sixty-eight guns, at Deal, and took the command of the armament destined for an unknown expedition. The force comprehended, besides the *Leyden*, the *De Ruyter* of sixty-four guns, the *Isis* of fifty guns, the *Hind* and *Brilliant* frigates, together with a great number of bombs and gun-boats, revenue-cutters, and armed pinnaces, in all about forty sail. Lord Nelson afterwards shifted his flag to the *Medusa* frigate; and, on sailing from Deal, August 1, stood over to the coast of France.

Curiosity was greatly excited, and all was anxious expectation. Boulogne sur Mer was the place on which it was resolved to make the attack, this being the principal place of rendezvous, on the opposite coast, where the enemy had been assembling their numerous small craft, as reported, for the invasion of Great Britain. The gun-boats and flat-bottomed boats, in the harbour of Boulogne, had been reinforced by a flotilla from Calais, consisting of six gun-brigs, four luggers, and two schooners. The design of the enemy to come out, having been soon perceived by the cruisers in that quarter, they slipped their cables, and gave them chase, but found it difficult to get within shot of them; so that, by keeping in close by the shore, they got into Boulogne. In this harbour there were then, besides the flotilla from Calais, two schooners and sixteen gun-boats and luggers. On either side of the town there was formed an extensive encampment. Lord Nelson, having arrived off Boulogne, employed all Monday, August 3, in reconnoitring the fortifications

of the place, and concerting the best plan for an attack.

The shore at Boulogne stretches nearly towards the east and west. Towards the east, a point of land runs out, forming a bay. In the middle of this is the mouth of the harbour, which looks out to the north. The enemy's vessels, consisting of six brigs, two schooners, and about twenty gun-boats, were arranged in a line along the beach, not half a mile from shore, one half east, but the longest half west of the harbour's mouth, in front of which was the largest brig. On the beach of the harbour was a strong battery, and another on the pier-head, east of the harbour.

Lord Nelson, on Monday evening, stood close into Boulogne, with some of the bomb-vessels, and threw several bombs, to try how they would reach the enemy. Finding that they reached the shore, he made a signal of recal, and the whole armament anchored about four miles from the land. Orders were given to begin the attack at break of day next morning, 4th of August. At four o'clock he himself stationed the bombs, five in number, in an oblique line, stretching from the west end of the line of the enemy. They came to anchor, and began to throw bombs about five o'clock. The other ships of war were stationed, under weigh, in another line, behind the bombs, ready to render assistance. His lordship's own flag was placed in front of the harbour, having his two lines, one of bombs, and another of small ships of war, stretching from his right. Behind these was the *Leyden* man of war.

Lord Nelson's first intention was to attack the enemy's vessels with bombs only, as these reach much farther than shot, and would prove effectual, while the enemy's shot could not reach the English vessels. At six o'clock, however, it being then high water, his lordship, in order to induce them to disclose their strongest points, (for it was difficult to discover their batteries, the cliffs being of a brown clay), sent his ships of war very close to the shore, in face of the batteries, where they fired first one broadside, and tacking round, fired the other: and then sailing away, they loaded again for another such attack. This produced a heavy firing on both sides; but when the water fell, the firing of course was given over. The

French batteries, on each side of the harbour, could only fire straight out, or nearly so, while the English bomb-vessels were stationed so much to their left, that the batteries could not bear upon them. The French soon discovered the inutility of their batteries; they therefore set on a number of men to throw up works and batteries on the hill, in the eastern turn of the bay, which flanks the whole line of coast. But still they could not reach the bomb-vessels, which were at the extremity of the line of vessels to the westward. Only a few shells, therefore, were thrown from them. The object which the British admiral had in view, in the disposition of his vessels, was, to have all the French ships to retreat towards the mouth of the harbour, that, being in a cluster, their destruction might be effected at night.

The wind being favorable for the bomb-vessels to act, he made the signal for them to weigh, and to throw shells at the enemy's vessels, but previous orders had been given, as little as possible to annoy the town. Six of the French vessels were so much damaged, that they were towed from the scene of action. Five of them were forced into the mole: one sunk; three others were also sunk; and one bulged. It was Lord Nelson's intention when dark to have sent three bombs close upon the enemy, each bomb towed by ten boats, which were also to tow the boats away, in case of accident. But the wind shifting, the attack became impracticable, without the utmost danger: and his whole fleet was obliged to haul off, without making the attempt. In this affair, one of the English engineers was wounded, and one seaman lost an arm; this was all the loss sustained by the British on this occasion. As to the advantage gained, Lord Nelson made no great account of it. "It would serve to convince the enemy," he said, in his dispatches to the admiralty, "that they could not come out of their harbours with impunity."

While his ships of war were firing their broadsides at the French on shore, about seven in the morning, as before-mentioned, Lord Nelson moved about in his barge, making observations and minutes, which might be useful in a future attack. That some attack, either here or elsewhere, was intended, he signified, in general orders, dated *Medusa*, off Boulogne, August 5. "Lord Nelson has reason to be very much satisfied with the captains of the bombs, for their placing of the vessels yesterday. It was impossible that they could be better situated: and the artillery officers have shewn great skill in disabling ten out of twenty-four, opposed to them. The commander-in-chief cannot avoid noticing the great zeal and desire to attack the enemy in a closer and different combat, which manifested itself in all ranks of persons, and which Lord Nelson would have gladly given full scope to, had the attempt

at this moment been proper. But the officers and others may rely, that an early opportunity shall be given them for shewing their judgment, zeal, and bravery."

On the 6th of August, the British admiral sailed, with part of his fleet, to Margate-roads. A number of his gun-boats returned to Deal, and a sufficient force remained off Boulogne. From Margate-roads, Lord Nelson, without ever having gone ashore, again set sail on the 8th, directing his course, at first, not to the Downs, but to the eastward, as if it had been his design to make an attack on Flushing, or some other port on the Dutch coast. But the real point of attack was no other than Boulogne. To an active and daring mind, accustomed to overcome all obstacles in the pursuit of victory and glory, the late success, in disabling so great a proportion of the flotilla, appeared in the light of a disappointment, if not a defeat, rather than a matter of triumph. He was inflamed with an ardent desire of bringing off the enemy's flotilla, which was moored in the front of Boulogne, to the number now of twenty-five armed vessels.

This attempt, the effect of courage, carried by a tide of success to the length of temerity, and almost madness, was made on the night between the 15th and 16th of August. The force collected at the Downs, for this second attack, amounted to about seventy vessels, of different descriptions, on board of which were some thousands of marines. On the evening of the 15th, about dusk, the English vessels were ordered to form in four divisions, to storm the French line of boats, brigs, and luggers, defended by long poles, headed with spikes of iron, projecting from their sides, and with a very strong netting braced up to their lower yards, moored head and stern across the harbour, with iron chains, in the strongest manner, containing each from one hundred and fifty to two hundred soldiers, and under the protection of land-batteries as well as musketry from the shore. Since the first bombardment, the enemy had erected batteries on every favorable point, and the army collected on the heights occupied a line of nearly three miles in length. But the circumstance of the vessels being made fast to one another, and to the ground, by means of strong iron chains, was then unknown to the English, who were provided with boarding-pikes, tomahawks, and cutlasses only. Fire-arms were forbidden, lest they should have been induced to fire, and alarm the enemy before they could be well up with their boats.

The plan of the attack was as follows: The fleet was put into four divisions of boats for boarding, each under the command of a captain; and a fifth division of howitzer-boats. The first four divisions consisted of flat-bottomed boats,

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armed only with marines, and the boats belonging to the different ships and cutters in the squadron. Each of these divisions consisted of three flat-bottomed boats, and about ten six-oared boats. The first division was commanded by Captain Somerville, of the *Eugene*; the second, by Captain Parker, of the *Medusa*; the third, by Captain Cotgrave, of the *Gannet*; the fourth, by Captain R. Jones, of the *Diligence*. The division of howitzer-boats were under the direction of Captain John Conn. The whole flotilla was formed into the different divisions by the senior master and commander, Captain Somerville. Each division had its proportionate number of enemies vessels to attack; the first beginning to the eastward, and so on in the order westward. The boats, in their respective divisions, put off from the *Medusa*, at half past eleven at night, of the 15th. The second division, under Captain Parker, closed with the enemy first, at half past twelve, Sunday morning. Captain Parker ordered Captain Williams, with the sub-division under his orders, to push on to attack the vessels to the northward of him, while he himself, with the others, ran alongside a large brig off the mole head, wearing the commodore's pendent. The boats were no sooner alongside of this ship, than they attempted to board; but a strong netting baffled all their endeavours, and an instantaneous discharge of guns, from about 200 soldiers on her gun-wale, laid Captain Parker, with two-thirds of the crew, on their backs in the boat, all either killed or desperately wounded. A part of the officers and crew of the *Medusa* were in the boat with Captain Parker; and another part of them in the barge, under Lieutenant Longford, who nobly seconded the efforts of the captain, until all her crew was disabled from making any effort. The barge, being on the outside, was enabled to get off with the tide; but the boat, in which Captain Parker was, hung alongside; and, as there was not an officer or man left to govern her, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if she had not been taken in tow and carried off by the Hon. Mr. Cathcart, who commanded the *Medusa's* cutter. Mr. Cathcart sustained the attack with the greatest intrepidity, until the desperate situation in which Captain Parker was left obliged him to call Mr. Cathcart to his assistance.

Mr. Williams led his sub-division to the enemy with the utmost gallantry. He took one lugger and had begun to attack a brig, while his crews suffered equally with those under the immediate command of his captain. Nearly the whole of his own boat's crew were either killed or wounded.

The next division that came up with the enemy, was that under the direction of Captain Cotgrave. The captain, wishing to reduce the largest vessel first, lost no time in making the attack;

but in consequence of his leading the division, and of the enemy's opening a heavy fire from several batteries, thinking it advisable to give the enemy as little time as possible, he cut the tow-rope, and did not wait for the other boats: so that it was some little time before the other boats could get up. He received so many shots through the boat's bottom, that he soon found her in a sinking state; and, as it was not possible to stop so many shot-holes, he was obliged, with the men, to take to one of the boats of the ship, (the *York*), which soon came up with the rest of his division. Finding, from the number of men killed and wounded in the different boats, and the constant fire of grape and small arms from the shore, that there was not any prospect of success, he thought it for the good of his majesty's service to withdraw the boats between two and three in the morning.

The first division, carried by the rapidity of the tide, did not gain the place of its destination at the time intended; and Captain Somerville, finding that he was not likely to reach it in the order prescribed, gave directions for the boats to cast each other off. By so doing, he was enabled to come up with the enemy's flotilla, a little before the dawn of day, and, in the best order possible, to attack, close to the pier-head, a brig, which, after a sharp contest, he carried. Previously to this her cables were cut; but the captors were prevented from towing her off, by her being secured with a chain. Not seeing the least prospect of being able to get her off, and in consequence of a heavy fire of musketry and grape-shot that was poured on them from the shore, by three luggers, and another brig, within half pistol-shot, they were obliged to abandon her, and push out of the bay, as it was then completely daylight. The fourth division, notwithstanding every exertion, could not, on account of the rapidity of the returning tide, get to the westward of any part of the enemy's line, until near daylight. On approaching the eastern part of the line, in order to assist the first division then engaged, they met them returning. Under these circumstances, and the day breaking apace, Captain Jones judged it prudent to direct the officers commanding the different boats to return to their different ships.

Captain Conn, with the howitzers, in support of Captain Parker's division, advanced towards the pier, until he was aground in the headmost boat. He then opened his fire, and threw about eight shells into the harbour. From the strength of the ebb, he was not able to keep his station off the pier-head. He continued, however, his fire on the French camp, till the enemy's fire had slackened, and almost totally failed, and Captain Parker's division had passed without him.

One French lugger only was brought off, with a lieutenant, eight seamen, and eight soldiers;

being all that remained out of about double that number, with which she had been manned.

The loss of the English, in this second attack on Boulogne, in officers, seamen, and marines, killed and wounded, amounted to not less than 172. Among the wounded was Captain Parker, who lost a leg and thigh. The loss of the French is not known: though it is reasonably supposed to have been very considerable; not only from the havoc made by the English seamen and marines, but from the volleys of musketry poured by the enemy, regardless of their own men, into their own brigs and boats, after they were boarded, and had fallen, or were likely to fall into the hands of the English. The French admiral, Latouche Treville, in his dispatches to the minister of the marine, stated the loss of the French at no more than ten men killed, and thirty wounded. This diminution, of what must have been the real loss, was carried so far as to be wholly incredible. The admiral did not pretend to deny that the English boarded the French vessels with the utmost intrepidity; nor attempt to conceal that they were compelled to retire, merely in consequence of the impracticability of getting the ships off, and the strong fire of musketry kept up on them from the troops in the gun-boats, and that lined the shore. He denied, however, that a single shot was fired from the land batteries, from a dread of wounding and killing their own men.—Eight of the English boats, according to the French accounts, were sunk; and four barges taken. They described also the shocking spectacle that was presented on board their vessels after the action. The decks strewed with dead and dying; and fingers, hands, wrists, and arms, every where discovered, after the dead bodies were thrown into the sea.—The attempt was, in truth, a deplorable act of temerity: a prodigal exposure of human life.

The gallant admiral ascribed the failure of success “to the darkness of the night; the rapidity of the tide and half-tide; the separation of the divisions; and the circumstance of their not arriving all at the same happy moment with Captain Parker. But it is sufficiently accounted for, by forests of cutlasses and bayonets; volleys of musketry and grape-shot, poured on our men, both from gun-boats, and from the shore, while they were employed in clearing away the strong boarding netting; the projecting spikes; and the chains which remained after the brave seamen had cut the cables of the enemy’s vessels; and the barricades covering numerous troops about their mainmasts. The French commodore addressed the first boat’s crew that approached his ship, and in which was Captain Parker, as already noticed, in the following words, which were spoken in pretty good English: “Let me advise you, my brave Englishmen, to keep your

distance. You can do nothing here; and it is only uselessly shedding the blood of brave men to make the attempt.”

The tremendous engagement at Boulogne, in which the roar of so much artillery, at sea and on shore, seemed to shake both heaven and earth, were heard on both sides of the channel. During the whole of the first action, the hills near Boulogne were covered with spectators. The heights around Dover were, in like manner, covered with thousands of people. It was a clear day, and the wind at south-east; so that the greater part of the English ships were to be seen, while they kept up a fire on the harbour of Boulogne. The smoke of the French batteries, firing in return, was also distinctly seen. This is, perhaps, the first engagement of any magnitude, between France and England, that was seen from the shores of both countries.

On Sunday afternoon, Lord Nelson, with part of his fleet, returned to the Downs. The remainder continued, for some time, to cruise on the French coast.

On the 14th of September, the commander of the English cruisers, Captain Somerville, anchored at the distance of a league and a half from the French line, which was called the advanced guard, with two large ships and a frigate, and ten vessels of inferior note.

At Deal, Lord Nelson did every thing in his power for the relief or comfort of the brave men who had suffered in this unfortunate expedition; and his kind and cordial sympathy afforded his brave and generous seamen and marines a very sensible consolation and pleasure. His time was chiefly occupied in visiting the wounded in the hospital. He paid the utmost attention to every individual; inquiring into their several cases, and consoling them with a promise, that he would shortly bring them good news. On asking one man, whom he recollected, how he was, he learnt that he had lost an arm. Lord Nelson told him never to mind that; for that he himself had lost one also, and perhaps should shortly lose a leg; but that they could never be lost in a better cause than the defence of their country. This had a wonderful effect on the seamen. Several of them exclaimed, that they only regretted their wounds, as they prevented them from accompanying him in another attack on their enemies.

The failure of this expedition occasioned great exultation in France: the subprefect of the district, as well as the mayor and other magistrates of Boulogne, addressed a letter, full of hyperbolical compliments to the commander of the naval forces on the channel, in which they presented “the testimony of their admiration and gratitude to him and the brave flotilla under his command, at the front post nearest to England.”

BOOK V. They also congratulated him, at the same time, "on the unshrinking firmness and invincible courage with which his companions in arms had withstood a bombardment of fifteen hours."—"We have seen," added they, "the thunder of the English arsenals fall harmless on the waves, without touching one of those gallant men, who have it in charge to defend our own coast, and to spread terror and desolation on that of Britain. What reception will those dastards give to our heroes, who, guided by the auspicious genius of Bonaparte, and the flag of Latouche Treville, are eager to avenge the wrongs of the world on a land that has, during a period of twelve years, fostered the war, distractions, and monopoly, which have so long desolated Europe."

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It is probable, however, that the first consul was by this time aware, that neither his ports nor fleets were secure from the valor and enterprise of English seamen, as he affected to treat this engagement as a mere skirmish, in which the "advanced guards of the grenadiers of Italy" had displayed their ordinary bravery, and obtained their usual success.

In the course of the spring, the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, and St. Croix, in the West Indies, surrendered to a squadron under Rear-admiral Duckworth, having a body of land-forces on board, commanded by Lieutenant-general Trigge. The resistance experienced upon this occasion was trifling, and these possessions were soon afterwards restored, on the dissolution of the armed neutrality. The colonies of St. Eustatia and Saba, the former of which had been evacuated by the French, were also taken possession of soon after by Captain Perkins, of the *Arab*, with a detachment of the 3d regiment of foot, under Lieutenant-colonel Blunt.

On the 21st of June, Ternate, the chief of the Molucca islands, surrendered to the arms of the East India company. Captain Hayes, an officer in the service of that powerful corporation, with a small squadron of armed vessels, intercepted the annual supplies, and blockaded Fort Orange, while Colonel Burr, with a body of troops, besieged the place by land. On this occasion the Dutch governor held out during a siege of fifty-two days; and while he displayed great courage, at the same time evinced an uncommon degree of fidelity to the Batavian republic.

In the Mediterranean two severe actions took place; the first, however, proved unfortunate, but the second was not a little flattering to the British arms. Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez, after cruising off Cadiz, in which he had descried six sail of large ships ready for sea, and seven more in a state of equipment, proceeded towards the entrance of the straits, in consequence of informa-

tion from Gibraltar that three French sail of the line and a frigate were then at anchor off Algiers. Having made a signal to prepare for an engagement, and also for a general chase, (the latter with a view of collecting such of the ships as had got to leeward), he resolved to reconnoitre the enemy's position; and the order of battle was issued, in case an attack should be deemed prudent. The squadron, led by Captain Hood, of the *Venerable*, and reinforced by the *Calpe*, two gun-vessels, and several boats from the neighbouring garrison, on opening Cabareta Point, July 6, beheld the enemy, consisting of two ships of eighty-four guns, and one of seventy-four, with a large frigate, being at a considerable distance from the batteries; and when, in addition to this circumstance, the advantage of a leading wind was taken into consideration, an attempt to obtain possession of them not only seemed feasible, but afforded well-grounded hopes of success. The signal was accordingly given for the ships to take their stations, and engage as close as possible: however, the failure of the breeze, at a critical moment, enabled the French commander to warp nearer the land, and exposed the armament to the most imminent danger; for the *Venerable*, instead of weathering the enemy, was under the necessity of dropping her anchor. The *Pompée*, Captain Stirling, taking advantage of a light and partial air, assumed a position opposite to the inner vessel, which proved to be the *Formidable*, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Linois, and commenced the action in a spirited and gallant manner, until disabled. Some of the other ships were prevented, for some time, by a failure of wind, from coming up; but at length the *Hannibal*, receiving the benefit of the breeze, was endeavouring, by a bold and decisive measure, to get between the French admiral and the batteries, when she struck on a shoal immediately under the enemy's guns, and became unmanageable. In this situation, being exposed to the joint fire of the ships and land batteries, as well as gun and mortar vessels, which were so placed as to rake the squadron, and rendered incapable of fighting to advantage, Captain Ferris, after losing no less than 375 men in killed, wounded, and missing, was reduced to the painful necessity of striking his flag. The *Cæsar* and *Audacious*, which had endeavoured to cover his vessel, were also forced to make sail, the former being at this period only three cable's length from one of the enemy's batteries. In the mean time the admiral, finding that the enemy by drawing closer to the shore had increased his distance, took advantage of an occasional breeze to approach nearer, and the *Cæsar* and *Audacious* were for a considerable time opposed to the *Indomptable* and *Dessaix*; but it having soon after become calm, they drifted along with the current close to the island battery, on which they

opened a heavy fire. On receiving the benefits of a gentle gale, they instantly prepared to resume their former station, when the wind again died away, and rendered all their efforts useless.

After an action of nearly five hours continuance, the squadron retired to Rosia Bay, leaving the Hannibal aground, and in possession of the enemy; while two French sail of the line appeared at the same time on the shore, and the whole detachment was supposed to be rendered nearly unserviceable.

Governor O'Hara and the principal inhabitants of Gibraltar subscribed the sum of 800*l.* for the relief of the brave men wounded during the action; and, by the further liberality of the garrison, and the indefatigable exertions of the British officers and seamen, the whole squadron, one ship only (the *Pompée*) excepted, was nearly re-fitted and ready for sea, when a more propitious opportunity occurred of distinguishing their valour. The enemy's three sail of line of battle, disabled in the late action, had been reinforced by five more, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, as well as by a French 74, (*St. Antonio*), carrying the broad pendent of Commodore Le Roy. This combined squadron consisted of two ships of 112 guns, one of 94, two of 84, one of 80, and four of 74, including the *Hannibal*, (which was with some difficulty warped into deep water, but which returned to Algeiras before the second action), besides four frigates, two armed vessels, and a number of gun-boats. These got under weigh, with an intention of reaching Cadiz, safe, in consequence of their numbers, and assured, as they imagined, of an easy victory, in case of a contest with a detachment which had been so recently foiled.

The British squadron consisted only of the following ships:—

Names.	Guns.	Captains.
<i>Cæsar</i>	80	{ Rear-adm. Sir J. Saumarez, Capt. Jahleel Brenton,
<i>Spencer</i>	74	Capt. Darley,
<i>Venerable</i>	74	— Hood,
<i>Superb</i>	74	— Keates,
<i>Audacious</i>	74	— Peard,
<i>Thames</i>	32	— Hollis,
<i>Calpe</i>	12	Hon. Capt. Dundas,
<i>Louisa</i>	8	Lieut. Truscott.

Notwithstanding the great inferiority of this force, Sir James Saumarez, burning with eagerness to avenge the late disaster, once more hoisted the signal for battle, and followed the enemy, who had just cleared Cabareta Point, at eight o'clock in the evening, July 13. Captain Keates having received orders to attack the sternmost ship, and keep between the fleet and the shore, the *Superb*

accordingly made sail, and began the engagement at eleven o'clock at night, by firing on several ships, particularly the *Real Carlos*, which formed a cluster; and, in consequence of the darkness, engaged with each other. In the course of a few minutes, the *Cæsar* also began to open on a Spanish three-decker, that had hauled her wind; but she was observed to be in flames, and shortly after ran on board another vessel of the same force, to which the conflagration extended with uncommon rapidity; so that, after the lapse of a short but awful period, they both blew up. These proved to be the *San Herminigeldo* and the *Real Carlos*, of 112 guns and 1,250 men each; the former carrying the admiral's flag, and both officered by some of the noblest families in Spain.

The English commander having seen, from the beginning, that these ships could not be of any service during the rest of the action, had, in the interim, passed on to the assistance of the *Superb*, then engaged with the *St. Antonio*, which had been before silenced, and now struck her colours.

As soon as the firing had ceased, it became so dark that none of the enemy's squadron was visible: the *Cæsar*, however, continued her course, during a heavy gale, in chase of the remainder of the fleet; and, at the approach of morning, could only discover three English, (the *Venerable*, *Thames*, and *Spencer*), and one French ship, which proved to be the *Formidable*, of 84 guns, endeavouring to reach the channel leading through the shoals of Conil. As the wind, however, suddenly failed at this moment, one ship alone was enabled to bring her to action; and Capt. Hood, after a spirited engagement, had nearly silenced the enemy, when his main-mast, which had been injured before, was unfortunately shot away, and a calm ensuing, the French ship effected her escape into Cadiz. The *Venerable* soon after struck on a bank, and was very near being wrecked; but she was fortunately got off, though with the loss of all her masts; and being taken in tow by the *Thames* frigate, returned with the fleet to Gibraltar.

Thus terminated an action, in which the superiority of the enemy was immense; and although the confused state of the whole fleet, and the accidental destruction of two first-rates, rendered the victory less difficult, yet the original design of the admiral to engage with such odds, evinces a degree of gallantry which reflects honor on the English name. Sir James Saumarez accordingly received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and was afterwards rewarded with a pension of 1,200*l. per annum.*

An action, singularly severe, was also fought in the Mediterranean, February 10, between the *Phœbe*, Capt. R. Barlow, and the French frigate,

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L'Africaine, of 44 guns and 715 men, of whom many were soldiers, bound for Egypt. The commander of the latter would not yield until his ship had become a mere wreck, with five feet water in her hold; his guns were also dismounted, and his decks encumbered with the dying and the dead; the number of the killed amounting to 200, and of the wounded to 143. The loss of the English on this occasion was incredibly small, one seaman only having perished, and but ten, with two officers, being wounded.

Lord Cochrane, in the *Speedy* sloop, of fourteen 4-pounders, and fifty-four men and boys, performed a brilliant exploit by the capture of the *Gamo*, a Spanish xebec frigate, of thirty-two guns and 319 seamen, off Barcelona. His lordship perceiving, from the great disparity of force, that a cannonade would only endanger the loss of his own vessel, without affording any chance of subduing the enemy, determined on boarding; and such was the impetuosity and success of the attack, that she was carried with the loss of one man only, although thirteen were killed on the part of the enemy.

Sir Richard Strachan, with a detachment of small vessels, intercepted the supplies of the enemy on the western shores of France; while Capt. Rowley Bulteel, in the *Belliqueux*, with a convoy of East Indiamen, which were mistaken for men of war, captured the French frigates *La Concorde*, of forty-four, and *La Madée*, of thirty-six guns, in the neighbourhood of Brazil, forming part of a squadron which had committed great depredations on the coast of Africa.

The fleet under Vice-admiral Rainier, in the East Indies, seized a number of valuable prizes, particularly two Dutch ships in the neighbourhood of Java. Captain T. Manby, in the *Bourdolois*, belonging to Rear-admiral Duckworth's detachment in the West Indies, nearly about the same time dispersed a small armament fitted out by Victor Hughes, for the purpose of intercepting the outward-bound convoy. On this occasion he captured *La Curieuse*, of eighteen 9-pounders and 168 men, after thirty minutes of close firing. In consequence of the numerous shot-holes received during the engagement, the prize sunk, while two gallant midshipmen, (Messrs. Frederick Spence and — Auckland), with five of the heroic crew, were endeavouring to rescue the wounded Frenchmen from the wreck.

Sir E. Hamilton, in the *Trent*, chased a ship under protection of a cutter, and some lugger privateers, on the rocks near the isles of Brehat, notwithstanding the fire from five batteries; when the largest vessel was boarded and taken possession of by his first-lieutenant and officer of marines, the latter having, on this occasion, lost his leg.

When the French troops entered Tuscany, in October, 1800, the English then resident at Leghorn, under the conduct of Mr. Grant, vice-consul at that port, took refuge in the isle of Elba; and having received from the squadron cruising off that coast, under Sir John Borlase Warren, the necessary supplies, with a reinforcement of 300 soldiers and artillerymen, they established themselves in the fort and harbour of Porto-Ferrajo. Four hundred Corsicans, and about an equal number of Neapolitans and other military adventurers joining them, formed altogether a considerable garrison; the command of which devolved on a meritorious officer, Lieutenant-colonel Airey. It was quickly invested, on the land side, by an army of 3 or 6000 men; and batteries being raised, the town was bombarded, and attempts were twice made to storm the fortress. The garrison, however, not merely repelled the different assaults, but made a sally on the besiegers, and destroyed the batteries. The besieging army was reinforced, and the batteries reconstructed; but the garrison still defended themselves with vigour and success. At length, after the lapse of some months, Porto-Ferrajo was again summoned to surrender, in the name of the King of Etruria; but Governor Grant replied, that he acknowledged no authority in Tuscany but that of Grand Duke. This year, in the month of September, Sir John B. Warren made an attempt, by landing a considerable body of troops, to relieve the brave garrison, and reduce the island; but, after an obstinate engagement, the English were overpowered by numbers, and compelled to retreat. This event, far from discouraging the garrison, incited them to new efforts; and, in a subsequent sally, they forced the French intrenchments, and drove the enemy from their advanced posts, with great effusion of blood. This extraordinary defence justly attracted great attention and admiration. A squadron of French frigates, employed in the blockade of Porto-Ferrajo, were all captured or destroyed in the course of a single month. Among these, the *Success*, formerly belonging to Great Britain, and *La Bravoure*, carrying forty-six guns, were taken possession of by Captains Halsted, Cockburn, and Gower, of the *Phoenix*, *La Minerve*, and *La Pomone*; but the last of these vessels was lost, in consequence of having run on shore during the pursuit.

About the same time, another spirited and successful attack was made by Lord Cochrane, of the *Speedy*, in company with Captain Pulling, of the *Kangaroo* sloop of war, on a convoy anchored on the coast of Spain, and protected by a battery of twelve guns and several armed vessels; on which occasion a detachment landed, and the tower of Almanara was blown up. Capt. Charles

Adam, also, of La Sybille, captured the French national frigate, La Chiffonne, in Mahé Road, after a short, but gallant action, notwithstanding the guns on the enemy's fore-castle were supplied from a furnace for heating red-hot shot.

During this career of success on the part of Great Britain, no prize of any importance was taken by the enemy, except the Swiftsure. Capt. Hollowell having separated from his convoy, on his return to Malta, June 24, discovered four ships of the line and a large frigate, which proved to be Rear-admiral Gantheaume's squadron. Three of these having come nearly up to him, in consequence of their superiority of sailing, he determined to bear down, hoping to disable one before the rest could be brought into action, and thereby effect his escape. An engagement accordingly took place, with an eighty and seventy-four gun ship, the former of which bore the flag of the commander, and one of these received considerable damage; but two more having, by this time, assumed their stations on the larboard-bow and quarter, the captain reluctantly consented to strike his colours, after having two men killed, and a lieutenant and seven others wounded.

Among other individual instances of exertion, mention must also be made of Lieut. C. Roger, of the Gipseey, of ten 4-pounders and forty-two men, who captured an armed sloop off the north end of Guadaloupe, called Le Quiproquo, of eight

6 and 9-pounders and eighty men. Lieutenant Dick, of the Melpomene, with fifty-five volunteers, assisted by thirty-six soldiers, under Lieutenant Christie, belonging to the African corps, also attacked and captured an armed brig, carrying ten guns and sixty men, off the bar of Senegal, after two boats had been sunk and seven seamen killed; but they were unable to bring her out, under a heavy fire from the land batteries, in consequence of having grounded.

Lieutenant Mather, of the Mercury, failed in an endeavour to navigate the Bull-dog, formerly belonging to the British navy, from behind the Mole of Ancona, after that vessel had been three hours in his possession. Bold as the attempt was, success would have been certain, but for a calm. However, the Bull-dog was afterwards recovered from under the batteries of Gallipoli, in consequence of the gallant exertions of Lord William Stuart, in the Champion.

It must be also observed, that the six-oared cutter of the Atalante, with eight men, captured the French armed lugger L'Eveillé, notwithstanding a discharge of cannon and grape-shot: the lieutenant, Pipon, with the boats of the Fisguard, the Diamond, and the Boadicea, cut out a twenty-gun ship, a gun-boat, mounting a long 32-pounder, and a merchantman, from the harbour of Corunna.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Affairs in the West Indies.—Toussaint an over-match for the French Commissioners.—His Letters to the First Consul, and Proclamation to his Countrymen.—Bonaparte's Project.—Leclerc's hostile Proceedings.—Interesting Meeting between Toussaint and his two Sons.—Hostilities.—Peace made with the Negro.—He and his Family suddenly taken away.—Their rigid Confinement.—Character and Anecdote of the African Chief.

AFTER the English had evacuated St. Domingo, the French repeatedly endeavoured to become masters of that island; and what the first consul could not effect by dint of arms, he was resolved to accomplish by artifice. For a while the cause of royalty was as triumphant in St. Domingo as it was unsuccessful in Europe; but events arose which rendered it impossible for Toussaint to refuse his adherence to the existing government of France.

The committees, directors, and other successive rulers of France, from time to time, sent commissioners to the island; and these men were as fond of plunder and confiscation in the West Indies, as their masters were in Europe. Every man

who had property to forfeit, was sure to be cried down as a traitor. But happily in St. Domingo there was such a mind to check them as that of the generous Toussaint. This great man conducted himself with so much prudence, as, without giving offence to the French government, to make its commissioners mere cyphers. He suffered nobody to injure or insult them, and obliged every one to treat their office with respect, and yet left them no power, because he found they would only use it for purposes of cruelty and mischief. He protected the planters from the commissioners, and both from the natural jealousy of the negroes.

The French government more than once re-

BOOK V. called its commissioners, and sent out new ones; but the case was still the same. There were among them very able men, but Toussaint was an over-match for them all. They were obliged to leave in his abler hands all the actual power, and to lean on him for protection.

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More than once his power and credit with the negroes saved these men from destruction. General Laveaux, in particular, once clearly owed his life to this chief, and publicly acknowledged the debt. Laveaux was at that time commander-in-chief for France; and the negroes of Cape François, suspecting him of a plot against their freedom, rose against him, threw him into prison, and were preparing to put him to death, when Toussaint, with a band of faithful followers, marched into the town, and delivered him out of their hands. General Laveaux was on this occasion so struck with the conduct and talents of Toussaint, that he did not scruple to declare, in a public letter, his resolution to take no measure in future in the government of the island, without that great man's advice and consent.

The commission declaring this worthy negro general-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingo, had been confirmed by Bonaparte, who was pleased to pay him many compliments, in a letter, from which the following is an extract:—

"We have conceived for you esteem, and we wish to recognize and proclaim the great services you have rendered to the French people. If their colours fly on St. Domingo, it is to you and your brave blacks that we owe it. Called by your talents and the force of circumstances to the chief command, you have destroyed the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, and restored to honor the religion and the worship of God, from whom all things come."

Rigaud, whose name has been mentioned in Book II. Chap. x. was also a brave and active mulatto leader in the south of the island, but not a man of principle, like Toussaint L'Ouverture. Though he long kept himself at the head of a large party, he was obliged to yield to the superior merit of his rival. Still, from the perverseness of Rigaud's party, Toussaint had a new insurrection to quell, and also to obtain possession of the Spanish part of that large island lately ceded to France, which the Spanish governor, upon various pretences, and perhaps by the secret request of the French government, long withheld. But at length the genius and activity of the negro chief triumphed over all obstacles; and before peace was concluded between Great Britain and France, every part of St. Domingo was in quiet submission to his authority, and rapidly improving in wealth and happiness under his wise administration.

The following is a letter from this chief, ad-

ressed to Citizen Bonaparte, first consul of the French republic:—

At St. Domingo, Feb. 12, 9th Year of the French Republic, one and Indivisible, 1801.

Citizen Consul,

Disaffection, alarmed at the determination by which the Spanish part of St. Domingo was about to be annexed to the dominions of the republic, employed every art and intrigue to raise obstacles to the measure. That which best suited its views was to recal Citizen Roume, agent of the government, and to engage him to adopt means for postponing the possession of that settlement which he had himself decreed.

Resolved to obtain it by force of arms, I felt it my duty, before I began my march, to invite Citizen Roume to terminate his functions and to retire to Dondon, until he should receive new orders; because intrigue and disaffection would be there less capable of leading him astray. He continues there ready to obey your orders. Whenever you shall claim him, I will send him to France. Whatever may be the calumnies which my enemies may have prevailed upon him to transmit to you against me, I shall abstain from any justification of myself; but while my delicacy compels me to silence, my duty enjoins me to prevent him from acting improperly.

The necessity of carrying on a strict correspondence with my government, and the few opportunities that present themselves for the purpose, induce me to request, Citizen Consul, that you will appropriate L'Enfant Prodigue corvette to that object only, and that you will dispatch it to St. Domingo, once at least in every three months, in order that I may be enabled to transmit to you regularly, at the periods of its return, the precise state of this fine colony, for the prosperity of which you may be assured I shall continue, on all occasions, to exert myself.

Health and profound respect,

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

In another letter to the consul, dated Cape François, July 16, he says, "I have this day the satisfaction to inform you, that a constitution has been formed, which promises happiness to the long-suffering inhabitants of the colony, and which I transmit for your approbation." The following is Toussaint's proclamation:—

"Liberty.

"Equality.

"French Republic.

"People of St. Domingo,

"The colonial constitution for this important island has just been handed to me by the central assembly, composed of legislators, who, in virtue

of my proclamation of the 16th Pluviose last, have met to establish laws which are to regulate and govern us.

I have read that law with attention; and persuaded that it will ensure the welfare of my fellow-citizens, as it is founded on good morals, on localities, and principally on religion, I approve it.

"But when I consider that I am charged with the execution of these constitutional laws, I see that my task is more difficult than that of the legislators has been. Nevertheless, I announce, that however vast and spacious this undertaking may be, I will do my best to go through with it.

"O you, my fellow-citizens, of every age, of every station, and of every colour, you are free; and the constitution, which is this day remitted to me, is to render this liberty eternal.

"Let us, in the first place, prostrate ourselves before the Creator of the Universe, to thank him for his blessings so precious.

"It is my duty to speak to you in the language of truth. This constitution assures to every individual the enjoyment of his rights; it requires of every citizen the practice of the virtues, as it calls within our climate the reign of good morals, and the divine religion of Jesus Christ.

"Therefore, then, magistrates, serve as an example to the people of whom you are to consider yourselves the fathers and the defenders. Let probity and righteousness guide your actions and dictate your sentences. You will secure to yourselves the esteem of your fellow-citizens: it is the sweetest consolation a man in office can desire.

"Brave military men! generals, officers, subalterns, and soldiers! observe discipline and subordination; give activity to culture; be obedient to your chiefs; defend and maintain the constitution against foreign and domestic enemies, who might endeavour to injure it. Let your motto always be Bravery, and your guide Honor; you will deserve well of the country.

"Cultivators! avoid indolence, it is the mother of vices. Guard principally against the seductions of men, as ill-intentioned as malevolent. You will at all times find in me, as well as in the generals my representatives, the repressors of injustice and abuses.

"Industrious inhabitants of the towns! be submissive to the laws; they will not cease to be your protection.

"People, magistrates, and soldiers! I lay before you your duties and mine. For me, I promise, in the face of heaven, to do whatever will depend on me, by the permission of God, to preserve union, peace, and public tranquillity, and consequently the happiness of my fellow-citizens. I promise to execute what is prescribed to me by the constitution. Swear to me, in like manner, before the Supreme Being, that you will submit

yourselves to those laws which are to ensure your happiness, and consolidate your liberty.

"Citizens! I inform you that the law is the compass of every citizen; that when it speaks they must yield obedience. The civil and military authorities are to be the first to submit to them, and to give thereby an example to the people. Follow, from point to point, the constitution, which the central and legislative assembly of St. Domingo has just presented to you; and may the sublime principles it has just consecrated remain eternally engraven upon your hearts.

"At all times, my dear fellow-citizens and friends, my desire, my wish, and my ambition, consisted in finding and preparing the means to render you free and happy: if I can attain an object so dear to my heart, I shall not regret life, and I shall go, without any remorse, to render an account of my actions to the Almighty God, the sovereign author of all things.

"Live for ever the French republic and the colonial constitution!

"The general in chief,
(Signed) "TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE."

The French consul dispatched a fleet to St. Domingo, consisting of twenty-six ships of war and transports, commanded by Admiral Villaret, with an army of about 25,000 men, at the head of whom was placed General Leclerc, the consul's brother-in-law, assisted by several generals of note, particularly Rochambeau, well known in the West Indies for his attachment to the cause of slavery. Bonaparte sent before this army a proclamation, dated Paris, 8th of November, 1801.

"Inhabitants of St. Domingo!

"Whatever your origin or your colour, you are all French, you are all free, and all equal in the sight of God, and in the estimation of the republic.

"France has been, like St. Domingo, a prey to factions, torn by civil and foreign wars. But all has changed; all people have embraced the French, and have sworn towards them peace and amity; all the French have embraced each other also, and have sworn to be all friends and brothers. Come also, embrace the French, and rejoice to see again your friends and your brothers of Europe.

"The government sends you the captain-general Leclerc: he has brought with him great forces for protecting you against your enemies, and against the enemies of the republic. If it be said to you, 'These forces are destined to ravish from you your liberty;' answer 'The republic will not permit it to be taken away from us.'

"Rally round the captain-general. He brings you abundance and peace. Rally all of you

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around him. Whoever shall dare to separate himself from the captain-general will be a traitor to his country, and the indignation of the republic will devour him, as the fire devours your dried canes.

"Done at Paris, in the palace of the government, the 17th Brumaire, year 10 of the French republic, (Nov. 8, 1801.)

"The first consul,

(Signed)

"BONAPARTE.

"By the first consul.

"The secretary of state,

(Signed)

"H. B. MARET."

Two sons of Toussaint, one about fifteen and the other fourteen, had been sent to France for their education. He had trusted them to French honor and gratitude; yet, to take these youths from their studies, and send them out to inveigle their father, was the project of Napoleon. And lest the news of the great armaments that were preparing should put the negro chief on his guard, means were found to deceive him grossly, both as to the amount of the forces and its destination. Toussaint supposed them to come only with friendly views, and by proclamations enjoined the negroes to receive them with affection, confidence, and respect.

While this chief was working night and day for the good of France, by restoring with all his might the tillage of her richest colony, the French fleet and army were stealing over the sea to destroy him and his useful labours. They at length arrived, and it might be supposed, perhaps, that the first step of General Leclerc was to send notice of his arrival to the lawful governor of the island, whom he was sent to succeed, and demand peaceable possession of the town and forts in which he meant to quarter his forces. No such thing. General Leclerc went to work exactly like an invading enemy in time of war, though he had the modesty afterwards to complain, that he was not received as a friend. The moment he saw the coast of St. Domingo, he broke his force in three divisions, which fell like a sky-rocket, as nearly as possible at the same time, on the three principal towns of the island. At Fort Dauphin, where General Rochambeau arrived with the first division of the army, before the two others could get round to their points of attack, the troops were instantly landed. No summons was sent to give the poor wandering colonists a chance of saving their lives by submission. The troops were drawn up in battle array, on the beach. The negroes ran down in crowds to behold so strange a sight, and before they had any notice of what was designed against them, they were charged with the bayonet, and routed with the loss of many innocent lives.

While by such means possession was obtained of Fort Dauphin, the main body of the fleet and army under Villaret and Leclerc were hastening round to the Cape. They arrived the next day, and instantly prepared to land and take possession of the town; but Christophe, the black general, who commanded at this important post, having heard, no doubt, of the massacre at Fort Dauphin, bravely and loyally refused to suffer them to enter the harbour until he should receive orders from Toussaint, who was absent in the interior country. The French resolved to profit by Toussaint's absence, and therefore landed the troops by force, under cover of the ships, at the expence not only of many lives, but of the destruction of the town, which was set fire to by Christophe, after repeatedly warning the invaders that he should find it his duty so to act. Every where the French demanded instant possession of the forts, and every where punished the refusal by as much murder as they were able to commit.

During this time, the period of about forty-eight hours, Toussaint was at some distance from the coast; and, in order to try the forces of corruption upon this African patriot, Coisson, the tutor of his sons, was sent to him from the smoking ruins of Cape François. The poor lads, ignorant of public affairs, had been taught that it was for their father's good to comply with the wishes of the chief consul; and Bonaparte himself had talked with and caressed them at Paris, in order to impress that opinion on their minds.

With these innocent decoys in his train, and with letters both from General Leclerc and the consul, full of the most high-flown compliments to Toussaint, and the most tempting offers of honors, wealth, and power, Coisson set out from the Cape, and proceeded to the place of the negro's usual abode. His cruel orders were to let the boys see and embrace their father and mother, but not to let them remain: if the father should agree to sell himself, and betray the cause of freedom, he was to be required to come to the Cape to receive the commands of Leclerc, and become his lieutenant-general; but if he should be found proof against corruption and deceit, the boys were to be torn from his arms, and brought back again as hostages. If nothing else could move him, the fears and agonies of a parent's breast might, it was hoped, be effectual to bend his stubborn virtue.

On their arrival at Toussaint's country dwelling, the father was not at home, his urgent public duties having called him to a distant part of the island, where he was probably endeavouring to collect his scattered troops, and to make a stand against the invaders. The mother, however, the faithful wife of Toussaint, was there; and caught her dear long-absent children to her bosom.

Coisson professed to her, as he had declared to all the negroes he met with on his journey, that the consul had no design whatever against their freedom, but wished only for peace, and a due submission to the authority of the republic. The fond mother was ready to believe all he said. She ardently wished that it might be true, and that her beloved husband, with his superior knowledge and judgment, might see cause to confide in these pleasing assurances. She instantly sent off an express to him, to let him know that a messenger from the consul was come, with the offer of peace, liberty, and their children.

Toussaint was so far distant, that, with all his wonderful speed in riding, he did not arrive at Ennery (the place of his home) till the following night. On his arrival, he pressed first the elder boy, then the younger to his heart. Next he stepped back for a moment, to gaze on their features and their persons. Isaac, the elder, was so much grown, that he was almost as tall as his father; his face began to wear a manly air, and Toussaint recalled in him the same image that sometimes met his youthful eyes when he bathed in the clear lake among the mountains. The younger was not yet so near to manhood, but his softer features were not less endearing. The father saw again the playful urchin that used to climb upon his knees, and the very expression that won his heart in the object of his first affection. Again he caught both the youths to his bosom, and his tears dropped fast upon their cheeks.

The father, when he recovered himself, stretched out his arms with an emotion of ill-placed gratitude to the tutor, who seizing this moment as the most favorable for his treacherous designs, retired from the embrace, and assailed him in a set speech, with persuasions to submit to the consul, and join the French standard. On this condition he was assured of "respect, honors, fortune," the office of "lieutenant-general of the island," all, in short, that the gratitude of the republic could offer, or his own heart desire. On the other hand, if he should refuse to submit, the most dreadful horrors and miseries of war were denounced against him and his followers. The implacable vengeance of the great nation was threatened; and the eloquent envoy did not omit to point out to him how hopeless must be all his efforts to resist the armies which had conquered Europe, and which now would have no enemy to contend against, but the rebels of St. Domingo. Above all, he was desired to reflect upon the fate that awaited the hostage youths, so beloved, and so worthy of his affection. "You must submit," said Coisson, "or my orders are to carry my pupils back to the Cape. You will not, I know, cover yourself with infamy, by breaking faith and

violating a safe conduct. Behold, then, the tears of your wife; and consider, that upon your decision depends whether the boys shall remain to gladden her heart and yours, or be torn from you both for ever." The orator concluded by putting into the hero's hands the letters of the captain-general and the consul.

Isaac next addressed his afflicted father in a speech which his tutor had, no doubt, assisted him in preparing. He related how kindly he was received by the consul, and what high esteem and regard that chief of the republic professed for Toussaint L'Ouverture and his family. The younger brother added something which he had been taught, to the same effect; and both, with artless eloquence of their own, tried to win their father to a purpose, of the true nature and consequence of which they had no suspicion.

During these heart-rending assaults on the virtue and firmness of Toussaint, the African, checking his tears, and eyeing his children with glances of agonized emotion, maintained a profound silence. "Hearken to your children," cried Coisson, "confide in their innocence; they will tell you nothing but truth." Again the tears of the mother and her boys, and their sobbing entreaties, poured anguish into his bosom. He still remained silent. The conflict of passions and principles within him might have been seen in his expressive features, and in his eager glistening eye.

At length he suddenly composed his agitated visage, gently disengaged himself from the grasp of his wife and children, took the envoy into an inner chamber, and gave him a dignified refusal. "Take back my children," said he, "since it must be so. I will be faithful to my brethren and my God."

After many bloody actions, and six or seven weeks of almost perpetual marching and fighting, the French general thought himself master of St. Domingo. He boasted to his brother-in-law, and the consul proclaimed to all Europe, that the object of the war was accomplished. "Toussaint, without stations, without treasure, without army, is no more than a brigand, wandering from morne to morne, with some brigands like himself, whom our intrepid warriors are pursuing, and whom they will soon have caught and destroyed."

At length a peace was concluded with Toussaint, and all the generals and troops under his command, and the African chief obtained leave to retire. He accordingly went to his peaceful family mansion at Gonaives, which is on the south-west coast of St. Domingo, at a little distance from St. Marks. He had there a little estate, which was called by his own surname, L'Ouverture, and where he perhaps hoped long to enjoy the peace and leisure to which he had

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for ten years been a stranger, and to indulge his warm affections in the society of his beloved wife and their surviving children; for the two promising youths from whom he had been torn, it is supposed, he never afterwards saw.

On a sudden, at midnight, the Creole frigate, supported by the Hero, a seventy-four gun ship, both dispatched on purpose by Leclerc, from the Cape, stood in towards the Calm Beach, near Gonaïves. Boats, with troops, immediately after landed, and surrounded the house of Toussaint, while he was at rest with the faithful companion of all his cares and dangers.

Brunet, a brigadier-general, and Ferrari, aide-de-camp to Leclerc, entered the chamber of the hero with a file of grenadiers, and demanded of him to go, with all his family, on board the frigate.

Toussaint submitted, as far as concerned his own fate, without gratifying his base enemies by a murmur: but, alive to the fears and to the dangers of his wife and children, he requested that they might be left at home, and would have made that the condition of his own compliance. This condition, however, his ruthless oppressors would not grant; for the destruction of all who were dearest to Toussaint, was part of their perfidious purpose. An irresistible military force appeared, and the whole family, including the niece of a deceased brother, were carried on board the frigate, and from thence embarked in the Hero, which proceeded with them immediately to France.

This unfortunate chief was absolutely refused the comfort of conversing with his family on the passage. He was treated with the utmost rigour, for even the public French accounts disclosed, that he was confined constantly in his cabin, and there guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets.

No sooner had he arrived in the harbour of Brest than he was hurried on shore; and it was now that his fortitude had to sustain its severest trial. Even the fierce and cruel Leclerc had thought it too harsh to separate him from his beloved wife and children; but he was forced by the merciless consul to bid them a last adieu. They were detained prisoners on ship-board, while he was carried to a solitary cell in a distant castle in the country.

Here he was confined a long time, in a way, the strictness of which may be supposed from the darkness which prevailed as to his fate. His afflicted wife and family were not imprisoned with less closeness than himself; and as their removal was never ascertained, it is naturally concluded that they were all murdered!

This celebrated negro was of the middle stature; he had a fine eye, and his glances were rapid and penetrating; extremely sober by habit,

his activity in the prosecution of his enterprizes was incessant. He was an excellent horseman, and travelled, on occasion, with inconceivable rapidity, arriving frequently at the end of his journey alone, or almost unattended; his aid-de-camps and his domestics being unable to follow him in journeys which were often fifty or sixty leagues. He slept generally in his clothes, and gave very little time either to repose or to his meals. Having been born in St. Domingo, he was by birth a slave. By the uncommon kindness of his master, or, as some say, by his own unassisted pains, he learned to read and write, and became the astonishment of his ignorant countrymen. He was remarkably devout, being a sincere Christian, and rose by degrees to be the chief of the blacks. As he was very tenacious of his honor, the greatest reliance was placed on his promises, as may be seen by the following well-authenticated anecdote:—

When he entered into a treaty with General Maitland, by which the island was to be evacuated by the English, (see Book III. Chap. viii.), Toussaint came to see the British commander at his head-quarters; and the general, wishing to settle some points personally with him before the English should embark, returned the visit at Toussaint's camp in the country.

So well was his character known, that the British general did not scruple to go to him with only two or three attendants, though it was at a considerable distance from his own army, and he had to pass through a country full of negroes, who had very lately been his mortal enemies. The commissioner of the French republic, however, did not think so well of the honor of this virtuous chief; for Monsieur Roume, thinking this visit of General Maitland a good opportunity to make him prisoner, wrote a letter to Toussaint, begging him, as he was a true republican, to seize the British general's person. General Maitland proceeded towards Toussaint's camp. On the road he received a letter from one of his private friends, telling him of Monsieur Roume's plot, and warning him not to put himself into the negro general's power: but the known character of Toussaint made the British general still rely upon his honor: besides, the good of his majesty's service required, at that period, that confidence should be placed in this great man, though even at some risk; and General Maitland, therefore, bravely and wisely determined to proceed.

When they arrived at Toussaint's head-quarters, he was not to be seen. General Maitland was desired to wait; and, after much delay, the negro chief still did not appear. The general's mind began to misgive him, as was natural upon a reception seemingly so uncivil, and so conformable to the warning he had received. But at length,

Toussaint entered the room with two letters open in his hand: "There, general," said the chief, "read these before we talk together; the one is a letter just received from Roume, and the other my answer. I would not come to you, till I had written my answer to him; that you may see how safe you are with me, and how incapable I am of baseness." General Maitland read the letters, and found the one an artful attempt to excite Toussaint to seize his guest, as an act of duty

to the republic; the other, a noble and indignant refusal. "What," said Toussaint, "have I not passed my word to the British general? How then can you suppose that I will cover myself with dishonor, by breaking it? His reliance on my good faith leads him to put himself in my power, and I should be for ever infamous, were I to act as you advise. I am faithfully devoted to the republic, but will not serve it at the expense of my conscience and my honor."

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CHAPTER IX.

Negotiations for Peace between Great Britain and France.—Preliminaries signed.—Violent Debates in both Houses of the Imperial Parliament upon the same.—Congress at Amiens.—Definitive Treaty signed.—Observations.

WHILE every shore re-echoed with the thunder of hostile squadrons, and opposing fleets and armies alternately threatened the coasts of Britain and France with insult and invasion, an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time and in the same strait; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded or blockaded by inimical fleets, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet-boats, and the messengers of the courts of St. James's and the Thuilleries. Although it was well known, that discussions relative to peace had taken place between the two governments, the public opinion augured ill of the success of the negotiation. Almost three weeks elapsed before an answer was returned by the French government to Lord Hawkesbury's letter to M. Otto, dated June 25; and it noticed the offers of the court of London, merely to express the indignation excited by them. "Can it be believed," said the minister, M. Otto, "that the French people are reduced to such a sad extremity as to sign a disgraceful peace? If, after eight years of a war, which has caused so much blood to be shed, after so many assurances of moderation, so many reciprocal protestations, the French people see themselves obliged to continue the war, is it to be doubted that it will find in its constancy, its population, and its strength, the means of repairing the losses which its allies and itself have only in part restrained; occupied by treasons, by the consequences of the revolution, and the efforts of continental nations?"

The reply of Lord Hawkesbury, dated July 20, after expressing the surprise which he felt at the rejection of proposals so equitable; concluded

by demanding, "that the French government would distinctly state to what part of the propositions of his majesty its objections applied; and that it would communicate, with the same frankness which had marked the conduct of his majesty, the conditions which, after a general consideration of circumstances, it might judge proper, to conduct the negotiations to a prompt and happy conclusion."

M. Otto, without delay, made a rejoinder, couched in language extremely cold, and approaching to contempt. He declared, "that the French government was forgetful of nothing that might lead to a general peace, because it was at the same time the interest of *humanity* and of the *allies*. It was for the King of England to calculate, if it was equally for the interest of his politics, his commerce, and his nation." M. Otto then stated, that England should keep Ceylon; adding, in explicit terms, "that Egypt should be restored to the Porte; that Minorca should be given back to Spain; that Malta should be restored to the order; that the Cape of Good Hope and the other conquests of England should be restored to the allies: as to Martinico in particular, France would never renounce her right to it. Nothing now remains," added the French minister, in a tone somewhat haughty, "for the British cabinet, but to manifest the part which it will take; and if these conditions cannot satisfy it, it will be proved in the face of the world that the first consul has neglected nothing, and that he has evinced his disposition to make every kind of sacrifice, to re-establish peace, and to spare to humanity the tears and blood which will be the inevitable consequences of a new campaign."

Lord Hawkesbury's answer to the above note was delayed till the 5th of August. "His ma-

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jesty," the minister said, "had every right to expect that the unreserved and moderate propositions to which he was disposed to accede, for the re-establishment of peace, would have been favorably received by the French government, or, at least, that in the plan of pacification which was offered, there would have been no essential difference. His majesty was convinced that no reasonable objection would be made by the French government to the substance of the conditions which he had proposed : he had therefore a right to expect, that every proposition that might spring from it should be conformable to those principles which had been acknowledged, as those were which appeared in his last communication.--The undersigned flattered himself that the French government would be guided by the same principles, and that the success of the negotiation would not be frustrated by a demand, on its part, of restitutions which the relative situations of the belligerent powers would not allow, and which its own example, in regard to its conquests, did not give it any right to expect, and which his majesty did not consider as according with those principles on which alone an honorable and permanent peace could be concluded. In this view his majesty was disposed to give a new proof of his moderation and sentiments ; and he did not make any difficulty in declaring, that, if the French government would admit of a reasonable arrangement relative to the East Indies, in conformity to the principle which had been acknowledged as the true basis of the negotiations, his majesty was ready to enter into further explanations relative to the island of Malta, and desired seriously to concert the means to form an arrangement which would render it independent both of Great Britain and France."

After this great concession on the part of England, the discussions were resumed, and tended rapidly towards a favorable conclusion. M. Otto informed Lord Hawkesbury, by a note dated 24th Thermidor, (August 11,) that he did not delay a moment to communicate to his government that which he had received of the 5th of August. "It was," said that dexterous negotiator, "with the sincerest satisfaction that the first consul perceived, in the last communication of the British government, that the negotiation began on its part to assume a character calculated to inspire confidence, and to afford the prospect of a termination to those evils which are the inevitable consequences of a war of so long duration. His Britannic majesty having consented that the island of Malta and its dependencies should be placed in such a position as to belong neither to France nor to England, the sole obstacle was removed which the arrangements respecting the Mediterranean still continued to offer. And as to America--his majesty having declared that

he was not influenced by any view of ambition and aggrandisement---he thought proper to remark, that the ancient possessions of his majesty in that quarter have their central point in Jamaica, an extensive and opulent colony, strong from its position, but impregnable by the accumulated works which render it superior to all attack ; consequently the ancient possessions of his majesty in America did not require to be augmented, in order to their consolidation or to assure their means of defence. Nevertheless, the French government would not put the peace of the world in balance with the possession of an island but of secondary consequence to France and its allies, and which had been conquered by the arms of his Britannic majesty."

The cession of Trinidad being thus virtually secured to England as a compensation for the acquisition of Olivenza by Spain, nothing of magnitude, long to impede the conclusion of the preliminary treaty, seemed to remain. Another effort was however made, in these circumstances, by Lord Hawkesbury, to retain the island of Martinico, or at least to obtain something, though of inferior value, by way of exchange. In a note, addressed August 14, therefore, to M. Otto, the English minister declared, "that, if the possession of Martinico by his majesty be considered by the French government as an insurmountable obstacle to the return of peace, his majesty might be induced to renounce his just pretension in this respect, on condition that the French government would consent to the following alternative : In the 1st place, That his majesty might keep, in the West Indies, the islands of Trinidad and Tobago ; and, in this case, Demerary, Essequibo, and Berbice, should be free ports. 2dly, That his majesty should retain possession of St. Lucia, Tobago, Demerary, Essequibo, and Berbice."

This note occasioned some discussion ; and France being desirous to spare his Catholic majesty the mortification of ceding the island of Trinidad, in which case Portugal might doubtless have preserved the district of Olivenza, the first consul was induced---"contrary to the immoveable basis which had been so long established in France, that the peace ought not to cost any personal sacrifice to the republic"--to offer Tobago and Curaçao in lieu of Trinidad ; for, as to the cession of Martinico, the French government would not deign to hearken even for a moment to the mention of a proposition so degrading. But the English government refused to depart from its demand of Trinidad.

On the 7th of September a long conference took place between the two ministers, in which the substance of the preliminary articles was finally arranged. The most remarkable difference which arose on this occasion related to the article

stipulating the integrity of the kingdom of Portugal. For Lord Hawkesbury proposing to substitute, for the word kingdom, the words "territory and possessions of her most Faithful majesty," citizen Otto refused to consent to the alteration, as it might weaken the arrangements made at Badajoz respecting the limits of Guiana.— Agreeably to the views of the English cabinet, Lord Hawkesbury still continued to exert some efforts to gain the island of Tobago from France, in addition to Trinidad, as well as to prevail that Demerary, Essequibo, and Berbice should be declared free ports—concessions which the utmost firmness, combined with the greatest address, could alone hope to obtain. But, by their wavering conduct, the English ministry incurred the mortification of a peremptory, not to say imperious, declaration, on the part of the French government, as communicated from M. Talleyrand to M. Otto, 24th Fructidor (September 11), "that, if the propositions in question were sustained, they would destroy all the dispositions announced on the part of the English government, and which they had given room to hope for, and to have seen the salutary work of peace immediately terminated. For, in fine," said this minister, "it is not when it has ceded all that is compatible with its honor that a government can suffer new sacrifices to be torn from it; and the first consul, treating in the name of the French people, will never subscribe to conditions in which the honor of the nation is compromised. It is prescribed to you, citizen, to give a formal assurance of it." M. Otto was also charged to add verbally to this declaration, "that the first consul having gone as far as honor would permit him, there was no room to hope that he would make one step more."

In the reply, September 22d, to this *ultimatum* on the part of France, Lord Hawkesbury consented that the limits of French Guiana should be extended to the river Ariwari, *provided* that the integrity of all the states of her most Faithful majesty in Europe be maintained. He also renounced the pretensions of his Britannic majesty respecting the settlements of Demerary, Essequibo, and Berbice: but, persisting in the indulgence of a hope as to the third point of difference, this nobleman added, "From the disposition that his majesty has shown to get rid of every other difficulty, he cannot suppose that the French government will raise a new obstacle on the possession of the island of Tobago. It is an ancient property of his crown; the people are almost entirely English colonists; and it is not of any value or interest to France."

This attempt being rejected by the French government, the preliminary articles of peace, fifteen in number, were at length signed, on the

evening of the 1st of October (1801), by the two ministers plenipotentiary.

Conformably to the tenor of these articles, his Britannic majesty agreed to restore to the French republic and her allies all the possessions and colonies conquered by the British arms during the war—the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon excepted. "The port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty. Egypt shall be restored to the sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war. The territories and possessions of her most Faithful majesty shall likewise be preserved entire. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall, in like manner, evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French republic. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and in the Gulph of St. Laurence, shall be restored to the same footing on which they were before the present war. And, finally, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace in concert with the allies of the contracting parties."

Fortunately for ministers, the desire of peace was so great, that few persons were inclined very severely to scrutinize the articles of this preliminary treaty. The intelligence that peace was concluded, diffused through the nation the most sincere and cordial satisfaction. The public were well aware that France was made great by the war, and not by the peace; respecting the specific conditions of which they displayed almost a frigid indifference. Even judges of a far superior class, knowing the difficulties with which ministers had to contend, confiding in their good intentions, and weary of a senseless contest, seemed willing to view the errors and omissions of this treaty with extreme indulgence. It was thought, indeed, an extraordinary procedure, virtually to transfer the possession of Porto Ferrajo to France, without securing either Malta or Minorca to England. It was believed that abler negotiators might at least have obtained the res-

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titution of the island of Tobago, which England was under the necessity, in very different circumstances, of ceding to France by the treaty of 1783. But, above all, it excited astonishment, not altogether unmixed with indignation, that no regard whatever was paid, in this preliminary treaty, to the interests of the antient and unfortunate ally of England, the King of Sardinia; the integrity of whose dominions had been, at the commencement of the war, guaranteed by Great Britain, who had even engaged, by a positive convention with that power, not to conclude any peace with France till Savoy was restored. This omission, however, they hoped might be rectified by some provision of the definitive treaty.

On the 12th of October the ratification of the first consul was brought to London by Colonel Lauriston, one of his aides-de-camp, who was welcomed with loud and universal acclamations; and the event was celebrated in both countries by every public demonstration of joy. The Count D'Artois, then anxiously waiting in London the issue of the negotiation, and other emigrants of distinction, acknowledging this treaty as the utter extinction of their hopes, and dreading the arrival of a French ambassador, retired precipitately to their former asylum in the city of Edinburgh.

The second session of the Imperial parliament was opened on the 29th of October, 1801, by the king in person, who in his speech announced the favorable conclusion of the negotiation begun during the last session of parliament. He declared his satisfaction that the difference with the northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede. "The essential rights," said his majesty, "for which we contended, are thereby secured; and provision is made that the exercise of them shall be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties." He then proceeded to state, that preliminaries of peace had also been ratified between himself and the French republic; and he trusted that this important arrangement, whilst it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honorable to the British character.

In the house of peers the address was moved by Lord Bolton (formerly Mr. Orde), who observed, that it was a magnificent triumph for England, to make a peace in the very midst of her conquests from the frozen seas of the north to the Pillars of Hercules, and from Africa to the remotest shores of Asia and America. His lordship contrasted, on this occasion, the conduct of Great Britain with that of Germany, which he styled "disunited, parricidal, and treacherous."

Our allies, he said, had in an evil hour *chosen* to desert us, and we had been left to fight the battle for ourselves; but the struggle was glorious, and the termination happy. At the period when the peace was made, it was evident that the integrity of Europe could not be preserved: had this been possible, it would have been effected by the power of Great Britain.

The Duke of Bedford, in a speech which contained much censure of the late, and praise of the present administration, declared his cordial concurrence in the address, which was carried without a dissentient voice.

In the house of commons Mr. Fox expressed the same sentiments of approbation respecting the peace, in which he was warmly seconded by Mr. Pitt. On the other hand, Mr. Windham, the late secretary at war, professed his entire disapprobation of the preliminaries recently signed with France, and avowed himself to be a solitary mourner in the midst of the public rejoicings upon that event. In signing the peace, he thought that his honorable friends, the present ministers, had signed the death-warrant of the country.

Mr. Sheridan adverted to the language in which Mr. Pitt had spoken of the terms of the peace as glorious and honorable—in which he could not agree. It was, in his opinion, a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud: it was such a sort of a peace as might be expected after such a sort of a war—a war the most pernicious in which this country had ever been engaged; and the peace was, perhaps, as good as any minister could make, considering the circumstances in which the country was placed. The motion was finally carried with the same unanimity as in the upper house.

On the 3d of November the subject of the preliminaries was taken formally into consideration by the lords, and a decided opposition to the terms of the peace expressed by the Earls Spencer, Caernarvon, and Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville, and the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was defended by the Lord-chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Moira, Westmoreland, and St. Vincent, Lords Hobart and Pelham, and the Bishop of London. On this occasion Lord Nelson avowed it to be his opinion, that Malta was, in a naval and political view, of trivial consequence, being at too great a distance from Toulon to watch the French fleet from that port. In time of peace it would have required a garrison of 7000 men, and a much larger in time of war, without being of any real utility. The island of Minorca also (though in the vicinity of Toulon) his lordship declared to be of no importance as a naval station; neither did he consider the settlement of the Cape as of any great value. The war had, indeed, been

long; but he believed his majesty had seized the first opportunity of making peace, the conditions of which, he was convinced, were the most advantageous that could be procured in the existing circumstances.

The house at length divided, when there appeared for the address, as moved by ministers, 114—against it, 10.

On the same day a similar address was moved in the house of commons; when the peace was fiercely assailed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and Lord Temple.

Mr. Pitt said, that it was his misfortune to differ from those with whom it had been his happiness to live in habits of the strictest friendship. He did not pretend to state that this peace fully answered all his wishes; but the government had obtained the best terms they could; and they were such as could not be rejected without incurring the imputation of continuing the war without any adequate necessity. He spoke highly of the value of the conquests Britain had retained—Ceylon and Trinidad: and though he would not depreciate the importance of Malta, he thought it, compared with the Indies, but a secondary consideration. It appeared to him sound policy rather to place Malta under the protection of a third power, capable of defending it, than, by retaining it ourselves, to mortify the pride and attract the jealousy of the enemy. He asserted that the resources of the country ought not to be lavished away in continuing a contest with the certainty of an enormous expense, and when it was by no means clear that we might not ultimately be obliged to sit down in a worse relative situation than the present. He would not occupy the attention of the house by going back to the origin of the war; but, peace being restored, forbearance of language and terms of respect were proper.

Mr. Fox expressed his cordial concurrence in the address. Upon the whole, and in reference to situation and circumstances, he regarded the peace as both safe and honorable. A glorious peace he could not style it; for such a peace could be the result only of a glorious war. He confessed himself not one of those who deemed Trinidad or Ceylon preferable to Malta; but, by insisting on Malta or the Cape, either the war would have been prolonged, or a loss of national dignity sustained by making the concession on our part from compulsion; for these were points which France, he was convinced, would never have yielded. He commended ministers in not having sought to delude us by the jargon of their predecessors; by senseless assertions of the French being now on the verge, and now in the gulf of bankruptcy. They justly considered France as a great and formidable foe, in treating with whom, they had wisely tempered firmness

of conduct with moderation of tone. As to the real object of the war, Mr. Fox confessed, that he always understood it to be the restoration of the house of Bourbon. Not that it was the *sine qua non*; but he contended that the late ministers had avowed it with confidence, prosecuted it with perseverance, and relinquished it with reluctance. Not having been able to obtain their end, it was now allowed that the nation must content itself with gaining its secondary purpose. But what rational person ever deemed even this secondary purpose to be attained by the acquisition of Ceylon and Trinidad? Who could have thought that ministers, who had for a series of years entertained such grand and magnificent designs, should at last content themselves with Ceylon in the east, and Trinidad in the west, wrested from Holland and Spain, by way of indemnity for the past, and security for the future, against the ambitious projects of Gallic aggrandisement in Europe?

The terms of the treaty were, on grounds analogous to those argued upon by Mr. Pitt, zealously defended by Lord Hawkesbury and the other members of administration; and the house, justly weary of the war, was easily impressed by the reasonings of ministers in favor of the peace. The chancellor of the exchequer concluded the debate with some judicious and conciliatory observations. He remarked, "that the duty of negotiation commenced when all hope of continental aid in checking the power of France was at an end. We had closed the contest on our part with honor." But he acknowledged it to depend upon the wisdom of government, whether this peace should be a blessing or a misfortune to the country. He could only say, as it had been made sincerely, it should be kept faithfully. No encouragement should be given to any person in this realm to subvert the present government of France; and a line of conduct ought to be pursued, not of suspicion and jealousy, but of prudence and circumspection: and it would be necessary, he added, "to provide means of security never before known in times of peace." The motion was then agreed to without a division.

In the course of a few months, Amiens, the city assigned for this meeting, was visited by the ministers of the respective powers, and after long and tedious delay, the definitive treaty was signed by Lord Cornwallis, Joseph Bonaparte, the chevalier D'Azare, and Mr. Schimmelpenninck, on the 25th of March, 1802.

The principal point gained by England in the course of the negotiation, was the concession made by France respecting the treaty concluded by that power with Portugal, at Madrid, almost at the same moment in which the preliminary articles were signed between Great Britain and

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France at London. By that treaty, the limits of French Guiana were extended to the Orellana, or river of the Amazons; and the free navigation of that mighty stream would, doubtless, in time, have proved of infinite importance to the establishment of the Gallic power in South America. But by the definitive treaty, the first consul consented that the river Arawari, to the north of the Orellana, should constitute the future boundary between the two countries. On the other hand, the cession of the district of Olivenza, contrary to the obvious meaning of that article of the preliminaries which declared, "that the territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty should be preserved entire," was confirmed to Spain.

The article respecting Malta, framed by the court of London, was guarded by so many minute and studied precautions, as to exhibit, in a striking view, the hostile spirit of distrust and suspicion subsisting in the midst of the reciprocal professions of peace. By the fourth regulation under this article, it was expressly stipulated, "that the forces of his Britannic majesty should evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it should be given up to the order in its present state, provided (1st), that the grand-master, or commissaries fully authorised, according to the statutes of the order, should be in the island to take possession; and (2dly), that the force which was to be provided by his Sicilian majesty should have arrived there."

Conformably to this article, regarded both by France and England as one of the most important in the treaty, the absolute surrender of the island to the order of St. John was clearly and unequivocally engaged for by the latter, on the two conditions annexed. But by the sixth regula-

tion, it was likewise agreed, that the independence of the isles of Malta, of Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, should be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

In reference to the specific guarantees required on this occasion, it may be remarked, that Spain was manifestly and entirely under the controul of France; that Prussia was a power, which, conformably to the fixed and obvious rules of her policy, would be anxious to maintain an amicable correspondence with France; that Russia was too potent, and placed at too great a distance from France, to entertain any serious apprehensions from the growth of her power; that Malta was not to her a subject of much interest or importance; and divers of the stipulations relative to the new arrangement, particularly the introducing of a *Maltese langue* into the order of St. John, were known to be displeasing to her, and contrary to the engagements she had entered into with the knights of that order. Austria was the only power who upon this, and indeed upon all other occasions, could be expected fully and cordially to enter into the views and interests of Great Britain.

The intelligence of the conclusion of the definitive treaty was, notwithstanding all previous jealousies, received both in France and England with much satisfaction, and celebrated with great rejoicings; the streets of London were uncommonly brilliant; but the thunder and lightning which suddenly happened on this very night, (by the latter of which the illuminations were frequently eclipsed), marred, in a great measure, the public merriment, and filled the superstitious, who judged it as ominous, with consternation and alarm.

CHAPTER X.

Review of Occurrences in Europe during this Period.—Conduct of the Court of St. Petersburg.—Situation of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland.—Treaties between France and Turkey.—Russia and the Pope.—American Affairs.

WHEN the negotiations were renewed at Luneville, subsequent to the fatal defeat of Hohenlinden, the first consul insisted that the emperor should treat not only for himself, but for the empire, conformably to the example of the emperor Charles VI. at the treaties of Baden and Rastadt. In vain did the Count Cobentzel urge, that no such powers were granted by the diet in the pre-

sent as in the former instances: the chief consul, justly suspicious of the consequences of protraction, absolutely refused to conclude with the emperor in his royal capacity merely; and the treaty was at length signed, without any special authority from the diet of the empire, by Count Cobentzel, according to his instructions from the court of Vienna, as plenipotentiary of his imperial

majesty, in his capacity of emperor as well as king; engaging that it should be ratified by the diet in the space of thirty days.

Immediately consequent to this very unusual if not unprecedented exercise of power, the emperor addressed an apologetical letter to the diet, dated February 21, 1801, in which he excused his own conduct in terms the most handsome and respectful to the princes of the empire; stating the urgent necessity of the case, "from the consideration of the melancholy situation in which a considerable part of Germany then was; and that of the still more unhappy fate with which the superiority of the French threatened the empire, should peace be longer deferred." The diet, on their part, with cheerfulness and deference acquiesced in these reasonings; expressing "their gratitude to the chief of the empire for the patriotic zeal he had shown in that negotiation;" and, not only did that assembly ratify the treaty of Luneville, but, by a subsequent *conclusum*, dated April 30, they intrusted and impowered his imperial majesty "to take upon himself the adjustment of all the objects which by that treaty were reserved for particular arrangement," only communicating the result to the diet in order to its final decision and ratification.

In the month of April, while the question of peace and war between Great Britain and Russia was still doubtful, the new emperor, Alexander, through the medium of his ambassador at Paris, Count Kalitcheff, made very pressing instances to the first consul to reinstate the King of Sardinia in the possession of the dominions which he had enjoyed previous to the irruption of the French armies into Italy, conformably to the engagements entered into by France with the late emperor. He even went so far as to declare, that, if this demand was not acceded to, there could be no restoration of harmony between the two countries. And in the beginning of May the ambassador required a specific answer, "whether the French government intended to keep its promise concerning the integrity of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in his dominions?" To this requisition M. Talleyrand replied, in terms civilly evasive, "that the first consul was disposed to do every thing that might be pleasing and agreeable to the court of Russia; and that this end would have been attained sooner, if the negotiations with England, the situation of affairs in Italy and Egypt, and the war with Portugal, had not thrown certain invincible obstacles in the way of the business."

Though there is no reason to doubt the sincerity and good-will of the court of Petersburg in relation to the Kings of Sicily and Sardinia, it was an object of far superior importance, in her

estimation, to avoid embroiling herself anew with either of the two great belligerent powers, France or England. On the one hand, therefore, immediately subsequent to the conventional pacification with the latter, the emperor issued an edict, not only commanding the property of the British merchants, which had been sequestered during the late reign, to be restored, but that, for such effects as had been irretrievably alienated, a full equivalent should be granted to the respective proprietors. And on the other hand, nearly at the same time, a circular letter was transmitted by that court to all its diplomatic ministers and agents, informing them, "that negotiations for the purpose of establishing a reconciliation with France were in train," and enjoining them "to testify on all occasions to the ambassadors of the French government, that respect which is usual between the ministers of powers that are in good understanding with each other." Such was the wisdom and moderation by which the counsels of Russia, under the auspices of the present sovereign, were conducted.

The Elector of Cologne (who also held the bishopric of Munster), uncle to the emperor, dying about this time, the King of Prussia signified to the court of Vienna, and likewise to the chapters of Cologne and Munster, "his request that no new election might be proceeded upon; but that, on account of the great existing embarrassment, the archbishopric and bishopric do remain vacant for the present;" adding, that "if such election should nevertheless be proceeded upon, he would be obliged to declare the same null and void." This was seconded by a declaration of M. Bacher, minister of France at the diet, then sitting at Ratisbon, that the French government would support with all its power the determination of his Prussian majesty; and requiring that "all appointments to ecclesiastical dignities and possessions, and especially the election of a new elector of Cologne and bishop of Munster, be deferred till the indemnifications for the hereditary princes shall be definitively determined."

The emperor, however, prompted rather by pride than policy, encouraged and authorized the two chapters to proceed to the respective elections at the usual time, and in the accustomed form; agreeably to which the Archduke Anthony, a younger brother of the emperor, was chosen to fill the vacant sees. This event was formally notified by the court of Vienna to that of Berlin; his Imperial majesty at the same time declaring, that the course of the accomplishing of the indemnities, by means of secularization, would not be altered from personal consideration or secondary views; and that the late election of the archduke would not have the smallest influence on the conduct of the high imperial court; in fine, that

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The good sense and moderation of the King of Prussia induced him to appear satisfied with this explanation; and, in his reply, he applauded the wise resolution of the emperor to postpone the further steps which one or both of the chapters might wish to adopt with respect to the election of the archduke.

The business of the indemnities proceeded very slowly and heavily. About the end of the summer, a *conclusum* passed the diet, appointing an extraordinary deputation, consisting of eight members, four of the catholic and four of the protestant religion, to "co-operate, on the part of the states of the empire, in the work of peace." And to this deputation were given "full and unlimited powers to examine, treat, and regulate, in concert with the French government, the objects which, by the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville, were reserved for a particular arrangement." This *conclusum* was ratified by the emperor, with strong expressions of commendation—the former mode of negotiating, agreeably to the usual forms, experiencing, as he expressed it, "powerful and multiplied obstacles;" and his imperial majesty was probably far from being eager to take the entire responsibility of this arrangement upon himself. But the negotiation appeared still to languish: and a more energetic interposition was too evidently necessary to bring so complex and difficult a business to a final decision.

By the 11th article of the treaty of Luneville, the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics, was expressly recognised; and "the right of the people who inhabit them to adopt what form of government they pleased." With a view to carry into effect this inestimable privilege, a convention of the Helvetic cantons was, in the month of September, held at the city of Berne, to consider of a definitive organization. This assembly, composed of very dissonant materials, determined, after vehement debate, upon certain articles, as the basis of a permanent constitution, importing, that the Helvetic republic formed only ONE state—that there was only ONE right of Helvetic citizenship—and no political rights of citizens relative to distinct cantons. The senate possessed, together with the proposal of laws, the direction of the general measures of government by the medium of an executive council; the diet was to assemble ordinarily on the 1st of February every year, and to consist of deputies from all the cantons in proportion to their population.

This plan of government was, however, extremely odious to the lesser or democratic cantons, and the deputies from Uri, Schweitz, and

Underwald, with that distinguished soldier and citizen Aloys Reding at their head, after protesting against the decision of the assembly, suddenly departed for their respective homes. This produced a great sensation, and thirteen other members of the convention formed a schism, and declared, that "the deputies of the three most ancient cantons, the nursery of true Helvetic liberty, having separated, the diet must be considered as imperfect and incompetent."

Their firmness, but still more the influence of public opinion, brought over in a few days a majority to the dissidents, who, on the 28th of October, proceeded without delay to the formation of a central government, composed of a senate and an executive council, from which the most intractable innovators were excluded: a government which recognised and sanctioned the sovereignties of the democratic cantons within their own jurisdictions, and at the head of which Aloys Reding was placed as first landamman of Switzerland.

During the space of two months which succeeded this event, France observed a profound silence respecting it. The ardent mind of Reding, impatient of delay, and disdaining uncertainty, determined him to resort in person to Paris, in order to demand a categorical answer from the French government as to its final intentions respecting Helvetia. On the arrival of the landamman in that metropolis, he was received by M. Bonaparte with great civility and distinction; and, after the first compliments, a letter was delivered by Aloys Reding to the first consul from the three ancient cantons, vindicatory of their conduct. "Deprived of all resources," said they, "the three cantons of the Helvetic confederacy, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwald, feel too strongly the absolute necessity of a constitution founded on the simplicity and economy of their ancestors, not to signify to you, citizen first consul, the ardent desire which they have of preserving, as much as possible, that which the fathers of liberty have founded, and which during nearly five hundred years has constituted the happiness of their children. Europe knows with what firmness, and with what devotion, out of all proportion to their strength, the descendants of TELL have struggled for its preservation. The diversity of worship, manners, education, customs, wants, and many other circumstances, render a uniformity of administration impossible, and the attempt could not fail totally to destroy us. Citizen first consul, one word from you would render impotent those ambitious individuals, who have influence only in proportion as they impress the idea that they are supported by France. We request this word with confidence, persuaded that it can neither be your intention, nor for the in-

terest of France, to increase the misfortunes of a people who have already suffered so much, and who desire only tranquillity and repose."

The first consul seemingly listened with attention to this application: he even went so far as to declare to the landamman, in a conference which took place between them on the 20th of December, that the democratic cantons should enjoy their ancient laws and customs. After a short interval, nevertheless, a letter was addressed to the landamman by the first consul, dated 16th Nivose, year X. or January 6, 1802, containing some remarkable passages which seemed to indicate intentions less favorable to the re-establishment of the ancient system. "You," said he to the landamman, "appear actuated by a desire for the happiness of your country. May you be seconded by your countrymen; and may Helvetia resume her place among the powers of Europe! You have experienced great evils. A grand result remains to you—the equality and liberty of your fellow-citizens. Whatever be now the birth-place of a Swiss, the shores of Lake Lemman or those of the Aar, he is free. This is the only thing I see distinctly in your present political order of things. Why should not your countrymen make an effort? Let them call forth the patriotic virtues of their ancestors! Let them sacrifice the spirit of faction to the love of public happiness and public liberty!"

To this letter a second conference succeeded, in which the first consul declared to the landamman, that the re-admission of the oligarchs of Berne into the federative body could by no means be approved of by France; but that, in consideration of the high esteem M. Reding personally enjoyed in the little cantons, she would not oppose his continuing to be president, provided six individuals, whom the first consul pointed out, all leaders of the revolutionary party, and who had been left out two months before, were again introduced into the senate, in order to pass from thence into the executive council, and there fill the place of certain ministers equally pointed out by name.

On the return of the landamman to Switzerland, which speedily ensued, he communicated this declaration to his colleagues; who considering this compromise in the light of a compact, acceded, not without regret, to the conditions required of them; and the persons nominated by the first consul were accordingly introduced into the senate.

Under the auspices of the landamman, a new federal code was framed, founded on principles of equity, and holding a kind of medium between the extreme pretensions of both parties. Three months had been employed in these labours, when the landamman adjourned the senate, with the view of retiring during the Easter holidays to

his domestic residence in the canton of Schweitz, enjoying apparently a very fair prospect of soon seeing the prosperous termination of his arduous and patriotic exertions. To the grief, however, of the friends of liberty throughout Europe, who held in veneration the heroes of Morgarten, Sempach, and Morat, and to whom the very name of Switzerland was dear, the calamities of that devoted country had not yet attained to their destined period.

Nearly at this time very considerable changes, and, probably, improvements, were made by the Batavian government in its existing constitution, no doubt with the approbation, if not the previous suggestion, of France, but apparently also with the willing concurrence of the people, to whom they were formally presented for acceptance. Conformably to the present model, the republic was divided into eight departments, corresponding to the ancient provinces, and the *generality*, or acquired territory. The government was vested in a regency, consisting of twelve members; one member to be annually chosen from a list of four persons nominated by the departments conjointly, and transmitted by them to the regency, which should reduce the names to two; the legislative body finally appointing one of these to the vacant seat. The members of the regency to vacate their seats in rotation, one in each year, on the 1st of November. The legislative body to consist of thirty-five members, to be chosen by the active citizens of the several departments. The laws to be proposed by the council of regency to the legislative body, and discussed by a committee of twelve, chosen by a plurality of voices for the term of session ordinary or extraordinary; and the members of the legislature to pronounce on the projects presented to them by a simple negative or affirmative.

In the autumn of this year, a treaty of peace was signed between France and the electoral-palatine of Bavaria, who had been ever secretly attached to the French interest, justly apprehensive, agreeably to the policy of his ancestors, of the Austrian power and insatiable passion for aggrandisement, to which that electorate seemed obviously and incessantly in danger of being made the sacrifice. "Convinced that it is her interest to prevent the Bavaro-Palatine possessions from being reduced to a state of weakness, the French republic," by this treaty, "engaged to use all its influence, and all its means, to obtain for the electoral-palatine house a territorial indemnity, situated as well as possible for its convenience, and equivalent to the losses of every kind which have been the consequence of the present war."

Immediately subsequent to the signature of the preliminaries of peace with Great Britain, the first consul hastened to conclude a treaty with the

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Ottoman Porte, which was signed at Paris, October the 9th, by the French minister Talleyrand and Esseyd Ali Effendi, formerly ambassador from Turkey, but who had been detained as a hostage at Paris some years, and was now again recognised in his diplomatic capacity to answer the present purpose. The tenor of this treaty was very advantageous to France, which was restored by it to all her pristine rights of commerce and navigation, and also to a full participation of those privileges which might in future be granted to the most favored nations.

At the same period, a formal treaty of peace was also signed between France and Russia; another between Spain and Russia; by which the political and commercial relations of the respective countries were re-established as before the war.

Another treaty, or convention, of a nature equally singular and important, and which had been for several months past under discussion, was finally concluded and signed on the 10th of September, between his holiness Pope Pius VII. on the one part, and Bonaparte, first consul of the French republic, on the other. The object of this convention, which obtained the appellation of a *concordatum*, was the re-establishment of the Roman catholic religion in France; not indeed in that mode or form in which it had subsisted under the monarchy, but in a modest and humble guise, adapted to present circumstances, and to the feelings and wishes of the French nation; a great majority of whom were attached to the catholic doctrines, though perhaps not properly papists in the strict or rigid sense of the word. The sovereign pontiff, who had long since regarded France as sunk into the depths of heresy and infidelity, thought scarcely any concessions too great to make on this occasion, for the purpose of reclaiming and recovering this great country to the profession of the true faith, and of receiving back so many millions of erring souls into the bosom of the church.

In the month of November, and not till then, the King of Prussia yielded to the pressing instances of the court of London, and withdrew his troops from the electorate of Hanover, where he had probably determined that they should remain during the continuance of the war. They were maintained for the space of eight months at the expence of the electorate. But the discipline of

the Prussian army was meritorious and exemplary; and the policy of the monarch of Prussia, on the whole, appeared firm, steady, and laudable.

At the close of the preceding year, Mr. Jefferson was, after a violent and long-protracted struggle, elected President of the United States of America, in the room of Mr. Adams; and, on the 9th of March, 1801, he made to the two houses of congress, upon his first entrance on his high office, a most admirable speech, in which he stated, with luminous energy, the principles upon which he proposed to act, and which, in his view, constituted the basis of all just government. "About to enter, fellow-citizens," said this statesman, "on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government: equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship, with all nations; entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expence; the sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of the person, under protection of the *habeas corpus*, and trial by juries impartially selected. Should we wander from these principles in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety." Of the success of his efforts, notwithstanding his strong conviction of the rectitude of his principles, the new president entertained, however, a becoming distrust.—"With experience enough," said he, "in subordinate offices, to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and favor which bring him into it."

CHAPTER XI.

State of Affairs in France.—Ratification and Celebration of the Concordatum.—Bonaparte declared First Consul for Life.—Abdication of the King of Sardinia.—Piedmont united to France.—Dissensions in Switzerland.—Heroism of M. Reding.—Armed Mediation of France.—Final Pacification of Switzerland.—Treaty of Alliance between France and the Ottoman Porte, and with the Dey of Algiers.

THE period now arrived for the re-election in France of a fifth of the members of the legislative body and the tribunate. During the preceding session it appeared, that the authority of the first consul was by no means so absolute in those assemblies as had been generally supposed; and the civil code presented for their acceptance was, in consequence of the formidable opposition which it was destined to encounter, withdrawn by him, not without some indications of chagrin and resentment. In his concluding message (December 29, 1801), the first consul declared, "that it was with regret the government found themselves obliged to postpone to another period laws expected by the nation with so much interest. But they were convinced that the time was not yet arrived when these great discussions might be carried on with that calmness and unity of intention which they required." This censure was, perhaps, not unfounded; but the first consul might have learned, from the practice of the constituent powers of the British government, among other salutary lessons, the dignified decorum, which invariably avoids ascribing, even in those cases wherein they differ, improper motives of action to each other. The chief opposers of the plan proposed by the executive government were, however, excluded by the vote of the senate at the period of re-election; among these were the distinguished names of Barthelemy, Chenier, Bailleul, Daunou, Garat, Isnard, &c.; and the ensuing session fully proved that the consular power and influence were not less than regal.

Bonaparte, after getting ten years added to his consulate, now got himself named First Consul of France for life. The next step was the senate's giving him permission to name a successor. This extension of his power gave much alarm to the Emperor of Germany and the English; so much indeed that the imperial court, though obliged by the treaty of Luneville to admit the German indemnities, was greatly averse to the business.

The Queen of Sardinia, sister of Louis XVI. and married to Charles Emanuel II., King of Sardinia (then Prince of Piedmont) in 1775, died at Naples, March 1802; and on the 4th of June

following, that monarch abdicated his crown in favor of his brother the Duke d'Aosta. Emanuel still retained the empty title of king, and retired to the vicinity of Rome, where, in the delightful retreat of Frascati, hoping to pass the remainder of his days, absolved from the anxious cares of royalty, in peaceful, though sad and inglorious, obscurity.

The hard fate of the house of Savoy excited throughout Europe universal compassion; and the total desertion of the interests of that house by England, at the treaty of Amiens, could scarcely be forgiven even by those who were most desirous of peace. It is true, that the Sardinian monarch had renounced his alliance with Great Britain; but this was the effect, not of any want of good faith, but of an irresistible and over-ruling compulsion.

In consequence of the refusal of France to restore Piedmont, Great Britain had refused to recognize the new republics of Italy and the ducal monarchy of Etruria. Bonaparte however ventured by an *organie senatus consultum* formally to unite that principality with its appendages—which, previous to the decree of union, had borne the appellation merely of the 27th military division—to the territory of the French republic. This important acquisition was, by the same decree, divided into six departments under the names of the Po, the Doria, the Sezia, the Stura, the Tanaro, and the department of Maringo, which sent collectively seventeen members to the legislative body.

Another occasion of jealousy, or more properly speaking, of animosity, at this period arose in the conduct of the French government respecting the affairs of Switzerland. The oppression and rapacity of the directorial tyranny had been nowhere more conspicuous than in that country; but, since the establishment of the consular constitution, the general state of things had undergone, as in France, a great amelioration, more particularly in the proceedings which had taken place subsequent to the treaty of Luneville. Nevertheless the first consul was by no means voluntarily inclined to deviate from the policy of the directory in respect to the establishment of a republic, one and indivisible, under a central go-

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vernment; although, in consequence of the strong and energetic remonstrances of the democratic cantons, he had been induced to promise to the patriotic landamman, Aloys Reding, that they should be left to enjoy their ancient laws, and had actually adopted measures upon the whole highly favorable to their interests and wishes.

But the scene soon changed. The opposite party, six of whose most active leaders had been so lately introduced into the senate and council, were eagerly solicitous to re-establish their former plan of a government one and indivisible, dependent necessarily upon France, and destructive equally of the ancient federal rights and the peculiar privileges of the democratic cantons. Unfortunately a recent transaction of great moment, respecting which Aloys Reding, and the majority of the Swiss senate had given high offence to the first consul, strongly disposed him to favor the views of that party which was regarded as more immediately devoted to the interests of France.

At the moment when the first consul gave unequivocal assurances to Aloys Reding, that the rights of the democratic cantons should be maintained inviolate, he had secretly determined upon a measure extremely obnoxious in itself to the Swiss nation: but which he probably flattered himself that this, combined with his other promises and concessions, would render palatable. The object in contemplation of the first consul was no less than the absolute separation from the Helvetic body of the territory called the Valais, and the erection of it into an equal and independent republic.

The motive which induced the first consul to adopt this resolution has been stated in the preceding chapter, and the declaration of December (1801) to Aloys Reding, was followed almost immediately by an order dispatched to General Turreau, to penetrate at the head of a military force into the Valais. This order was forthwith executed without the least show or shadow of resistance, excepting an energetic remonstrance on the part of the Helvetic senate, in the absence of the landamman, dated December 28, 1801, charging General Turreau with "trampling under foot the rights of the Helvetic government, and the law of nations;" and *demanding*, in the name of justice, "the re-establishment of things on their former footing." General Turreau coolly replied, "that he could not accede to their request without departing from the orders he had received;" and he scrupled not to affirm, "that all he was doing was for the good of the country, and in concurrence with the wishes of the people." The senate also addressed their complaints, through the medium of the landamman, to the first consul in person, without producing the least effect; and it might easily be perceived, that on this favorite

point his resolution was taken. A considerable number of communes, nevertheless, of the sovereign district of the Higher Valais, assembled to *protest* against all attempts at a separation; and they sent a deputation to Berne with this solemn instrument formally authenticated, and containing the declaration, "that they would yield to this separation only so long as they should be enchained and compelled to obey, and that they would constantly consider themselves as still constituting an integral part of the Helvetic republic."

The landamman, Aloys Reding, on his return from Paris, received the deputies of the Valais with distinguished marks of respect, such as he could not but know would prove highly offensive to the French government, and he hesitated not to conclude his reply to the deputation in the following terms: "Hope, however, with your magistrates, that the first consul of the French republic will not be insensible to the proofs of patriotic virtue with which you have filled the times that are recently past. Hope, that just and generous as well as great, he will respect your rights, rendered still more sacred by your misfortunes and your weakness." The landamman ordered the protest of the Valaisians to be sent and deposited in the archives of each canton, as a durable monument of the fidelity of the Valais to its ancient alliances; and he even commanded the Helvetic minister at Paris, M. Stapfer, to communicate to the first consul a copy of this monument. This step excited the extreme resentment of the cabinet of the Tuilleries; and M. Talleyrand, in the name of the first consul, reproached M. Stapfer "for the ostentation of receiving a few individuals calling themselves deputies from the Valais, and publicly admitting their complaints against the French authorities." And he went the length of concluding his note by declaring "that the first consul did not recognize any Helvetic confederation."

Two days afterwards (March 27) M. Stapfer returned a spirited answer to M. Talleyrand, in which he exclaimed, "is it not your government, citizen minister, that by the power of the bayonet has confounded the Valais as well as the Helvetic states in a common mass? Is it not by your warriors that at various times fire and sword have been carried into the Valais, to force its inhabitants to suffer themselves to be governed by laws common to all Helvetia? Is it not you, citizen minister, that signed the treaty of alliance between your nation and the Helvetic republic one and indivisible? Did not the Valais then form an essential part of that indivisible republic; and does not the treaty of Luneville consecrate the whole extent of our territory as it was at the conclusion of that treaty?"

Scarcely had the Landamman Reding set out

on his journey to Schweitz, to pass the Easter vacation in the bosom of his family, ere the six persons introduced by the recommendation of the first consul into the senate, and still more recently into the executive council, re-assembled by night on the 17th of April, and virtually displacing the landamman and the rest of his party, erected themselves into a committee of public safety, tore the constitution in pieces, which had been agreed upon by them, and the other members of the provisional government, appointed notables to draw up a new plan, and the next day received a letter from Citizen Verninac, the consular minister in Switzerland, in which he congratulated them "on having used with so much judgment the plenitude of powers which the adjournment had concentrated in their hands." This ambassador also announced to them, that his government would no doubt see, with satisfaction, a measure which tended to consummate the reconciliation of parties; and that the people of Helvetia would surely do justice to the wisdom of their intentions, no less commendable in their object than in the choice of means."

M. Reding, in a letter addressed to the first consul, dated April 22, complained in very indignant terms of this violent and outrageous proceeding; formally denouncing the conduct held by M. Verninac upon the occasion. But to this communication no answer was ever returned, and the first consul, in a speech to the legislative body early in the month of May, declared "the Helvetic body, though recognized abroad, to be still agitated at home by factions wrestling for power. The government, faithful to its fundamental principles, ought not to exercise over an independent nation any other influence than that of advice. It still hoped that the voice of wisdom and moderation would be heard, and that the neighbouring powers to Helvetia would not be forced to interfere to suppress troubles, the continuance of which would menace their own tranquillity."

In a few weeks a new constitutional code was produced by the persons who had usurped the government, founded on principles analogous to those originally adopted by the convention held in the preceding month of September. The Helvetic republic was again pronounced one and indivisible; and almost the first act of the new administration was to recognize, and even to guarantee, the independence of the republic of the Valais. This being accomplished, the policy of the first consul seemed once more in some degree to waver, and without explicitly declaring any opinion as to the intrinsic merit of the new code, he merely expressed a wish to see it tried. But the democratic cantons, justly indignant at this triumph of fraud and violence, and inflexible in their hatred to all political innovation, rejected

with scorn the new constitution; and even the aristocratic cantons, by whom it was accepted, scrupled not, as it is affirmed, loudly to declare, that their chief motive for that acceptance was to free the country from the presence of the French troops which still remained there.

Notwithstanding the public accession of the great cantons to the new constitutional code, the most decided symptoms of discontent and disaffection were apparent throughout the country, and actual disturbances broke out in various places, which were quickly repelled by the intervention of the French soldiery—no persons of credit or consequence choosing probably to encourage the spirit of resistance whilst the Helvetic government was supported by the military power of France.

Universal tranquillity being at length restored, the new government, confident in its own strength, ventured to solicit the first consul to withdraw his troops. To this unexpected request he readily and somewhat haughtily acceded. In a very short time, however, the Swiss rulers saw and repented their temerity. But, in reply to a subsequent application from the Helvetic senate, that the withdrawal of the troops might be postponed, M. Verninac was ordered (July 18) to declare to that body, the repugnance which the French government felt to alter its determination. "The first consul," said M. Verninac, "thinks, citizens, landamman and statthalters, that the government of Helvetia will at this day find in the virtues of the Helvetic people more accordance on the principles of political organization, and sufficient resources for maintaining public order and tranquillity. Such are the considerations that determined the first consul. You ought, therefore, to regard his resolution as a pledge of his confidence in the wisdom of the Helvetic people, and in the views of their government, as also of his repugnance to interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations."

The Helvetic government perceiving no remedy, announced in a proclamation dated at Berne, July 20, the approaching departure of the French troops; declaring "Helvetia to be again in possession of her independence, her national manners, and her ancient liberty, and exhorting the people to sacrifice all those regrets, and all those hopes and desires which were no longer compatible with the existing order of things." The democratic cantons inflexibly determined not to submit to this order, and at the same time dreading again to stain their native land with the blood of its bravest citizens, adopted on a sudden the idea of separating from the new Helvetic republic, and returning to the ancient and original confederation of the Waldstätten or forest states, which before the other cantons successively obtained admission, only

BOOK V. comprised Schweitz, Uri, and Underwald. But the diet of Berne, to whom they communicated their design, replied by notifying to them, "that the necessary orders had already been given to triumph over all resistance." And a proclamation was at the same time published by the executive government, containing the following terrific menace: "Cast your eyes on your devastated vallies. Behold the smoaking ruins of your habitations reduced to ashes. This was the work of the unworthy leader, to whose guidance you abandoned yourselves. The torch of discord which they are now labouring to kindle, glares on your destruction."

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Transported with indignation, the citizens of the three cantons conjured M. Reding, in this extremity, again to place himself at their head, and with them defend the sacred territory of Helvetia. At the call of his country, this hero and patriot once more unsheathed his sword. The first act of the confederation of Waldstættten, now, after an interval of 500 years revived, was to promulgate a declaration addressed to the rest of Switzerland, in mild, and even pathetic terms. "We do not," said they, "separate because we are inimical or ill-disposed. We will even again unite with any central government that will recognize and guarantee our rights and our liberty; that will put an end to our fears for our holy religion; that will recognize the incontestable right of each canton to have within itself whatever government it may think proper. We will not oppress any one; we will neither attack the rights of others, nor poison their happiness. Be just and equitable then. Friends, neighbours, brothers, and confederates, consider our resolution in its true point of view, and you will agree that we have only acted in obedience to the most urgent necessity, and the most sacred of rights." The insurgents also wrote a letter to M. Talleyrand, stating their grievances, and respectfully soliciting the benevolence and powerful mediation of the first consul.

On the earliest intelligence of the measures resolved on by the three confederate cantons, the troops of the general government were put in motion; and, on the other hand, no sooner was it ascertained that those troops had marched from Berne, than the contiguous cantons of Zug, Glaris, Appenzell, and even the Grisons, sent deputies to Schweitz, to renew the ancient Helvetic oath, to perish all for one and one for all.

Scarcely had the vanguard of the regular troops set foot on the territory of the Waldstættten, than it was attacked and cut to pieces by the militia of Underwald. This was the signal of an almost universal insurrection. It was Zurich that first dared to shut her gates to the army of the government, which thereupon gave orders for the bombardment of that beautiful and populous

city. But this barbarity served only to heighten the general rage and resentment. Receiving daily accessions of force, the insurgents subduing all opposition on the part of the government, entered Zurich in triumph about the middle of September, and immediately marched to Berne under the conduct of Aloys Reding, the acknowledged chief of the insurrection, and whose talents, both military and civil, more and more displayed themselves as occasions successively arose. Though apparently secure in a city surrounded with entrenchments and strongly garrisoned, the new landamman Dolder, with his colleagues in office, surrendered at the first summons, on the sole condition of a safeguard for themselves and the garrison to Fribourg, which place was likewise found in a short time untenable, and the troops of the Helvetic government, shattered by repeated attacks, at length took refuge in the Pays-de-Vaud, the only district where they still preserved a party.

In these circumstances, the principal members and adherents of the new constitution, now re-assembled at Lausanne, had no other resource than to invoke as suppliants rather than as friends or allies, the powerful assistance of France. On the other hand, the leaders of the insurgents established without delay a provisional government, and deputed a confidential person to Paris, who arrived in that city on the 28th of September, for the purpose of engaging the first consul to suffer the people of Switzerland to settle their affairs among themselves. At the same time they issued a proclamation, leaving the inhabitants of the several cantons at liberty to choose and regulate their local governments, and recommending a liberal and rational plan for the regulation of the Helvetic confederacy. The general diet also convened at this period by the patriots at Schweitz in a declaration dated September 30, professed in terms of good sense and moderation, "that, far from wishing completely to re-establish the ancient order of things, the most careful attention would be employed as well in the establishment of the general constitution as in the formation of particular institutions; and care would be taken neither to lose sight of the changes which had occurred in the nature of things, nor of the sentiments which these changes had given birth to." And in a short time the plan of a new federal constitution was agreed upon, which appeared perfectly conformable to the previous professions of this assembly.

The agent of the insurgents at Paris had instructions to address himself to the ministers residing there, of the principal powers of Europe, and to solicit their interference and assistance in the objects of his mission. At first he flattered himself, from the result of an interview with M. Talleyrand, that the first consul would put no

obstacle in the way of any arrangement which the Swiss might agree upon among themselves. His surprise was therefore great when a proclamation issued the next day from St. Cloud, by the first consul, addressed to the inhabitants of Helvetia, in which he declared, "that it had been determined by him not to interfere farther in their affairs, but as he neither could nor ought to remain insensible to the misery of which they were the victims, he recalled his determination." "I will," added he, "be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation shall be efficacious, such as befits the great people in whose name I speak." The first consul then commanded all hostilities to cease, and required the senate and each canton to send deputies to Paris, to consult with him upon the means of restoring union and tranquillity, and conciliating all parties.

The confidential agent of the Swiss patriots, who had no objection to the interference of France in their own favor, but who now justly apprehended that it might be employed in behalf of the government over which they had obtained so complete a triumph, wrote in urgent terms to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian ambassadors at Paris, soliciting them jointly to intercede with the first consul, in order to avert the impending evil; but not one of these ministers would design to admit him to an audience. From the English resident, Mr. Merry, he met, however, with a much more favorable reception. To this gentleman he stated, that he was not only as yet without a reply from any quarter, but had reason to fear that his prayers would not be listened to by the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian ministers. He therefore conjured the resident to transmit them to his Britannic majesty's government, "from whom alone his countrymen could have a hope of deriving any assistance in the terrible conflict which he *knew* they were determined to stand, and which would only cease by the extermination of every virtuous and brave man in the country." The agent then put into the hands of Mr. Merry a note, specifying the various grievances under which the confederated cantons suffered from "that colossal power, which was now," according to this representation, "about to overwhelm them." And imploring the aid and protection of Great Britain, he concluded with saying—"We have only men left us; the revolution, and spoliations without end, have exhausted our means—we are without arms, without ammunition, without stores, and without money to purchase them."

In consequence of the communication thus made to the English government, Lord Hawkesbury in a note to M. Otto, dated October 10, expressed in very proper language the sentiments of deep regret which had been excited in his majesty's mind by the address of the first consul

to the Helvetic people. "His majesty," said this minister, "most sincerely laments the convulsions to which the Swiss cantons have for some time past been exposed: but he can consider their late exertions in no other light than as the lawful efforts of a brave and generous people to recover their antient laws and government, and to procure the re-establishment of a system, which experience has demonstrated not only to be favorable to the maintenance of their domestic happiness, but to be perfectly consistent with the tranquillity and security of other powers. With whatever regret his majesty may have perused the late proclamation of the French government, he is yet unwilling to believe that they will farther attempt to control that independent nation in the exercise of their undoubted rights."

Mr. Moore, a respectable and intelligent gentleman, was sent by the English government to Switzerland, in order to establish a communication with the chiefs of the insurrection; and he was instructed to state to them, "that his majesty entertained hopes that his representation to the French government might have the effect of inducing the first consul to abandon his intention of compelling the Swiss nation, by force, to renounce that system of government under which they had so long prospered, and to which they appeared to be almost unanimously anxious to return: In this event his majesty would feel himself bound to abstain from all interference on his part; it being his earnest desire that the Swiss nation should be left at liberty to regulate their own internal concerns without the interposition of any foreign power. If, however, contrary to his majesty's expectations, the French government should persist in the system of coercion announced in the proclamation of the first consul, Mr. Moore was directed to inform himself of the dispositions of the people at large, and also their means of defence; and if they were finally resolved at all hazards to resist the threatened attempt, then he was to communicate to the Swiss government in confidence, that either in the event of a French army having entered the country, or advancing for that purpose, his majesty would accede to their application for pecuniary succours."

On the 3d of October, General Rapp delivered the mandate of the first consul to the exiled senate, at Lausanne; which body expressed, by acclamation, its most lively gratitude for the consular interposition; and on the 6th the patriots of Berne were officially apprised of this proceeding. After a short consultation, they determined to refer the whole to the decision of the diet actually convened at Schweitz. But this assembly justly deemed it inexpedient to attempt any other means of opposition than remonstrances. These were comprised in an official appeal to the

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first consul (dated October 8th), representing the movements which had taken place in Switzerland, as resulting not from the spirit of party, but from a general sense of the rights and necessities of the Swiss nation—that, far from aiming at any violent innovation, the universal wish was peace, and a mild and equal government; and that they had no doubt of arriving at that essential object of social order, the moment their will and their efforts should cease to be fettered. “General first consul,” said they, “all Europe admires in you the supreme head of an immense power and empire, which, without doubt, according to your own views, will be directed to the good of humanity. Your magnanimity assures us, that you will not make use of it against a people who only desire what you have made them hope; and who only wish what they believe themselves authorised by yourself to do.” Such was the expiring effort of the Swiss patriots, who had made repeated and unavailing applications to the court of Vienna, which refused even to hold any correspondence with them.

On the 12th of October, the council of war also issued a declaration from Basle, expressly disclaiming any intention of resistance.—“Brothers, friends, confederates! Who among us could conceive the thought of measuring ourselves with the numerous and experienced armies of France? No, friends, no: we wish to await peaceably the determination of the first consul. Relying on our conduct, we dare to hope that the first consul of France, who has guaranteed our independence, and who has been deceived by false reports, will, as soon as he shall have been informed of the true state of things, take measures which will secure our honor, and the prosperity and independence of our country.” The troops of the insurgents were, conformably to this statement, in a short time disbanded; and on the 17th of October the senate resumed the possession of Berne.

The diet at Schweitz, more and more sensible how utterly unavailing it were to oppose force to force, declared (October 26) to General Ney, commander of the French army, amounting to 30,000 men, through the medium of Aloys Reding, their president, “that they had taken the resolution of delivering up their powers into the hands of their constituents as soon as the French troops should enter Switzerland, having *never* entertained the design of opposing them by force of arms. Now that the diet is positively informed that the cities of Basle and Berne are occupied by French troops, it no longer delays to dissolve itself; and at the same time they seize this opportunity of declaring to the general, that, agreeably to the instructions they have received from their constituents, which they consider themselves obliged to conform to, they cannot

regard the Helvetic government as established, nor alienate the sacred right which their nation possesses, of forming a constitution for itself—a right which they inherited from their ancestors, and which was confirmed to them by the treaty of Luneville.”

Two days after this declaration, the diet of Schweitz dissolved itself, conformably to the intimation thus given.

On the 31st of October, Mr. Moore wrote to Lord Hawkesbury, from the city of Constance, that he had just received authentic intelligence of the submission of the diet of Switzerland assembled at Schweitz. In consequence of this information, permission was given to the English agent, who came just in time to witness the termination of the business, “to return to England as soon as it might suit his convenience.”

In the midst of these transactions, the French minister of foreign affairs addressed (Oct. 15.) a letter to M. de Cetto, resident on the part of the Elector of Bavaria at Paris, containing a plausible apology for the conduct of the first consul respecting Switzerland, and stating some material facts tending to his vindication. He asserted, “that it was not till blood had flowed, and Helvetia menaced with a general destruction, that the first consul had interposed his mediation. The continental powers adjoining Helvetia have not contemplated without apprehensions the external effects of a disorder, the *focus* of which was established in that country. In this state of affairs, humanity—the interest of France and of Europe—demanded that the first consul should desist from the determination he had made, not to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland. He has not, however, for one moment ceased to consider, that the most perfect independence ought to be the basis of her constitution. The right of establishing her own organization acquired by Helvetia, was one of the glorious results of the war which France had sustained against the most powerful armies of Europe, and of the treaties which had terminated it.” Speaking of the “turbulent emigrants,” by whose intrigues he insinuated that the late troubles had arisen, he said, “One might conceive that it will be those persons who will endeavour to spread the belief, that the Helvetic republic might be led by a spirit of imitation to establish with the first consul the relations which united him to the Italian republic; but this idea was as far from the expectation of the first consul, as it was opposite to all his determinations; and his formal intention was not to concur in the organization of Switzerland, but for the purpose of insuring to her an absolute independence.”

This was certainly professing a great deal too much. The “absolute independence of Switzerland” was not, and could not be, agreeable

to the views of the first consul. In the proclamation of the senate and executive council, issued subsequent to their return to Berne (dated November 13th), after adverting to "the various accusations which a factious hatred had organised against them, they declared, in the face of these accusations, that not one family would be mentioned of whose ruin they had been the cause—ONE individual in whose person the right of citizen had been violated. It was, on the contrary, for having been too indulgent, too confident in the justice of their fellow-citizens; in one word, too little severe; that they had sustained these reverses. The insurrectional authorities ordered, in the course of four weeks, ten times more arrests, odious inquiries, and measures of rigour of all kinds, than *they* ordered in the course of their existence."

The constitution of 1802 was nevertheless manifestly not adapted to the genius of the Swiss nation. The small democratic cantons, the most warlike and the most active of the confederacy, were so passionately attached to their own forms of government, that no persuasion, no intimidation, no force, could long induce a submission to any other. Of this great truth the first consul appeared to have been, by experience, and the evidence of facts, at length, fully convinced. On the 10th of the following month (December, 1802), the deputies, fifty-six in number, from the eighteen cantons, constituting the *consulta*, being assembled at Paris, a letter was addressed to them from the first consul, declaring, "that he would fulfil the obligation he had contracted to re-establish tranquillity in Switzerland—and he relied upon the support of the Helvetic deputies. The three important points to be enforced and established at the present moment, were, first, Equality of rights between all the cantons—secondly, Complete renunciation of all family rights, and—thirdly, A federative organization for each canton. He told them, in plain terms, that the French and Italian republics can never suffer the establishment of a government in Switzerland which should be mediately or immediately opposite to the interests of France; that it was the duty of the French government to take care that no hostile system be formed in Switzerland, that open frontier of France. And in regard to the final settlement of disputes between themselves, he gave it as his opinion that no party ought to be triumphant."

On the 12th a deputation from the *consulta* were admitted to a personal audience of the first consul, at St. Cloud; and in the course of the conference, as reported by the deputation, he explained his intentions very fully and satisfactorily on the subject. "The more I learn," said the first consul, "of your country, the more I am convinced that it cannot with advantage have

more than a single government;" but he admitted that "this government must be a federative one. By the representative system the democratic cantons would be subjected to the necessity of payments to which they were unaccustomed. The descendants of William Tell must know neither the restraint of chains, nor the payment of imposts. But, on the other hand, for Berne, and the other great cantons, the attempt at pure democracy were absurd. Your different cantons must of necessity have diversities of constitutional arrangement. With three leading exceptions, you must be re-established nearly in the same political order as before. The inequality of rights which subsisted among the old cantons—the relations between sovereign and subject states—with the prerogatives of the patrician families, must be abolished for ever. Under these corrections of the constitutions of the cantons, Switzerland may possess a federative government of effective vigour. Between two powers, in respect to which there is a balance of force and influence, you are safe. Preserve your neutrality, your laws, your political tranquillity, your good morals, and your fortune cannot but be happy. Confederate government enfeebles great states, but by concentrating, invigorates the energies of those which are small. Of your last constitution I cannot approve. A central government cannot be maintained among you without the presence of French troops. Your present government knows this by experience. Its members spoke the voice of patriotism, in consenting that the French troops should be withdrawn; but their prudence in that consent was not justified by the events which followed."

This discourse, so consolatory to the members of the *consulta*, and to all Switzerland, did not evaporate in mere words. In a few weeks the final act of mediation was promulgated by the first consul, founded entirely upon the principles inculcated in his speech.

Conformably to this mediatorial *decree*, the cantons were divided into three classes—the democratic, the aristocratic, and the new or additional cantons, viz. Argovia, the Leman, or Pays de Vaud, Turgovia, St. Gall, and the Tesin; in the latter of which classes the representative system was for the first time introduced into the cantonal governments. The two former classes were re-established with the excellent and salutary modifications suggested by the first consul, and which the diet of Schweiz also had, or professed to have, in contemplation. The diet was to assemble every year in turn, in one of the six great towns, Berne, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, Lucerne, and Fribourg. The canton in which it held its sitting was to be the directorial canton. The avoyer of this canton was to be the landamman of Switzerland. He was to have the charge of

BOOK V. all diplomatic negotiations—he was to watch over all the laws and ordinances of the diet, and also those of the particular constitutions. The diet was to be composed of a deputy from each canton, who was to have full powers, limited only by his instructions. The deputies from the nineteen cantons, including the Grisons, to have thirty-five voices. The cantons of Berne, of Zurich, of Vaud, Argovia, St. Gall, and the Grisons, to have three voices each; those of Fribourg, Turgovia, Lucerne, and Tesin, two each; the others, one. The diet was to assemble every year on the 1st of June; it was to continue its sittings but one month: in that time it might conclude treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce, with foreign powers. On comparison, this plan of government will be found extremely analogous to that recently promulgated by the patriotic diet of Schweitz.

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Owing to the steps taken by the English government, the first consul was induced to make these unexpected concessions, though mingled emotions of spleen and resentment pervaded his breast in consequence of this interference. Aloys Reding was elected landamman of the canton of Schweitz, the general assembly, or landsgeimen of which, in a public fetter, dated April 14, 1803, returned their grateful acknowledgments to the first consul, for "his act of mediation, which had restored to them," as they said, "their ancient constitution."

A treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was in the course of the summer concluded at Paris, between the first consul and the Sublime Porte, by which the free navigation of the Black Sea was permitted to the French flag, and all other advantages conferred, which were granted by the Turkish government to the most favored nations; but no stipulation was inserted by which the privileges conceded to the English were in any degree affected. On the other hand, the French government guaranteed to the Ottoman Porte the integrity of all its possessions.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, the first consul sent a powerful squadron to the coast of Barbary, which, casting anchor before the city

of Algiers, compelled the dey, whose subjects had been guilty of many depredations upon the French commerce, to sign a convention in the highest degree honorable to the Gallic flag, and even to that of the Italian republic. In a letter written by the dey to the first consul, he said, "You require me to enter into terms of amity with the Italian republic. At your request I shall respect its flag equally as your own. To the same request from any other person, I would not for a million of piastres have agreed. You have refused the 200,000 piastres which I asked in compensation for the losses I had sustained on your account. Whether you give or withhold them, we shall equally remain in friendship. Your people are at liberty to come to the coral fishery as soon as they please. Your African company shall enjoy its old privileges. Should any future difference arise, write to me directly, and it shall be settled to your wishes. May God preserve you in health and glory!"

The business of Switzerland being at length disposed of, a fair prospect seemed once more to open, of establishing what should at least bear some faint semblance of amity between the two proud and jealous governments of Great Britain and France; and in the month of November, General Andreossi, who had long been nominated, on the part of the first consul, as ambassador to England, arrived in London, as Lord Whitworth did nearly at the same time on that of his Britannic majesty at Paris.

Thus terminated, for a short time, a long and interesting contest; and it is remarkable, that not one of the great objects, originally aimed at by any of the belligerent powers, was obtained by this appeal to arms. The pride of Bonaparte was indeed gratified, for Great Britain had now acknowledged his sway.

During this summer, Paris was visited by a great number of Englishmen of rank and distinction; among the rest by Mr. Fox, who was received by M. Bonaparte, and indeed by the whole French nation, with the highest marks of respect and honor.

CHAPTER XII.

French Affairs.—Legion of Honor instituted.—Joseph Bonaparte elected Grand Officer.—New Constitution of France.—Bonaparte offended with the Liberty of the Press.—Letter in the Moniteur on the Subject.

BONAPARTE, not satisfied with the sovereignty which the French nation had formally invested him with, under the name of first consul for life,

resolved to secure his recent acquirement by a kind of order of nobility, which should support his despotism; and a new constitution which

should, to its utmost latitude, give it countenance and sanction.

Accordingly, Roederer, one of the counsellors of state, proposed, in a florid harangue, on the 15th of May, the appointment of a legion of honor, as the best means of supporting the grandeur of the French nation, and of guarding its dominions; nor did he fail to remind them, that although peace was so recently concluded, it was far from improbable but that it might soon be violated.

The project for this new order was then read, the principal provisions of which were as follow: "The legion should be divided into fifteen cohorts, which were to be stationary in different quarters of the empire. Each cohort should consist of seven great officers, twenty commandants, thirty inferior officers, and 350 privates. Each great officer to receive 5000 francs per annum, during life; each commandant 2000 francs, each inferior officer 1000 francs, and each private 250: all for life. Every individual was to swear, on his admission to the legion, on his honor, that he would devote his life and services to the well-being of the republic; to the preservation of its territorial indivisibility; to the defence of its government, its laws, and the property by them consecrated; to oppose, by all the means which justice, reason, and the laws authorize, every undertaking which might tend to the restoration of the ancient forms and government, of the titles and privileges attached to them; and to exert his best and most strenuous efforts for the maintenance of the present order of things. All military men, who had received honorary distinctions of arms from the first consul, were members of the legion; or who had rendered essential service in the defence of liberty in the late war, either in the field or in the councils; and citizens who, by their abilities, knowledge, or talents, had contributed to establish the principles of the republic, or who had been eminent in the administration of justice, or who had by their virtues caused it to be respected, might be nominated candidates."

On the 12th of July following, a decree of the first consul established finally this singular establishment, consisting of nearly 6000 individuals, all of whom were bound, by solemn oath and their individual interest, to look up to the first consul, (who was declared *de jure* chief of the legion, and president of the great council of the administration of the order), as the soul and spring of all their movements; for whose security they were distributed, a titled and armed body of spies, throughout the whole of the empire; and on whose favor and protection was grounded their sole dependance. By this *arrête* the administration of their domains was finally arranged in the most minute manner; repositories were appointed for the archives of the order; the mode of electing the great officers of the order was ascertained;

and finally, this decree was entered, with every usual ceremonial, into the bulletin of the laws.

On the 18th of July, Citizen Joseph Bonaparte was declared elected grand officer and member of the grand council of administration of the legion of honor, he having a plurality of votes; and thus was permanently organized a privileged order, for the avowed purpose of protecting absolute authority in the person of an individual, and confirmed to him for life; in that very capital, which had witnessed, but a few years before, the proscription of its nobles, and the murder of its sovereign, as the sole means by which these distinctions could be for ever abolished!

A constitution perfectly conformable to his will was all that now remained to be imposed by this fortunate usurper, on his abject and submissive subjects.

It was promulged on the third day after the consulate was confirmed to him for life, was finally determined and accepted in the course of a single sitting of his obsequious legislative body, and was immediately proclaimed to the people in the usual form of a *senatus consultum*.

It consisted of ten separate heads, the substance of which was as follows:—

"The consuls are for life: the first consul presents the names of the other two to the senate, who may reject the first and second so offered to them, but the third presentation must be accepted. The first consul may name his successor. Should he, however, not choose or neglect so to do, the second or third consuls nominate one, who may be rejected as above; but the third nomination is imperative. The succession must be declared within twenty-four hours after the death of the first consul. The first consul has the right of pardoning in all cases; of making war and peace; ratifies all treaties; nominates all inferior officers; can appoint forty members of the senate of his own absolute authority, which, when entire, consists but of 120; prescribes to them the only subjects they can deliberate upon; and has the power of introducing into every deliberative body a majority of his own creatures."

Thus arbitrarily and absolutely was vested a power in the first consul and his successors, more despotic than any European monarch had ever dreamed of assuming, much less of compelling his subjects to be parties to, by solemnly and gravely declaring, their slavery irrevocably established by laws of their own making.

It would be little worth while to comment further on the other provisions of this detestable code, at once the mockery and punishment of the abject wretches, who preferred the government of this unprincipled stranger to the mild and beneficent sway of the Bourbons.

The public papers and public men condemned the peace and its makers, and constantly abused

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the first consul in the vilest terms. The "Courrier de Londres," conducted by French emigrants, gave the greatest offence. It was circulated in La Vendée and other French provinces, and its design was to stir up a rebellion in favor of the old monarchy. Bonaparte was highly offended with the liberty of the English press, as will appear by the following article, taken from the Paris official paper, the *Moniteur*, of the 9th of August, 1802.

"The *Times*, which is said to be under ministerial inspection, is filled with perpetual invectives against *France*. Two of its four pages are every day employed in giving currency to the grossest calumnies. All that imagination can depict, that is low, vile, and base, is by that miserable paper attributed to the French government. What is its end? Who pays it? What does it wish to effect?

"A French journal, edited by some miserable emigrants, the remnant of the most impure, a vile refuse, without country, without honor, sullied with crimes which it is not in the power of any amnesty to wash away, outdoes even the *Times*.

"Eleven bishops, presided over by the atrocious Bishop of Arras, rebels to their country and to the church, have assembled in London. They print libels against the bishops and the French clergy; they injure the government of the pope, who has re-established the peace of the gospel among forty millions of Christians.

"The isle of Jersey is full of brigands, condemned to death by the tribunals for crimes committed subsequent to the peace; for assassinations, robberies, and the practices of an incendiary.

"The treaty of Amiens stipulates, that persons accused of crimes, of murder, for instance, shall be respectively delivered up. The assassins who are at Jersey are, on the contrary, received. They depart from thence unmolested, in fishing-boats, disembark on our coasts, assassinate the richest proprietors, and burn the stacks of corn and the barns.

"Georges wears openly at London his red ribband, as a recompense for the infernal machine which destroyed a part of Paris, and killed thirty women and children, or peaceable citizens. This special protection authorizes a belief, that if he had succeeded he would have been honored with the order of the garter.

"Let us make some reflections on this strange conduct of our neighbours.

"When two great nations make peace, is it for the purpose of reciprocally exciting troubles, or to engage and pay for crimes? Is it for the purpose of giving money and protection to all men who wish to trouble the state? And as to the liberty of the press, is a country to be at liberty to speak of a nation, friendly, and newly recon-

ciled, in a manner which they durst not speak of a government against whom they were prosecuting a deadly war?

"Is not one nation responsible to another nation for all the acts and all the conduct of its citizens? Do not acts of parliament even prohibit allied governments, or their ambassadors, to be insulted?

"It is said that Richelieu, under Louis XIII. assisted the revolution in England, and contributed to bring Charles the First to the scaffold. M. de Choiseul, and, after him, the ministers of Louis XVI. doubtless excited the insurrection in America. The late English ministry have had their revenge; they excited the massacres of September, and influenced their movements, by means of which Louis XVI. perished on the scaffold, and by means of which our principal manufacturing cities, such as Lyons, were destroyed.

"Is it still wished that this series of movements and influence, which has been productive of such calamitous consequences to both states, for so many ages, should be prolonged? Would it not be more reasonable, and more conformable to the results of experience, to make use of the reciprocal influence of proper commercial relations, as the means of protecting commerce, of preventing the fabrication of false money, and opposing a refuge to criminals?

"Besides, what result can the English government expect from fomenting the troubles of the church? from receiving and vomiting back upon our territory the brigands of the *Cotes-du-Nord* and Morbihan, covered with the blood of the best and richest proprietors of those unfortunate departments—from spreading by every means, instead of severely repressing, all the calumnies circulated by English writers, or by the French press at London? Do they not know that the French government is now more solidly established than the English government? And do they think that reciprocity will be difficult for the French government?

"What would be the effect of such an exchange of injuries, of the influence of insurrectional committees, of the protection and encouragement granted to assassins? What would be gained to civilization, to the commerce and the happiness of both nations?

"Either the English government authorises and tolerates those public and private crimes, in which case it cannot be said that such conduct is consistent with British generosity, civilization, and honor; or it cannot prevent them, in which case it does not deserve the name of a government; above all, if it does not possess the means of repressing assassination and calumny, and protecting social order!"

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

Events which led to a Renewal of the War with France.—Meeting of the Imperial Parliament.—Debates on his Majesty's Speech.—Sentiments of the War Party.—Delays attending the Surrender of Malta to France.—Complaints against the Liberty of the English Press.—An offensive Paper in the Moniteur.—Fatal Consequences of the same.—Lord Whitworth's Conversation with Bonaparte.—The Consular Address and its Effects.—Insolence of Bonaparte, &c. &c.

THAT the reader may form a just and complete view of the foreign policy of that memorable administration, in and over which Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury possessed the chief direction, it will be necessary, in this chapter, impartially to pursue those measures adopted by them and by the consular government which led to a renewal of hostilities.

The new imperial parliament met on the 16th of November, 1802. His majesty, in his opening speech, expressed himself in language, respecting foreign affairs, well calculated to keep alive the spirit of uncertainty and anxiety. "In my intercourse with foreign powers," said he, "I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace. It is nevertheless impossible for me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy by which the interests of other states are connected with our own; and I cannot, therefore, be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of my people."

The address was moved in the house of lords by Lord Arden, and seconded by Lord Nelson, who declared his approbation of a plan of government, which promised to maintain the ancient dignity of the country, without hastily throwing away the blessings of peace. "War," added he, "had not exhausted our resources; our national industry had not been slackened, nor had it been frustrated of its rewards. The condition of the country's unexampled prosperity immediately after the war, was such as would render the English inexcusable, were they to sacrifice its honor. He

had himself seen much of the miseries of war, BOOK VI. which had made an indelible impression on his heart; he was therefore, in his inmost soul, a man of peace; yet could he not consent for any peace, however fortunate, to sacrifice one jot of England's honor. Honor was the most valuable of her interests; it was that which always procured her the respect and regard of the nations on the continent. The nation had been satisfied with the sincere spirit of peace in which the British government had negotiated the treaty; and if a restless and unjust ambition in those with whom Britons desired a sincere amity, gave a new alarm, the country, doubtless, would rather press the government to assert its honor, than shrink from the supplies which a vigorous state of preparation would require."

During the debate upon the address, some very severe animadversions took place upon the general policy and conduct of the new ministers. Lord Grenville declared, "that the measures of vigilance and preparation now proposed, were necessary in consequence of a peace in which all concern for the interest of the rest of Europe, and all regard to the honor of this country, were abandoned. Subsequent to the period of signing the preliminaries, ministers had seen the first consul extort new concessions from Portugal, contrary to the spirit of his engagements with Great Britain. The King of Sardinia had kept his faith with this country inviolate; and yet he was suffered to be stripped of his dominions at a time, when, if the restitution of Piedmont had been insisted on, it would scarcely have been denied. Why did France hesitate to annex Piedmont to its departments till after the conclusion of the definitive treaty, but that she might not preclude

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herself from that restitution if resolutely demanded? The treaty of Amiens gave Piedmont to France, and with Piedmont the sovereignty of Italy. Martinico, Malta, the Cape; every thing was resigned; and did we now presume to remonstrate against the fortune of Parma, or of Switzerland? It was the want of energy, of plan, of foresight, that subjugated the genius of Britain before the first consul of France. It was as if ministers had conspired with the adversary to bind Great Britain hand and foot. The ruin they had prepared was upon us." His lordship concluded by expressing his opinion, that Great Britain might still be able to rouse the powers of Europe, if its councils were under the direction of a leader of courage and capacity; of the man (Mr. Pitt) to whom Europe looked up for the preservation of its dearest rights and liberties.

In the house of commons the address was moved by the Hon. Mr. French, member for Galway, and seconded by the Hon. Mr. Curzon, who remarked "that the acquisitions of France upon the continent, and her extended line of maritime frontier, directly opposite Britain's eastern coasts, required a much stronger defensive system than was ever before deemed necessary."

Mr. Fox wished to know whether France was for ever to be considered England's rival? Whether Englishmen were to be always, even when apparently at peace, in such a state of rivalry as bordered upon hostility? England appeared to him never to have a fairer chance of superiority than at the epoch of the present peace. As to the French navy, the most timid had ceased to dread it. The general objects of the French government were, it appeared to him, to revive commerce and improve its commercial and manufacturing system, by imitating the means which had raised Great Britain. Such rivalry should give no alarm. He acknowledged the power of France to be greater than he or any Englishman could wish it, but that was no ground for going to war; and he hoped the sense of the nation might be, to retain the advantages of the peace they had made.

Mr. Windham declared "Destruction was impending over Englishmen. Europe might be said to be in ruins. This country seemed to touch the moment of dissolution; and he thought, upon the present system of amity with France, her fall inevitable. What was become of Holland? of Genoa? of Switzerland? of Modena and Parma? all swallowed up in the inordinate encroachments of the first consul. Germany was no longer Germany; and England would soon be in the same melancholy situation. In times past, France was formidable with a population of twenty-four millions, but now her power was gigantic and tremendous. He was astonished at the indifference

of the honorable gentleman, (meaning Mr. Fox,) who seemed to have lost his feelings when he spoke of the French revolution. For his own part, he must exclaim with MACBETH—

Can such things be,
And overcome us, like a summer's cloud,
Without our special wonder? You make me strange
Even to the disposition that I owe,
When now I think you can behold such sights,
And keep the natural ruby of your cheek,
When mine is blanch'd with fear.—

He cautioned ministers to weigh well the situation this country would be in when war comes, which he thought could not be far off; and he believed it was much safer to anticipate the blow than to defer it. That, however, must be left to the responsibility of ministers; but, in his opinion, they ought not to part with any measures or means which chance or circumstances may have left in their hands, even though keeping them should risk an immediate war. "We were," he said, "at present in so awful a crisis, that it brought into play all the strongest impulses that could actuate the heart of man. The country could not be saved without the co-operation of the majority of the nation; and he advised ministers to appeal to the high-minded and proud of heart, to those susceptible of an ardent love of their country: and he hoped that the heroic spirit for which England had been so long and so deservedly celebrated, would be found much more general than is now supposed. At all events, whether ministers succeeded or not in their efforts to save the nation, they would at least save their characters: they would not go down like the AUGUSTULI, but would show that they dared to adopt those vigorous measures which the danger they saw rising up on all sides, and threatening to overwhelm them, so loudly called for."

In this debate, ministers argued as strongly in favor of peace, as if they had made every effort for its preservation, instead of having exerted, in the recent instance of Switzerland, all the means which they possessed, futile and feeble as indeed they eventually proved, to renew the war on the continent. Lord Hawkesbury declared, "that he could not coincide with those who would have this country the knight-errand, or Drawcansir, in every case of contest on the continent." He maintained that the interference of France was to be expected in the affairs of Switzerland. He allowed that this interference had been attended with gross partiality; but nothing had occurred which could warrant a renewal of hostilities: and he assured the house, that no excitement in the first instance, or encouragement in the second, had ever been lent to the people of Switzerland from this country.

Mr. Addington professed himself proud to say,

“ that at no period of our history had despondency so little to fear, or hope so much to expect. He could truly assert, that if he were to take a retrospect of his past life, and fix on that portion of it which could afford him most gratification, he should always consider the share he had in making the late peace as the most fortunate part of it. He acknowledged the political aggrandisement of France; but it must be something more than the arguments he had then heard, which would induce him to think that war would now tend to the reduction of her power.” The address was at length voted without a division.

It was reasonably to be expected, as perfectly consonant with the general tenor of their policy, that the Grenville party should appear the zealous opponents of the peace, and the severe accusers of the first consul. The concessions made on the part of England to France by the treaty of Amiens, were indeed such, that, if a mutual spirit of amity did not accompany the return of peace, it was impossible not to allow that they were far too great: and the most undeviating wisdom of conduct was requisite, on the part of ministers, to prove to the world, that the sacrifices they had consented to were not the result of intimidation and pusillanimity, but of moderation and equity. So problematic, however, had been the conduct of administration, in the whole of their transactions with France since the peace, imperfectly known as they were to the public at this period, that the most intelligent persons began to augur very disastrous consequences. As long, nevertheless, as ministers professed themselves, from whatever motives, adverse to the policy of involving the nation in a second war with the French republic, upon any grounds which had yet been stated, it was necessary to give them every practicable support.

At this time, the Grenville party received a great addition of force from a quarter where they had least right to expect it, viz. from divers individuals of the old or whig opposition, who had so meritoriously contended against the late system, and who had approved the treaty of peace as the best, or nearly the best, which circumstances would permit the new ministers to obtain from France; but who now, from a sudden aversion to the first consul, whom they publicly stigmatised and denounced as a *tyrant* and *usurper*, seemed no less eager than the avowed impugnors of the peace, to plunge the country into a new war. The most distinguished person of this, by no means small or insignificant party, was Mr. Sheridan, who, in direct contradiction to the arguments of Mr. Fox, took every occasion of uttering vehement invectives against the government of France, and the person and character of the first consul, not to be exceeded by the rage of those who were more emphatically, though not more

justly, designated by the appellation of the *war party*. BOOK VI.

On the 8th of December, Mr. Yorke, secretary at war, proposing an enormous peace-establishment of 130,000 men, Mr. Sheridan supported the motion, in a speech which was not at all in unison with those formerly delivered by him in that house. “ I find,” said this gentleman, “ a disposition in some gentlemen to rebuke any man who shall freely declare his opinion respecting the first consul of France. I will abstain from offending them if I can—I say if I can, because I feel that even a simple narrative may be construed into invective. I perfectly agree with my honorable friend (Mr. Fox), that war ought to be avoided; though he does not agree with me on the means best calculated to produce that effect. From any opinion he may express, I never differ but with the greatest reluctance. For him, my affection, my esteem, and my attachment are unbounded, and they will end only with my life. He (Bonaparte) has discovered that we all belong to the western family. I confess I felt a sentiment of deep indignation when I heard that this scrap of nonsense was uttered to one of the most enlightened of the human race. To this family party I do not wish to belong. He might invite persons, if he pleased, to dinner; and, like Lord Peter, say, ‘ that this tough crust is excellent mutton.’ He might toss a sceptre to the King of Etruria to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him in the corner: but my humble apprehension is, that, though in the tablet and volume of his mind there might be some marginal note about cashiering the King of Etruria, yet the whole text was occupied with the destruction of this country. This was the first vision that broke upon him through the gleam of the morning; this was his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he addressed it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet, to the goddess of battles, or the goddess of reason. He said he was an instrument in the hands of Providence; I believe he was so; to make the English love their constitution better—to cling to it with more fondness, and to render them determined, with one hand and heart, to oppose to any aggression that might be made upon them a prompt, resolute, and determined resistance, be the consequences what they might. We ought to meet the hostility of France with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country, which, like England, had achieved such greatness, could have no retreat in littleness; that if Englishmen could be content to abandon every thing, they should find no safety in poverty, no security in abject submission. The Bourbons were ambitious; but it was not so necessary for them to feed their subjects with the spoils and plunder of war; but I see, in the very situation and composition of the power of Bonaparte, a

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physical necessity for him to go on in this barter with his subjects, and to promise to make them *masters of the world* if they will consent to be *his slaves*. I certainly looked to the rejoicings at the peace as an unmanly and irrational exultation. Was the danger from France diminished by that event? Russia, if not directly in his power, was within the sphere of his influence; Prussia was at his beck; Italy was his vassal; Holland was in his grasp; Spain at his nod; Turkey in his toils; Portugal at his foot. I mark him taking positions calculated to destroy English commerce; I see him anxious to take possession of Louisiana, and to use the ports of St. Domingo to carry thither our West India and Jamaica trade. If the French republicans have experienced the mighty force of Britain, they, who have been everywhere else successful, cannot but view the only power the superiority of whose arms they have felt, with warm resentment and sentiments of mortified pride. Look at the map of Europe, and see nothing but France! It was in our power to measure her territory, to reckon her population, but it was scarcely within the grasp of any man's mind to measure the ambition of Bonaparte. Why, when all Europe bowed down before him; why, when he had subdued the whole continent, he should feel such great respect for England, I am at a loss to discover. If it be true that his ambition was of that immeasurable nature, there were abundant and obvious reasons why it must be progressive."

This speech was highly applauded by the majority of people, but condemned by some as a dangerous incentive to precipitate hostility.

The consular government, extremely displeased at the delays which had occurred relative to the restoration of Malta, adopted every possible measure to add facility to this favorite object. We have, in the preceding Book, (Chap. IX.) mentioned the conditions on which this surrender was agreed to by Great Britain. In the beginning of July Mr. Paget, resident at Vienna, having solicited M. de Champagny, the French ambassador, to concur in an invitation to the emperor for the imperial guarantee, it was most readily acceded to; although the ambassador acknowledged that he had received no specific orders respecting the guarantee in question; professing to act entirely from his own knowledge of the intentions of his government. In consequence of this step, the emperor's guarantee was without difficulty obtained, and formally signed on the 20th of August ensuing.

On the 3d of August Lord St. Helens wrote from St. Petersburg, that the French minister there was still without instructions authorising him to join the English ambassador in demanding the guarantee of the court of Russia; but they soon arrived, and in the following month a joint

invitation was made by the French and English ministers to the Emperor of Russia for that purpose. But an immediate and unreserved compliance with this request could not be obtained. Difficulties and delays, such as might reasonably be expected, took place. In a conference held by the two ministers with the Russian chancellor Woronzof, on the 3d of November, General Hedouville entered into various arguments, to induce the Russian government to grant this guarantee; and on the 24th of the same month, Russia, by a formal declaration, signified her readiness to accede to the arrangements of the treaty of Amiens, including the obnoxious article establishing a *Maltese langue*, on condition that the rights of the King of the Sicilies, as sovereign of the island, should be recognised; but admitting that these rights should not cause a departure from its neutrality, as guaranteed by the present act. Two months subsequent to the date of this declaration, Lord Hawkesbury instructed the English minister at Petersburg, Sir John Borlase Warren, who had succeeded Lord St. Helens, to decline the imperial proposition, unless some additional stipulations were introduced, such as would amply satisfy the Maltese; for which purpose it would be necessary to consult the inhabitants themselves, who were equal to the defence of the island; adding, that the revenues belonging to the Spanish and Portuguese *langues*, which had been sequestered, must be restored previous to the surrender.

On the 31st of August the British resident at Berlin informed Lord Hawkesbury, that M. Bignon, the French minister, had received instructions from his government, conjointly with him, to invite the King of Prussia to accede to the guarantee of Malta. But this monarch was of opinion that he had nothing to do in this business; and after many weeks had passed, Count Haugwitz frankly told the English minister, "that Prussia took a very slight interest in the fate of this island, and that the king his master was countenanced in withholding his guarantee by the example of Spain."

About the time of General Andreossi's arrival in England, Sir Robert Wilson's "History of the Expedition to Egypt" was published, containing an elaborate exposure of the crimes of the first consul; and quotations from this work were given in the diurnal prints.

On the 27th of January, Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador at Paris, transmitted a dispatch to Lord Hawkesbury, containing the report of a conversation with M. Talleyrand, in the course of which the French minister pronounced, after his long silence on this head, a most bitter philippic against the English newspapers, declaring "that the first consul was extremely hurt to find that his endeavours to conciliate had

hitherto produced no other effect than to increase the abuse with which the papers in England continually loaded him; the more so, as it came from a country of whose good opinion he was so very ambitious." Lord Whitworth endeavouring to palliate the offence, by alleging the little controul which the English government possessed over the productions of the English press, M. Talleyrand, in reply, enumerated the names and supposed connections of the papers published in London with great precision, and urged, "that his majesty's ministers might so far controul those at least which depended upon them, as to prevent their inserting that abuse which must be considered as having their sanction."

Lord Whitworth engaged to report the substance of M. Talleyrand's complaints to his own court, assuring him, however, "*that nothing could be added to the explanations on this head already given.*"

M. Talleyrand, then, by the express order of the first consul, in the most serious manner required to know what were his majesty's intentions with regard to the evacuation of Malta. He said that another grand-master would now be very soon elected; that all the powers of Europe, invited so to do, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was easy to remove, and without whom the guarantee would be equally complete, were ready to come forward, and that consequently the time would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no *pretext* for keeping longer possession. Lord Whitworth replied, "that he would report his conversation to the English secretary, Lord Hawkesbury."

Three days after this conference, a very singular paper appeared in the French official paper called the *Moniteur*, purporting to be a report made to the French government by a Colonel Sebastiani, who had been sent a few months before, when differences ran high between England and France, on a mission commercial, political, and military. Sebastiani embarked at Toulon on the 16th of September, 1802, for the East. What the precise motives of the first consul were for publishing this crude and ill-digested composition, equally puerile and pompous, cannot be ascertained. It is possible that he might have expected it to counteract, in some degree, the injurious impressions recently made by Sir Robert Wilson's book. It is possible that he might have hoped to intimidate the English ministers, and deter them from the thought of renewing the war, by the magnitude of his provisional projects and speculations. It is possible that it was the mere effect of spleen and passion, and intended to show the court of London the contemptuous opinion he entertained of the counsels by which it was governed.

This curious report contained many particulars

calculated to give just offence to the English government; if indeed such a medley of inconsistency, vanity, and absurdity, merited any serious notice. The author of it stated, that he arrived at Alexandria on the 16th of October, and finding the English still in possession, he demanded of General Stuart, agreeably to his instructions, the speedy evacuation of that city. General Stuart, whom he described with oracular sagacity, on this transient acquaintance, as a man of *mediocre* talents, "told him that the place would be shortly evacuated, but that he had as yet received no orders from his court to quit Alexandria." He then made a visit to the Pacha of Alexandria, and the Capoutan Bey, "who expressed great partiality for the French, and did not conceal that they saw with grief the stay of the English in the country." On the 20th he set out for Cairo, receiving from the various places and persons visited by him in his route, protestations of attachment to the first consul. On the 26th he arrived at the metropolis, having been met at Boulah by an honorary escort of 300 cavalry and 200 infantry, sent by the Pacha of Cairo, who, in his subsequent conferences with M. Sebastiani, professed himself penetrated with gratitude for the first consul, engaging to his commercial agents the most friendly reception. In return for which, M. Sebastiani declared "the lively interest which the first consul took in the prosperity of Egypt," offering, by his express command, the mediation of the French government, in order to establish a peace with the beys. But this the pacha declined, saying, "that he had the most positive orders from Constantinople to make a war of extermination upon the beys."

In an assembly of the principal scheiks of Cairo, the conversation turned upon the interest which the first consul took in Egypt, on his power, his glory, and on his esteem for the learned scheiks. Their answers expressed an enthusiastic attachment to his person. The inhabitants of Cairo saluted the agent Sebastiani and his suite when passing along the streets. A trivial incident, however, served to prove the futility of these flattering representations. On the 29th, in returning to Fort Dupuy, Mustapha Oukel, one of the chiefs of the city, passing accidentally on horseback, reproached the guides who attended Sebastiani with marching before a Christian, *and above all a FRENCHMAN!* and menaced them with the bastinado after his departure. Having demanded redress of the pacha for this insult, he found that Mustapha was strongly favored and protected by him: and Sebastiani was compelled formally to declare, that if reparation was not made, he would leave the city, and transmit his complaint to Paris and Constantinople. Upon which, Mustapha, at the instance of the pacha, thought proper to ask his pardon. Also,

BOOK VI. to reinstate himself in the favor of the French agent, the pacha showed him a letter he had just received from General Stuart, who was no doubt apprehensive of the ill effect of Sebastiani's intrigues. "This letter inclosed an order of the first consul, dated August, 1799, and which recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians that Constantinople was once tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the eastern empire of the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the pacha to consider the spirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant to find that a soldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate assassination by means of such an insinuation."

From this preposterous charge of assassination, the agent Sebastiani made a sudden transition to the monks of Mount Sinai, from whom he received a deputation; and to those of the *Propaganda* at Cairo, who performed a solemn *Te Deum* for the prosperity of the first consul, at which M. Sebastiani assisted.

On the 3d of November he set out for Damietta, and had the good fortune to meet in his route with none but persons extremely attached to France. "In Egypt," said he, "chiefs, merchants, people, all liked to talk of the first consul; all offered prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerned him spread from Alexandria or Damietta to the pyramids with astonishing rapidity."

On the 14th, Sebastiani left Damietta, and arrived in five days at Acre. He immediately addressed a letter to D'jezzar Pacha, stating, "that peace being concluded between France and the Porte, the relations of commerce should be re-established on the footing they stood on before the war; and that he was charged by the first consul to confer with him on these subjects. I begged of him," said M. Sebastiani, "to answer me in writing, if he was inclined to treat with me. In some hours the messengers returned. D'jezzar had received them coldly. He expressed his desire to see me personally." Very soon after, the dragoman of the pacha came to conduct the French agent to the palace of D'jezzar: the apartment in which he gave audience had no other furniture than a carpet. He had on one side of him a pistol with four barrels, a small air-gun, a sabre, and a hatchet. "After inquiring," said M. Sebastiani, "as to my health, he asked me, whether I was not persuaded that our end is pre-ordained in heaven, and that nothing could change our destiny? I answered, that I believed, as he did, in predestination. He continued to speak for some time on that subject. He repeated several times, 'it is said that D'jezzar is barbarous: this is false; he is but just and severe.'

Soon after he said, 'I desire that the commissary you may send shall reside at Seide, as that is the most commercial port in my dominions. I highly esteem the French. In stature Bonaparte is small, but he is nevertheless the greatest of mankind. I know that he is greatly regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again. D'jezzar, perhaps, will soon finish his career; not that he is old, as his enemies report'—he then performed some of the manœuvres of the Mamelukes with surprising adroitness and agility—but because most likely God will have it so.' Our conversation was interrupted for some moments by a kind of military music, which he performed in a very agreeable style. The palace of D'jezzar is built with much taste and elegance: but at the foot of the staircase is situated a prison; I saw a number of the unfortunate inhabitants. This monster has imprinted the mark of his atrocious character upon every thing within the limits of his power. D'jezzar occupies all Palestine, with the exception of Jaffa, where Aboumarak Pacha has been besieged nearly five months by a force of 9000 men."

M. Sebastiani quitted Acre the 21st of November, and set sail for Zante, where he arrived the 4th of December. Having learnt that the isle and the republic were divided into different parties, he assembled the constituted authorities, and other principal persons, at the house of the governor. "After having represented to them," said he, "the interest which the first consul took in their welfare, I induced them to lay aside that spirit of party which distracted them, and to wait without passion and in silence the new constitution. These few words were received with enthusiasm, and all of them exclaimed, 'France for ever! Bonaparte for ever!' I do not stray from the truth in assuring you, that the islands of the Ionian sea will declare themselves French as soon as opportunity shall offer itself."

The rest of this famous report consisted merely of a statement of the English, Mameluke, and Turkish forces in Egypt, with those under the command of D'jezzar Pacha in Syria. He said, "that a great misunderstanding reigns between General Stuart and the Pacha of Cairo; that the Mamelukes are entirely masters of Upper Egypt; and that 6000 French would, at present, be enough to conquer the whole country."

This idle and impertinent report would deserve little attention, were it not for the very serious consequences of which it was almost immediately productive.

In the reply of Lord Hawkesbury, dated February 9th, to the last dispatch of Lord Whitworth, a new and very surprising scene was opened, threatening a renewal of the war in a more hideous and horrid form, and with an inconceivable increase of rage and animosity. The

English secretary set out with advancing a political maxim, tending to the eventual abrogation of the late engagements: viz. "that every treaty or convention being negotiated with reference to the actual state of possession of the different parties, and of the treaties of public engagements by which they were bound at the time of its conclusion, if that state of possession and of engagements be so materially altered by the act of either of the parties, as to affect the nature of the compact itself, the other party has a right, according to the law of nations, to interfere, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential difference which such acts may have subsequently made in their relative situation."

Lord Hawkesbury declared, "that his majesty, desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe, was willing to have waved the pretensions he might have had a right to advance of this nature; and, as the other articles of the definitive treaty had been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to have carried into effect the true intent and spirit of the tenth article, the execution of which, according to its terms, had been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his majesty's power to controul. A communication to your lordship would, accordingly," added the English secretary, "have been prepared, conformably to this disposition, if the attention of his majesty's government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary report of Colonel Sebastiani to the first consul. This report contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his majesty's forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter: insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would warrant his majesty in demanding that satisfaction which, on occasions of this nature, independent powers, in a state of amity, have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace concluded between his majesty and the French government; and his majesty would feel that he was wanting in a proper regard to the honor of his crown, and to the interests of his dominions, if he could see with indifference such a system developed and avowed. His majesty cannot, therefore, regard the conduct of the French government, on various occasions, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the insinuations and charges contained in the report of Col. Sebastiani, and the views which that report discloses, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it will be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative

to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication."

On the receipt of this fatal letter, Lord Whitworth demanded a conference with M. Talleyrand, in which, recapitulating the arguments of Lord Hawkesbury, he appealed to the French minister, whether the report of Colonel Sebastiani, exclusive of the personal allusions which it contained, was not of a nature to excite the utmost jealousy in the minds of his majesty's ministers, and to demand on their part every measure of precaution. The ambassador concluded "with the distinct declaration, that it was impossible for his majesty to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he received satisfactory explanations on the subject of the first consul's views."

M. Talleyrand, in answer, admitted, that the jealousy of England, in relation to Egypt, as connected with the British possessions in India, was natural: but he denied that any thing in the conduct of the French government justified the alarm expressed by the ambassador. He asserted, that Sebastiani's mission was strictly commercial, meaning, probably, that he was not vested with political powers; and he expatiated largely on the sincere desire of the first consul to maintain inviolate the peace which had been so lately concluded, adding, that the situation of the French finances was such, that were not this desire of peace in the first consul an effect of system, it would be most imperiously dictated to him by the total impossibility in which this country found itself, of carrying on that extensive state of warfare which even a partial rupture would naturally lead to. And, finally, he desired to know what was the nature and degree of satisfaction which his majesty would require? Lord Whitworth answered, in discreet and judicious terms, "that he could not pretend to say by what means the apprehensions raised in England were to be allayed; but that, in the discussion of them, the English should be animated solely by a sincere desire to be convinced of the truth of his assertions, since on that depended the peace and happiness of Europe;" adding, "that such was his majesty's sincere desire of maintaining peace, that nothing but absolute and unavoidable necessity would ever induce him to deprive his subjects of the blessings which they begin to enjoy."

On Friday, the 18th of February, the ambassador received a message from the first consul, requesting to see him at the Thuilleries that evening at nine o'clock. At this audience, M. Bonaparte informed the ambassador that he felt it necessary, in the most clear and authentic manner, to make known his sentiments to him, in order to their being communicated to his majesty. He said that it was a matter of infinite disap-

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pointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust, and that this mistrust was avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue. He then enumerated the various provocations he had received from England, placing at the head of them the non-evacuation of Malta, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens. "In this," he said, "that no consideration on earth should induce him to acquiesce; and, of the two, he had rather see the English in possession of Fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta." He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public papers; but this, he said, he did not so much regard as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite this country against him and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France and in the interior. "In confirmation of this, he said," wrote the ambassador, "that two men had, within these few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the Bishop of Arras, by the Baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil; as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to the world." He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him. He then went back to Egypt, and observed, "that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago by sending 25,000 men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the 4000 British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it for a colony, because he did not consider it worth the risk of a war, in which he might perhaps be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain; since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte."

As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was deter-

mined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea? He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him, but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for that enterprise. He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of 480,000 men, (for to this amount it was, he said, to be immediately completed), all ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. He said, that if he had not felt the enmity of the British government on every occasion since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate—participation in indemnities, as well as influence on the continent; treaties of commerce; in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government, and therefore it was now come to the point, whether it should be peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies (alluding to Georges, and persons of that description) must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty."

Lord Whitworth appeared, in this extraordinary conversation, to have conducted himself with prudence and temper. "He dwelt strongly on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. The first consul, in reply, maintained, that what ought to prove his desire of peace was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by renewing the war; and on the other, the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt, with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo, and that with the appro-

bation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them for the purpose of forcing the English to evacuate their territory."

"With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which had," as the first consul said, "constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens," Lord Whitworth properly and seasonably observed, "that after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail; but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that he would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of government, and in France its very act and deed." To this the ambassador added, "that it must be admitted, that the English had such motives of mistrust against France as could not be alleged against them;" and he was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when the first consul interrupted him by saying, 'I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland: *ces sont des bagatelles*;' and it must have been foreseen whilst the negotiation was pending; '*vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler à cette heure*.'

Much more conversation passed, of which the ambassador, in his official dispatch, made a very fair and faithful report. It is evident that the first consul conceived himself in some danger of being again attacked by England, as soon as a favorable opportunity offered; and, under this apprehension, he had directed his views to Egypt, as to a country which might once more become the scene of military operation. Anxious to avert the impending quarrel, he endeavoured to intimidate the English ministers (whom he seems to have regarded as men destitute of energy and capacity) by his wonted menaces of invasion.

Lord Whitworth, in the conclusion of his official letter, remarked, that the first consul did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission to commercial motives only, but as one rendered necessary in a military point of view by the infraction on the part of the English of the treaty of Amiens. The specific powers with which Colonel Sebastiani was invested might be strictly commercial, but he had, without a doubt, a further commission of a general nature, which M. Talleyrand could not mean to deny; viz. to take a military and political survey of the country, and to report the state of it to his own government.

Previous to the transmission of this dispatch,
27.

Lord Whitworth had another conference with M. Talleyrand, in which an intimation was given by the French minister, "that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be so effectually secured as to do away every cause of doubt or uneasiness, either with regard to Egypt or any part of the Turkish dominions."

On the 22d of February the annual *exposé*, or view of the state of the French republic, was presented by order of the executive government to the legislative body. It declared, "that the inhabitants of France in the departments recently visited by the first consul, hail with blessings the restoration of peace, and that it is the duty of government to cherish these auspicious dispositions. On the continent every thing," said this official statement, "offers us pledges of repose and tranquillity. A French ambassador is at Constantinople, charged with renewing and fortifying the ties which attach us to a power apparently threatened with destruction, but which it is our interest to sustain, and to support the foundations by which it is upheld. The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels which are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean."

"The government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent, and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. This peace is the want as well as the desire of all nations. For its preservation the government will do every thing compatible with national honor, essentially connected with the strict execution of treaties. But in England two parties maintain a contest for power. One of those parties has concluded peace, and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France—hence that fluctuation of opinion and of counsels which prevails; hence that attitude at the same time pacific and menacing. While this contest of party continues, measures of precaution are what the government is called upon to adopt. Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be, ready, to undertake its defence and avenge its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations whom interest and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace!

"Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations: the government says, with conscious pride, *that ENGLAND, single-handed, cannot maintain a conflict against FRANCE!* But we have better hopes, and we believe that in the British cabinet nothing will be listened to but the counsels of wisdom and the voice of humanity.

"Yes, doubtless the peace will daily be more consolidated. The relation of the two governments will assume the character of good-will, which is suitable to their mutual interests. A happy repose will bury the recollection of the long calamities of a disastrous war, and France and England, rendering their happiness reciprocal, will deserve the gratitude of the whole world."

Great was the indignation of every class of society in the British empire on the publication of this consular address: it was the signal of universal ferment, which not the love of peace nor the inertness of a commercial people, nor the dread of fresh burthens, nor even the worst consequences that could be apprehended from unsuccessful warfare, could allay. The consul had in his conversation with Lord Whitworth, allowed Great Britain and France to be the two greatest nations in the world; but in this *exposé* he impudently asserted, that the former was not a match for the latter.

On the 28th of February, Lord Hawkesbury replied to Lord Whitworth's dispatches of the 21st. The English Secretary affirmed, "that the language used by the first consul tended to strengthen and confirm the suspicions which Colonel Sebastiani's report was calculated to excite." He complained, "that nothing approaching to explanation or satisfaction had been offered by the first consul, in answer to the representations of his majesty on this head." Towards the close of his letter, his lordship thus expressed himself: "when it is considered how greatly the dominion, power, and influence of France have of late been extended, his majesty must feel that he has an incontestible right, conformably to the principles on which the treaty of peace was negotiated and concluded, to demand additional securities in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make, with a view of effecting the real objects of that treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct he had determined to adopt, have received additional force from the views which have been recently and unreservedly manifested by the French government respecting the Turkish dominions, and the islands in the Adriatic, and which have been in a great degree admitted by the first consul in his interview with your excellency."

Lord Whitworth, in a postscript to his dispatch, dated February 21, said, he saw M. Talleyrand, who assured him, "that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be effectually secured." The English Secretary, in the abovementioned reply, observed, "that his majesty would consider the communication of such a project as indicating a disposition, on the part of the French

government, to afford him explanation and satisfaction respecting some of the points which had been the subject of his representations. But after all that had passed, his majesty could not consent that his troops should evacuate the island of MALTA, until substantial security had been provided for those objects which, under the present circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal."

Some uninteresting chicane on the part of the French minister took place at Paris on the 4th of March, when Lord Whitworth pressed for an explanation as to the nature of the projected arrangement for the security of the Turkish empire, to which no satisfactory answer was given. On the 10th, General Andreossi, the French ambassador to the court of London, in a note to Lord Hawkesbury, again pressed for the execution of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens. He made the distinction of the positive and conditional clauses of that article, and insisted that the guarantee was not essential to the evacuation, which was to take place in three months, provided the Neapolitan troops were arrived in the island who were to compose its future garrison—that these troops being actually at Malta, no farther pretext for delay existed—and that Austria having acceded to become a guarantee, and Russia being equally accordant, with the exception of one point only, which might easily be modified, the immediate execution of the article must be looked for. The reply to this note by the English government, was, in substance, the same as the answer returned by Lord Whitworth to M. Talleyrand on that subject; also a reiteration of the demand for satisfaction in the affair of Sebastiani, and fresh security for the fulfilment of any new arrangement that should be made on the subject of Malta, between the two countries.

On the 8th of March, a message from his majesty was brought down to both houses of parliament, which was received all over Europe as the signal of the approach of war between Great Britain and France. This message was as follows:

"G. R.

"His majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions; though the preparations to which his majesty refers, are avowedly directed to colonial service, yet as discussions of great importance are now subsisting between his majesty and the French government, the result of which must at present be uncertain, his majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion that whilst they partake of his majesty's

earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require for supporting the honor of his crown, and the essential interests of his people."

Lord Whitworth, on receiving intelligence of the royal message from the English secretary of state, early on the morning of the 11th, repaired at two o'clock to M. Talleyrand, whom he found "already apprised of it, and preparing, in an agitation he could not disguise, to communicate the news to the first consul." He listened, nevertheless, attentively to the story told by Lord Whitworth, who, with great prudence "endeavored to make him sensible that this measure was merely precautionary, and not in the least intended as a menace"—that it was, in short, "merely a measure of self-security."

M. Talleyrand repeated anew his assurances, "that there was no foundation for alarm—that the first consul was pacific—that he had no thoughts whatever of attacking his majesty's dominions, unless forced by the commencement of hostilities on our part; but that a refusal to evacuate Malta would be regarded by him as such a commencement." At seven o'clock the same evening M. Talleyrand informed Lord Whitworth that he had seen the first consul; that although highly irritated at the unjust suspicions entertained by the English government, yet he would not allow himself to lose sight of the calamities which the present discussion might entail upon humanity—saying, that if England wished to discuss fairly, he wished the same—that if England prepared for war, he would do the same.

M. Talleyrand then produced a paper, not absolutely official, but a memorandum, which might facilitate the ambassador's communication of the first consul's sentiments. This paper was very ill-calculated to alter the disposition of the English government, as the object of it was evidently to intimidate, by implied threats, which could only tend to excite additional irritation. It stated,

"I. That if his Britannic majesty in his message meant to speak of the expedition of Helvoetsluys, all the world knew that it was destined for America, and that it was on the point of sailing for its destination, but in consequence of his majesty's message, the embarkation and putting to sea were about to be countermanded.

"II. That if satisfactory explanations were not received respecting the English armament, it was *natural* that the first consul should march 20,000 men into Holland, since Holland was mentioned in the message.

"III. That in this case it was, also, to be expected, that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover, &c.

"IV. Likewise, that the first consul should order several camps to be formed at Calais, and on different points of the coast.

"V. That the first consul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, should be under the necessity of continuing a French army in that country.

"VI. It was the *natural* consequence of all this, that the first consul should send a fresh force into Italy, in order to occupy, in case of necessity, the position of Tarentum.

"VII. England arming, and with so much publicity, would compel France to put her armies on the war establishment; a step so important as could not fail to agitate all Europe."

The exasperation and fury of Bonaparte, which had already manifested itself in the note, broke out into an ungovernable rage at his own court, on his public day (Sunday, March 13), and in the presence of the diplomatic body of Europe there assembled—thus violating every principle of hospitality, of decorum, of politeness, (the once distinguishing trait of the court of France!) and of the privileges of ambassadors, ever before held sacred. On the appearance of Lord Whitworth in the circle, he approached him with uncommon agitation and ferocity—proceeded to descant in the bitterest terms on the conduct of the English government—summoned the ministers of some of the foreign courts to be the witnesses of this vituperation, and concluded by expressions of the most angry and menacing hostility. The English ambassador did not think it advisable to make any answer to this ungentlemanly attack, and it terminated by the first consul retiring to his apartment, repeating his last phrases, till he had shut himself in, leaving nearly 200 spectators of this wanton display of arrogant impropriety in amazement and consternation.

The notice taken by the English ambassador of the strange impropriety which had occurred, was temperate and judicious. He embraced the first opportunity of stating to M. Talleyrand, "that he had been placed, by the first consul, in a situation which could neither suit his public nor his private feelings; that he went to the Thuilleries to pay his respects to the first consul, and to present his countrymen, but not to treat of political subjects; and that unless he had an assurance from him, that he should not be exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, he should be under the necessity of discontinuing his visits to the Thuilleries." M. Talleyrand assured the ambassador, "that it was very far from the first consul's intention to distress him; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges which were brought against him by the English government; and that it was incumbent upon him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the mi-

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ministers of the different powers of Europe. He assured him that nothing similar would occur."

In consequence of the first consul's instructions to General Andreossi, in London, on the subject of the king's message, an elaborate official note was presented to the English minister on the 29th of March, the tone and language of which was of the most imperious and insulting nature. By command of the first consul, he positively denied "that Great Britain was menaced by preparations made in the ports of France and Holland. 'The first consul has made no preparation. How,' exclaimed the ambassador, "can his Britannic majesty's ministers have been deceived on facts so evident?—The first consul knows that a great nation can never be terrified. He believes that good policy and the feelings of true dignity ever inspire the sentiment of esteem for a rival nation, and never the design of menacing her. The second part of his majesty's message consists of another assertion no better founded: his Britannic majesty makes mention of discussions, the success of which is doubtful. What are these discussions?—Can a state of difficulties which leads to an alternative of PEACE or WAR spring up unawares, without commencement, without progression, and lead, without distinction, to an appeal to arms, before all the means of conciliation have been exhausted? The first consul places his glory, in an affair of this nature, wholly in being taken in an unprovided state. In Lord Hawkesbury's note an opinion is expressed, that the French republic has increased in power since the peace of Amiens. This is a decided error. Since that epoch France has evacuated a considerable territory. The French power has received no degree of augmentation. If his Britannic majesty is determined to make war, he may allege all the pretences he pleases; he will find few less founded."

The ambassador then recapitulated the causes of complaint, on the part of his government, against England: and, in order to put an end to the reciprocation of abuse, he made a proposal utterly incompatible with the genius of the English constitution, viz. "that means should be adopted to prevent, in future, any mention being made of what is passing in France, either in official discussions, or in polemical writings, in England; as in like manner in the French official discussions and polemical writings, no mention whatever should be made of what is passing in England." "Lord Hawkesbury," the ambassador proceeded to state, "mentions an article in a journal containing the report of a French colonel." An answer on this point, he declared to be neither long nor difficult. "A colonel in the English army has published a work in England, filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies against the French army and its general. The LIES it contains have been contradicted by the reception

which Colonel Sebastiani has experienced. The publicity of this report was at once a refutation and a reparation which the French army had a right to expect. Egypt has since been restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign: there remains, therefore, but one object worthy of fixing the attention of the two nations—the execution of the treaty of Amiens, as far as concerns Malta. His majesty has engaged to restore it to the order, and to entrust it to the Neapolitan army till the order should be in a condition to guard it. His majesty will reject all sophistry, every distinction, every mental reservation, which might be offered to him, to put in doubt the force and the validity of his engagement. His Britannic majesty's equity, his conscience, in this respect, are guarantees for the French republic. Were it otherwise, what means in future would the two nations have for coming to an understanding? Would not all be chaos? This would indeed be adding another calamity to those which have menaced social order. The undersigned is directed to declare, in short, *that the FIRST CONSUL will not take up the defiance given by ENGLAND to FRANCE; that as to Malta, he sees no subject of discussion, the treaty having provided for every thing, and settled every thing.*"

In Lord Hawkesbury's reply, the merit of moderation and forbearance was claimed, in abstaining from any detailed observations on the note of General Andreossi. The former complaint was urged anew, that the French government continued to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which his majesty had complained; and the general was informed, that "his majesty's ambassador at Paris was instructed to ascertain distinctly from the French government, whether they were determined to persevere in this course of proceeding, or whether they were disposed, without delay, to give such satisfaction and explanations as might lead to a final arrangement of differences."

Agreeably to this intimation, a letter was written nearly at the same time (April 4th) by the English secretary, to Lord Whitworth, declaring it to be essential that the subsisting discussions should be brought to an issue—if the French government, evading all discussion, should confine themselves to a categorical demand that Malta should be immediately evacuated; in that case it was his majesty's pleasure that the ambassador should declare the impossibility of the relations of amity continuing to subsist between the two countries, and the necessity he would be under of leaving Paris within a certain time. If, on the other hand, they showed a readiness to enter into discussion, and to give reasonable satisfaction and explanation, the ambassador was directed to present to them the project of an arrangement, which, under the present circumstances, would

meet the ideas of his majesty's ministers, and, at the same time, entirely save the honor of the French government!"

The project in question consisted of four articles; the first and principal of which imported that the island of Malta should remain in perpetuity with the King of Great Britain. The second article demanded farther that Holland and Switzerland should be immediately evacuated by the French troops. By the third, his Britannic majesty was pleased to confirm the isle of Elba to France, and to acknowledge the King of Etruria. By the fourth, the Italian and Ligurian republics were also acknowledged by his majesty, provided an arrangement was made in Italy for the King of Sardinia, which should be satisfactory to that monarch.

It must be confessed, that the conduct of the English ministers was at this time extraordinary, as the latest advices from Lord Whitworth announced that the object of Bonaparte was to delay the event of a rupture, not being prepared to commence hostilities; and that on the subject of Malta he would not hear of any compromise. By proposing, therefore, fresh terms of treaty to France, it afforded to that power the delay which was so essential to its views, without the least probability of being successful on an essential point connected with the views of Great Britain. We may add to this, the impropriety of proposing another treaty, after the treaty of Amiens had been signed.

In pursuance of his instructions, Lord Whitworth transmitted to M. Talleyrand a note requiring a distinct answer to the demand of satisfaction stated by Lord Hawkesbury. In the conference to which this note gave occasion, M. Talleyrand said, "that in order to proceed regularly, it would be necessary that the French government should be informed precisely what were the objects which had created such uneasiness, and on which it was alleged all explanation had been refused." But Lord Whitworth declined compliance, alleging that such a specification "could be productive of no advantage:" for "that it would only serve to provoke such a recapitulation of the system and conduct which France had pursued since the treaty of Amiens, as would have all the appearance of a manifesto; that, if the French government exercised a right of extending its influence and territory, in violation of the spirit of the treaty of Amiens, Great Britain had an undoubted right, if she chose to avail herself of it, to seek a counterpoise."

As to the main point in question, M. Talleyrand repeated, that the first consul had nothing more at heart than to avoid the necessity of going to war; and that there was no sacrifice he would not make, short of his honor, to obtain this end.

"Is there," said M. Talleyrand, "no means of satisfying both parties? for, at the same time that the first consul insists, and will always insist, on the full execution of the treaty, he will not object to any mode by which you may acquire the security you think so necessary." He then submitted a paper to the ambassador, drawn up in his presence, as affording a proper basis of accommodation, earnestly requiring him to transmit it to England. It was precisely as follows: "The conversation with M. Talleyrand to-day has led us to this result. Every thing which may tend to violate the independence of the order of Malta, will never be consented to by the French government. Every thing which may tend to put an end to the present difficulties, or be agreeable to the English government, and which shall not be contrary to the treaty of Amiens, the French government have no objection to make a particular convention respecting it. The motives of this convention shall be inserted in the preamble, and shall relate to the respective grievances concerning which the two governments shall think it advisable to come to an understanding with each other."

Lord Hawkesbury, in his reply, April 13, directed Lord Whitworth, without delay, to communicate to the French government the project in question; observing, "that the exclusion of the article relative to Malta was become impracticable, from causes which it had not been in his majesty's power to controul. That the greatest part of the funds assigned to the support of the order, and indispensably necessary for the independence of the order, and the defence of the island, had been sequestered since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, in direct repugnance to the spirit and letter of that treaty; and that two of the principal powers who were invited to accede as guarantees to the arrangement, had refused their accession, except on the condition, that the part of the arrangement, which was deemed so material, relative to the Maltese inhabitants, should be entirely cancelled."

His lordship concluded his letter with some concessions, the last of which afforded a faint prospect of accommodation. "In the first place, his majesty would be willing, for the preservation of peace, that the civil government of the island should be given to the order, and the fortifications garrisoned for ever by British troops. 2dly, his majesty might, as an *ultimatum*, be disposed to consent to an arrangement, by which the island of Malta would remain in his possession for a limited number of years; and to wave, in consequence, his demand for a perpetual occupation; provided, that the number of years was not less than ten, and that his Sicilian majesty could be induced to cede the sovereignty

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of the island of Lampedosa for a valuable consideration. If the proposition is admitted, the island of Malta should be given up to the inhabitants at the end of that period; and it should be acknowledged as an independent state. In this case his majesty would be ready to concur in any arrangement for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe."

On the receipt of this letter, Lord Whitworth exerted himself with fresh alacrity for the laudable purpose of effecting an accommodation; and Joseph Bonaparte was now nominated to conduct the negotiation on the part of the first consul.

After exhausting his arguments, in a conference of two hours with this minister, in support of the two first projects, without gaining the least ground, the ambassador was at length told by the French negotiator, of his own accord, "that he was not without hope that he might be authorized to propose to him the occupation of the fortresses for a term of years." On which Lord Whitworth, who was solicitous that this proposal should not originate with himself, told the French negotiator, "that he wished too sincerely to avoid the fatal extremities to which he saw the discussion was tending, not to give any reasonable proposal, which might be made on their part, every assistance in his power."

On the evening of the 18th, Joseph Bonaparte assured Lord Whitworth, "that a meeting would speedily be appointed, in order to settle the term of years for which the first consul might be induced to consent to the cession of Malta." But he declared, "that, in order to gain his consent to the cession, it would be necessary to hold out the advantages which the British government was willing to offer in return," meaning the acknowledgment of the new government in Italy. The ambassador told him, "that this offer was made only with a view to the possession of Malta in perpetuity;" but, after some conversation, he gave the French minister to understand, "that he would not refuse to admit the demand *sub sperati*, on the condition that the cession should be made for a considerable term of years; that Holland and Switzerland should be evacuated, and that a suitable provision should be made for the King of Sardinia."

This proposal, it seems, gave great offence to the first consul; for the ambassador informed Lord Hawkesbury, in his dispatch, dated April 20, "that he was sorry to say that no summons had been received by him, or any further notice taken of the business. He therefore desired, that he might be furnished with an *ultimatum*; and that, at the expiration of the period allowed for deliberation, he might be authorized to leave Paris."

Lord Hawkesbury, in reply, April 23, intimated that there was no occasion for this reference, and that it was his majesty's pleasure the ambassador

should communicate officially to the French government, "that he had gone in point of concession to the full extent of his instructions; and that if an arrangement, founded upon one of the propositions already transmitted, could not be concluded without further delay, he had received his majesty's commands to return to England;" and in no case was he to remain at Paris more than seven days.

Lord Whitworth, in order to obtain the decisive answer of the French government, had called (April 21) on M. Talleyrand, who now, in very explicit language, told him that "no consideration on earth would induce the first consul to consent to the cession in perpetuity of Malta in any shape whatever." The English ambassador then stated his majesty's willingness to waive his pretensions to a possession in perpetuity, and his consent to hold Malta for a certain number of years to be agreed upon, on condition that the French government should not oppose any negotiation his majesty might set on foot with his Sicilian majesty for the acquisition of the island of Lampedosa. Lord Whitworth, in the conversation which ensued, "begged M. Talleyrand particularly to recollect that England was in actual possession of the object, and that therefore every modification tending to limit that possession was in fact a concession on the part of his majesty."

This argument was little calculated to mollify the untoward disposition of the first consul. Accordingly, on the next day, M. Talleyrand, having seen the first consul, again declared "that he would on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary possession of Malta: that his object was the execution of the treaty of Amiens; and that rather than submit to such an arrangement as that last proposed, he would even consent to his majesty's keeping the object in dispute for ever, on the ground that in the one there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity, but in the other nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion; that therefore his resolution was taken, and what he had to propose was the possession the English required of the island of Lampedosa, or of any other of the small isles of which there were three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa; that such a possession would be sufficient for the object Britain had in view, which was a station in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and security for any squadron she might find it convenient to keep in that sea."

A third conversation took place on Saturday, the 23d of April, but with no material variation; the French minister offering Lampedosa, and Lord Whitworth peremptorily requiring the cession of Malta. On the arrival of Lord Hawkesbury's dispatch, dated the 23d of April, on the 26th, the ambassador communicated without delay the *ultimatum* of the English court verbally

to M. Talleyrand, who desired the ambassador to state the demands of his government in writing; but *this*, Lord Whitworth replied, "that he was not authorized to do, and that he would not take the responsibility upon himself." The French minister urged, "that verbal and fugitive conversations were insufficient for the discussion of such immense interests, in which no expression could be indifferent." He at length, however, consented to receive the verbal notification of Lord Whitworth, who desired M. Talleyrand to recollect, that Tuesday, May 3, must be the day of his departure.

On the morning of the 29th of April the ambassador was given to understand, that he would receive, in the course of the day, a letter from M. Talleyrand, of such a nature as might be sufficient to induce him to delay for a short time his resolution of departure. The letter not arriving, the ambassador repaired in person at four in the afternoon to M. Talleyrand, to learn whether he had any thing favorable to communicate; and if not, to request passports for himself and family.

M. Talleyrand appeared embarrassed, and said, "he could not suppose that Lord Whitworth would really go away. *At all events the first consul never would recal his ambassador.*" Lord Whitworth replied, "that he was recalled on the principle, that even actual war was preferable to the state of suspense in which England, and indeed all Europe, had been kept for so long a space of time." The French minister, at parting, repeatedly said to the ambassador, "*J'ai encore de l'espoir.*"

Saturday and Sunday passed over, and no letter arrived. On Monday the ambassador went once more to the house of M. Talleyrand, and delivered to that minister a letter, containing a formal and positive demand of passports for the next day. "At this he appeared somewhat startled, and lamented that so much time had been lost, but said that enough remained if the ambassador was authorised to negotiate upon other terms." Lord Whitworth assured him, "that he had no other terms to propose."

On the same evening a specific answer from the French government was given to all the articles of the final propositions of the English court. With respect to Lampedosa, the first consul alleged that, as it did not belong to France, he could neither accede to nor refuse the desire of the acquisition of that island by his Britannic majesty. That as the demand made respecting Malta by the court of England would materially alter a formal disposition of the treaty of Amiens, it should be previously communicated to the King of Spain and the Batavian republic, who were contracting parties to that treaty; and that, by a parity of reasoning, all the contracting parties were bound to submit it to the Emperors of

Germany and Russia and the King of Prussia, as the guaranteeing powers to the 10th article of the peace. That this concert the first consul was willing to admit, but certainly would not propose, as it was not from him the objections to the execution of the article in question originated.—Finally, that as soon as the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens were executed in every quarter of the globe, Holland should be evacuated by the French troops.

The English ambassador found himself under the necessity of replying (Tuesday, May 3) to the last communication, that it being the object of the king "to relieve as soon as possible the two countries the most interested, and Europe in general, from the state of suspense in which they were placed, it was with great regret he perceived nothing in the note of M. Talleyrand which could correspond with this intention, and consequently nothing that could justify him in delaying to obey the orders of his court."

On the same day, which was that fixed for the departure of the ambassador, another note came from M. Talleyrand, acquainting Lord Whitworth that he had a communication to make to him of the greatest importance. He would therefore postpone sending him the passports, and requested him to call the next day at half-past four at the foreign department. The proposition then made was of such a nature, as most decisively to evince the extreme solicitude of France to avoid a war with Great Britain on account of Malta, if but a *salvo* was left for her honor. The note delivered on this occasion contained the following expressions: "After the last communication addressed to his excellency the ambassador, it was more difficult than ever to conceive how a great, powerful, and enlightened nation could be willing to take upon itself to declare a war which would be accompanied by such heavy calamities, and the cause of which would be so insignificant, the object in question being a miserable rock. The first consul, accustomed for two months to make every species of sacrifice for the maintenance of peace, was ready to consent that the island of Malta should be placed in the hands of one of the three powers who had guaranteed its independency, either Austria, Russia, or Prussia, with a proviso, that as soon as France and England should have come to an agreement upon this article, they should unite in their requisitions to engage other powers either contracting or acceding to the treaty of Amiens to consent to it."

On Monday, May 3, the final dispatch of the English secretary, dated May 7, was received at Paris. In it he declared to Lord Whitworth, "that the propositions which had been made on the part of the first consul, were, in every respect, so loose, indefinite, and unsatisfactory, and fell so short of the just pretensions of his majesty,

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that it was impossible the French government could have expected them to have been accepted. If his majesty could be disposed to wave his demand for a temporary occupation of the island of Malta, the Emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign to whom, in the present state of Europe, he could consent that the island should be assigned; and his majesty had certain and authentic information, that the Emperor of Russia would on no account consent to garrison Malta. Under these circumstances his majesty persevered in his determination to adhere to the substance of his third project as his *ultimatum*." A modification was, however, admitted, viz. that the term of years for which England should be allowed to retain possession of Malta might be inserted in a secret article; and if this was not acceded to, the ambassador was peremptorily ordered to leave Paris in thirty-six hours.

On the receipt of this dispatch, Lord Whitworth wrote to M. Talleyrand to request an interview. No answer arriving, the ambassador the next day (May 10) transmitted officially to the French minister the *ultimatum* of Lord Hawkesbury, accompanied by a judicious note of his own, stating the orders which he had just received—"The minister for foreign affairs," he said, "would not fail to observe to what degree his majesty had endeavoured to conciliate the security of his interests with the dignity of the first consul. The undersigned flattered himself that the first consul, doing justice to these sentiments, would adopt, in concert with his majesty, an expedient so suitable for restoring permanent tranquillity to both nations, and to all Europe."

The project referred to was literally as follows:

I. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty by the King of the Two Sicilies.

II. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty shall remain in possession of the island of Malta until such arrangements shall be made by him as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station, after which period the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

III. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a convention founded on the principles of this project.

IV. The King of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, shall be acknowledged by his majesty.

V. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces.

VI. A suitable territorial provision shall be assigned to the King of Sardinia in Italy.

No answer, after an anxious and fruitless ex-

pectation of several hours, being transmitted to the ambassador, he repaired in person about four in the afternoon to the house of M. Talleyrand, and was informed that the minister was in the country; and in a short time the packet, inclosing the *ultimatum*, left at the foreign office, was returned to the ambassador with the same excuse. Mr. Talbot, secretary to the embassy, then took it himself to M. Talleyrand's country residence at Meudon: but was told that the minister was at St. Cloud, and would not be back till late. At length, about one in the morning, a note came from M. Talleyrand, with an apology, stating, that he had been the whole day with the first consul, and requesting to see the ambassador at noon the following day. At this meeting (May 11) much conversation passed, and the discussion appeared to have been calm and temperate. At length M. Talleyrand asked the ambassador if he felt himself authorized by his instructions to conclude a convention founded on the basis of his project, viz. the perpetual possession of Malta to England in return for a consideration. Lord Whitworth told him, "that he was not authorized to enter into any engagement which would make the negotiation one of exchange, instead of satisfaction and security."

The French minister urged a counter-project, and, after much contest, it was agreed that the proposal should be submitted to Lord Whitworth in the course of a few hours, and that he should then determine whether to sign it, to transmit it to England, or to leave Paris.

The remainder of the day passed, nevertheless, without receiving any communication from M. Talleyrand: on the morning, therefore, of May the 12th, the ambassador renewed his demand of passports; but they were again delayed, nor were they sent till after three successive messages on Lord Whitworth's part.

What chiefly gave umbrage to the British court was the extraordinary and unprecedented conduct of the French minister at Hamburgh, who being refused by the senate permission to insert a most gross and scandalous libel upon the government of the King of Great Britain, claimed of it, in his official capacity, the privilege of so doing; with which, under this species of compulsion, the senate of Hamburgh thought it prudent to comply. The publication in question affected to take a review of the conduct of England and France since the peace; in which the bad faith, ambition, and violence of the former was contrasted on every occasion with the *opposite qualities* of the latter. It also entered into an elaborate vindication of the French government during the period of negotiation; dwelt with the bitterest rancour on the aggressive measure of the message to parliament from the King of Great Britain; and concluded by detailing, in

terms of satisfaction and complacency, the particulars of the outrage committed at the Thuilleries by Bonaparte, in his paroxysm of fury, directed through the medium of Lord Whitworth against the English government. This artful manifesto, calculated to depreciate Great Britain in the eyes of all Europe, excited just displeasure; but the first consul, in reply to the notification of that displeasure, thought proper to disclaim the conduct

of the French minister, and promise every satisfaction that the nature of the case would afford.

From this impartial review of circumstances it will be seen that hostilities were unavoidable; and, after a peace of barely *one year and sixteen days*, Europe again saw her quiet disturbed, and her tranquillity threatened by the renewal of a contest between her greatest continental, and her greatest maritime powers.

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CHAPTER II.

His Majesty's Declaration of War.—Copies of the Correspondence between Great Britain and France laid before Parliament.—Important Debates on the Negotiation and Correspondence.—Resolutions for the Censure of Ministers negatived.—Observations.

On the night of the 19th of May, Lord Whitworth arrived in London, and on the day preceding, the following declaration of war against France was issued by the King of Great Britain:

"His majesty's earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honor of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions have been endangered.

"During the whole course of the negotiations which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his majesty and the French republic, it was his majesty's sincere desire, not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur in such propositions, as might effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of Europe. The same motives by which his majesty was actuated during the negotiations for peace, have since invariably governed his conduct. As soon as the treaty of Amiens was concluded, his majesty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpose of legal redress; all sequestrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade, which had been imposed during the war, were removed, and they were placed, in every respect, on the same footing with regard to commerce and intercourse, as the inhabitants of any other state in amity with his majesty, with which there existed no treaty of commerce.

"To a system of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceedings of the French government affords the most striking contrast.

The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his majesty's subjects during the war, have been enforced with increased strictness and severity; violence has been offered in several instances to their vessels and their property; and, in no case has justice been afforded to those who may have been aggrieved in consequence of such acts, nor has any satisfactory answer been given to the repeated representations made by his majesty's ministers or ambassador at Paris. Under such circumstances, when his majesty's subjects were not suffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French republic, and the countries dependant upon it, the French government had recourse to the extraordinary measure of sending over to this country a number of persons, for the professed purpose of residing in the most considerable sea-port towns of Great Britain and Ireland, in the character of commercial agents or consuls. These persons could have no pretensions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being so acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to such a situation, could only be derived from a commercial treaty; and as no treaty of that description was in existence between his majesty and the French republic.

"There was consequently too much reason to suppose, that the real object of their mission was by no means of a commercial nature; and this suspicion was confirmed, not only by the circumstance that some of them were military men, but by the actual discovery, that several of them were furnished with instructions to obtain the soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of the places where it was intended they should reside. His majesty felt it to be his duty to prevent their departure to their respective places of destination, and represented to the

French government the necessity of withdrawing them; and it cannot be denied, that the circumstances under which they were sent, and the instructions which were given to them, ought to be considered as decisive indications of the dispositions and intentions of the government by whom they were employed.

"The conduct of the French government, with respect to the commercial intercourse between the two countries, must, therefore, be considered as ill-suited to a state of peace, and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in those which immediately concern his majesty's dominions, appears to have been altogether inconsistent with every principle of good faith, moderation, and justice. His majesty had entertained hopes, in consequence of the repeated assurances and professions of the French government, that they might have been induced to adopt a system of policy, which, if it had not inspired other powers with confidence, might, at least, have allayed their jealousies. If the French government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to such a system; if their dispositions had proved to be essentially pacific, allowances would have been made for the situation in which a new government must be placed after so dreadful and extensive a convulsion as that which has been produced by the French revolution. But his majesty has, unfortunately, had too much reason to observe and to lament that the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandizement which characterised the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little disguise since its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland against the will, and in defiance of the remonstrances, of the Batavian government, and in repugnance of the letter of three solemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiss nation, in defiance of the treaty of Lunéville, which had stipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to choose their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of France, Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the island of Elba, without allotting any provision to the King of Sardinia, whom they have despoiled of the most valuable part of his territory, though they were bound, by a solemn engagement to the Emperor of Russia, to attend to his interests, and to provide for his establishment. It may, indeed, with truth, be asserted, that the period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, has been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult on the part of the French government.

"In the month of October last, his majesty

was induced, in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the Swiss nation, to make an effort, by a representation of the French government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This representation was couched in the most temperate terms; and measures were taken by his majesty for ascertaining, under the circumstances which then existed, the real situation and wishes of the Swiss cantons, as well as the sentiments of the other cabinets of Europe. His majesty learned, however, with the utmost regret, that no disposition to counteract these repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence was manifested by any of the powers most immediately interested in preventing them; and his majesty, therefore, felt that, with respect to these objects, his single efforts could not be expected to produce any considerable advantage to those in whose favor they might be exerted.

It was about this time that the French government first distinctly advanced the principle, that his majesty had no right to complain of the conduct, or interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens. That treaty was unquestionably founded upon the same principle as every other antecedent treaty or convention, on the assumption of the state of possession and of engagements subsisting at the time of its conclusion; and if that state of possession and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, so as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the change so made may be considered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itself, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand satisfaction or compensation for any substantial difference which such acts may have effected in their relative situations; but, whatever may be the principle on which the treaty is to be considered as founded, there is indisputably a general law of nations, which, though liable to be limited, explained, or restrained by conventional law, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct to which all sovereigns and states have been accustomed to appeal, where conventional law is admitted to have been silent. The treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not, therefore, assume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not specified in its stipulation, much less does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The justice of the cause is alone a sufficient ground to warrant the interposition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may arise between other states, and the application and extent of that just interposition is to be determined solely by considera-

tions of prudence. These principles can admit of no dispute; but if the new and extraordinary pretensions advanced by the French government, to exclude his majesty from any right to interfere with respect to the concerns of other powers, unless they made a specific part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, was that which it was possible to maintain, those powers would have a right, at least, to claim the benefit of this principle, in every case of difference between the two countries. The indignation of all Europe must surely then be excited by the declarations of the French government, that, in the event of hostilities, these very powers, who were no parties to the treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonstrances of his majesty in their behalf, are nevertheless to be made the victims of a war, which is alleged to arise out of the same treaty, and are to be sacrificed in a contest, which they not only have not occasioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

“His majesty judged it most expedient, under the circumstances which then affected Europe, to abstain from a recurrence to hostilities, on account of the views of ambition, and acts of aggression, manifested by France on the continent; yet an experience of the character and dispositions of the French government could not fail to impress his majesty with a sense of the necessity of increased vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the interests of his people.

“Whilst his majesty was actuated by these sentiments, he was called upon by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta. His majesty had manifested, from the moment of the signature of the definitive treaty, an anxious disposition to carry into full effect the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens relative to that island. As soon as he was informed that the election of a grand master had taken place, under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia, and that it had been agreed by the different priories assembled at St. Petersburg, to acknowledge the person whom the court of Rome should select out of those who had been named by them to be grand master of the order of St. John, his majesty proposed to the French government, for the purpose of avoiding any difficulties which might arise in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid; and when, in the month of August, the French government applied to his majesty to permit the Neapolitan troops to be sent to the island of Malta, as a preliminary measure for preventing any unnecessary delay, his majesty consented, without hesitation, to this proposal, and gave directions for the admission of the Neapolitan troops into the island. His majesty had thus shewn his disposition not only to throw no

obstacle in the way of the execution of the treaty, but, on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His majesty cannot, however, admit, that, at any period since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the French government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the stipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the island of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French government, several of the most important stipulations of the arrangement respecting Malta remained unexecuted: the election of a grand master had not been carried into effect. The tenth article had stipulated, that the independence of the island should be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. The Emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like accession on the part of the other powers specified in the article. The Emperor of Russia had refused his accession, except on the condition that the Maltese langue should be abrogated; and the King of Prussia had given no answer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the order since the conclusion of the treaty of peace. It was to the order of St. John of Jerusalem that his majesty was, by the first stipulation of the tenth article, bound to restore the island of Malta. The order is defined to consist of those langues which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the treaty; the three French langues having been abolished, and a Maltese langue added to the institution. The order consisted, therefore, at that time, of the following langues, viz. the langues of Arragon, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia.—Since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the langues of Arragon and Castile have been separated from the order by Spain, a part of the Italian langue has been abolished by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is strong reason to believe, that it has been in contemplation to sequester the property of the Bavarian langue, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Russian langues within the dominions of the emperor.

“Under these circumstances, the order of St. John cannot now be considered as that body to which, according to the stipulation of the treaty, the island was to be restored; and the funds indispensably necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the island, have been nearly, if not wholly, sequestered. Even if this had arisen from circumstances which

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it was not in the power of any of the contracting parties to the treaty to control, his majesty would nevertheless have had a right to defer the evacuation of the island by his forces, until such time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preservation of the independence of the order and of the island. But if these changes have taken place in consequence of any acts of the other parties to the treaty; if the French government shall appear to have proceeded upon a system of rendering the order whose independence they had stipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, his majesty's right to continue in the occupation of the island, under such circumstances, will hardly be contested. It is indisputable, that the revenues of the two Spanish languages have been withdrawn from the order by his catholic majesty; a part of the Italian language has, in fact, been abolished by France, through the unjust annexation of Piedmont and Parma, and Placentia, to the French territory. The Elector of Bavaria has been instigated by the French government to sequester the property of the order within his territories; and it is certain that they have not only sanctioned, but encouraged the idea of the propriety of separating the Russian languages from the remainder of the order.

"As the conduct of the governments of France and Spain have, therefore, in some instances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the order, and thus destroyed its means of supporting its independence, it is to those governments, and not to his majesty, that the non-execution of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens must be ascribed.

"Such would be the just conclusion, if the 10th article of that treaty were considered as an arrangement by itself. It must be observed, however, that this article forms a part only of a treaty of peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the stipulations of which must, upon a principle common to all treaties, be construed as having a reference to each other.

"His majesty was induced, by the treaty of peace, to consent to abandon, and to restore to the order of St. John, the island of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition, which must necessarily be supposed to have had considerable influence with his majesty, in inducing him to make so important a concession, was the acquiescence of the French government in an arrangement for the security of the Levant, by the eighth and ninth articles in the treaty, stipulating the integrity of the Turkish empire, and the independence of the Ionian islands.—His majesty has, however, since learned, that the French government have entertained views hostile to both these objects; and that they have even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish empire.—These views must

now be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani: from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian islands, and from the distinct admission of the first consul himself, in his communication with Lord Whitworth. His majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French government to violate those articles of the treaty of peace, which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, and of the Ionian islands, and consequently he would not have been justified in evacuating the island of Malta, without receiving some other security, which might equally provide for these important objects. His majesty accordingly feels that he has an incontestible claim, in consequence of the conduct of France since the treaty of peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the island of Malta.

"Yet, notwithstanding this right, so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French government to his majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of war.

"If the views of ambition and aggrandizement, which have thus been manifested by the French government since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, have in so very particular a manner attracted the attention of his majesty, it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice, the repeated indignities which have been offered by that government to his crown and his people.

"The report of Colonel Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against his majesty's government, against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. This paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of the government to which it was addressed, who thereby have given it their express sanction.

"This report had been published a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this country in the communication of the first consul of France to the legislative body. In this communication, he presumes to affirm, in the character of chief magistrate of that country, "*That Great Britain cannot singly contend against the power of France;*" an assertion as unfounded as it is indecent, disproved by the events of many wars, and by none more than by those of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an assertion,

advanced in the most solemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be considered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his majesty, and to a brave and powerful people, who are both willing and able to defend his just rights and those of their country, against every insult and aggression.

"The conduct of the first consul to his majesty's ambassador at his audience in presence of the ministers of most of the sovereigns and states of Europe, furnishes another instance of provocation on the part of the French government, which it would be improper not to notice on the present occasion, and the subsequent explanation of this transaction may be considered as having the effect of aggravating instead of palliating the affront.

"At the very time when his majesty was demanding satisfaction and explanation on some of the points above-mentioned, the French minister at Hamburgh endeavoured to obtain the insertion in a Hamburgh paper of a most gross and opprobrious libel against his majesty, and when difficulties were made respecting the insertion of it, he availed himself of his *official character of minister of the French republic*, to require the publication of it, by order of his government, in the gazette of the senate of that town. With this requisition, so made, the senate of Hamburgh were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free state made the instrument, by the menace of the French government, of propagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the most offensive and unfounded calumnies against his majesty and his government. His majesty might add to this list of indignities, the requisition which the French government have repeatedly urged that the laws and constitution of his country should be changed relative to the liberty of the press. His majesty might, likewise, add the calls which the French government have, on several occasions, made upon him to violate the laws of hospitality, with respect to persons who had found an asylum within his dominions, and against whose conduct no charge whatever has at any time been substantiated. It is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the French government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a system which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty and his government.

"Under all these insults and provocations, his majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded, with every degree of temper and moderation, to obtain satisfaction and redress; while he has neglected no means consistent with

his honor, and the safety of his dominions, to induce the government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts, in this respect, have proved abortive, and he has, therefore, judged it necessary to order his ambassador to leave Paris. In having recourse to this proceeding, it has been his majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have too long subsisted between the two governments, and to close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of his majesty.

"But though the provocations which his majesty has received might entitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced, yet, anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honor, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honorable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring, to all Europe, that, notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the treaty of peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the spirit of peace itself, his majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement, by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France.

"His majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honor of his crown, and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system, which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

"Westminster, May 18, 1803."

Previous to the publication of this declaration, a message from his majesty was presented to both houses of parliament, (May 16,) informing them, that he had recalled his ambassador from Paris, and that the French ambassador had left London.

Lord Pelham moved, in the house of lords, that the message should be taken into consideration on that day se'nnight: it would take two or three days before the necessary papers could be got ready, and it would also take some time for their lordships to consider their contents.

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Earl Stanhope rejoiced that time was given for considering these papers, and for resolving whether this country should be plunged in another calamitous war, the end of which no person could foresee. His lordship then mentioned a plan, that he had heard was presented to the French government by an American gentleman, by which the navy of England might be completely destroyed, and the channel of the river Thames stopped up! He could not consent to the going to war, unless he had information from ministers, whether they had directed their attention to that specific point.

No answer was given by ministers to Lord Stanhope's question, and the consideration of the message was fixed for the ensuing Monday.

In the house of commons, on the same day, Lord Hawkesbury, on similar grounds, moved, that his majesty's message should be considered on the next Monday.

Mr. Grey made no objection to the motion, which he thought perfectly proper; but wished to be informed, whether it was true that letters of marque and of reprisal had been ordered.

Lord Hawkesbury answered, that such orders had been given; and if they were not stated in the message, it was not from any wish of concealing the fact, but because it was not usual so to do.

After a few words from Mr. Fox, and Mr. T. Grenville, the motion was unanimously agreed to.

On May the 18th, Lord Pelham presented to the lords, as did the chancellor of the exchequer to the house of commons, copies of the letters and state-papers, forming the correspondence between Great Britain and France, since the period of the peace of Amiens.

The following day, Mr. Grey moved for certain papers, which he thought would be necessary to throw a light on some parts of his majesty's declaration, and that were not in the papers presented yesterday. The papers that he moved for, were, first, those respecting the violence that had been stated to have been offered to British subjects and property, in the French ports. 2dly, as to the commercial consuls appointed by France; with the remonstrances, if any, made by his majesty's ministers on those subjects. 3dly, the remonstrances, if any, and the answers of the French government, respecting the continuance of the French troops in Holland, and the occupation of Switzerland. 4thly, the orders last sent for the evacuating the Cape of Good Hope. And lastly, he wished to have some information about the nature of the preparations in France and Holland, at the date of his majesty's message, as the French government positively denied that there existed any such preparation, and that there were only two frigates fitting out in Holland, and two corvettes in France at that time! Mr. Grey con-

cluded, by proposing his first motion; for papers respecting violence committed to British subjects and property in the ports of France.

Lord Hawkesbury in reply said, that it was not insisted that any of those particular grounds was of itself a cause of war; but all together amounted, in his opinion, to a mass of aggression which would completely justify the conduct of his majesty's ministers. He thought the honorable gentleman had taken an exaggerated view of those points on which he grounded his motion. It was not necessary that France should positively deny satisfaction; if she constantly evaded it, it was evidence of a hostile disposition: he therefore opposed the motion.

Mr. Whitbread thought the motions proper; in all events, he imagined it would be incumbent on ministers to prove, in their justification, that they had acted cautiously, as well as zealously; and that it was not through their fault, that grievances had been allowed to accumulate, when that accumulation was now made the ground of actual hostility.

Lord Castlereagh declared ministers had given every degree of information that their duty allowed them; and, that they had exposed themselves to a severe ordeal, by laying before the house the whole history of their conduct since the treaty of Amiens.

Mr. Windham supported the motion, and thought information was necessary on all these points which Mr. Grey had mentioned: he censured the conduct of ministers in wrapping themselves up in affected mystery, when all that was wanted was the substance of the information in their power.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that there was only one of the many motions made by Mr. Grey, that he should feel himself bound in duty to resist; that was, the motion with respect to the armaments going on in France and Holland at the time of his majesty's message: he would however say, that Mr. Liston had informed government, that there was a body of 10,000 troops encamped in Holland; and the house would recollect, that the first consul had himself told all Europe in his *exposé*, that he should keep 500,000 troops ready to support his negotiation with England; and that only a fortnight before the message, when France was at peace with the continent, a new and extraordinary levy had been made by conscription.

After some observations from the secretary at war, and the master of the rolls, on the impolicy of producing those documents, Mr. Grey made a very able and animated reply.

The question being put on his motions, they were all carried, excepting those which related to the armaments, and those respecting the remonstrances concerning the affairs of Holland and Switzerland.

On the day appointed for the discussion of the causes of the renewal of war, (May 23,) Lord Pelham rose, in the house of lords, to move the address. He wished that, in this discussion, the support that he trusted would be given to the proposed address, would be kept separate from the consideration of the general conduct of ministers, which might be solemnly discussed on a future day. He wished the only question to be now considered should be, whether, from a perusal of all the papers laid upon the table, a just and legitimate ground of war had not been established. He then traced an outline of the conduct of the two governments since the peace of Amiens: first, as to Malta, which was the prominent feature in discussion, the British government had taken the necessary steps for carrying the treaty into execution; when, about the 27th of January last, the evacuation of Malta was pressed in a peremptory manner by the French government. About the same time, ministers felt it their duty to demand an explanation of the pretensions advanced, and the views disclosed, by the French government. It was then necessary to review the whole conduct of that government since the signing of that peace, which proved that they did not sincerely wish to maintain it. His lordship then went over the various acts of aggression, committed by France, as stated in his majesty's declaration; and justified the conduct of ministers on all the several points. As to the possession of Malta, he thought it absolutely necessary for this country, as a security against the designs of France upon Egypt, since, by the destruction of the order of Malta, it had been impossible to fulfil exactly the treaty in this respect. His lordship, after having dwelt, at considerable length, on the many acts of aggression and insult, on the part of France, concluded, by moving an address to his majesty, expressive of the sense the house entertained of the anxious desire, shewn by his majesty, for the preservation of the peace; their regret that France had not manifested the same principles; their indignation at the spirit of encroachment exhibited by France; and the reliance which his majesty might place in their support and assistance.

The Duke of Cumberland seconded the motion, in a very elegant and impressive speech. He considered the question, arising out of the papers on the table, was nothing less, than whether this country, which had so long held a proud and distinguished rank among the nations, should, or should not, cease to be an independent country? Or whether we must now descend from that rank, and take our place among the vanquished and feeble nations, which have been plundered and insulted by France? The country now was again called to war, to repel the most unwarrantable system of encroachment and aggression that

ever sprang from Gallic ambition. The first consul of France had endeavoured to subdue all the nations of Europe, and reduce them to the most abject vassalage. Holland, Italy, and Switzerland, lay now subdued, at the proud foot of France, after being plundered of all the wealth which the industry of ages had acquired; and now France, in the vanity of conquest, has ventured to say, that "England could not contend with her, single-handed." He then went over the whole conduct of the French government, during the peace, and shewed, that it was an uniform system of insult, aggression, and hostility. His royal highness concluded, by expressing his firm persuasion, that if this war was prosecuted with vigour, it would be crowned with success, and that we should be able to convince the world, that this nation has not degenerated from the spirit of their ancestres, and that there is still in Europe a powerful and unconquered nation, always ready to defend its own dignity, and to oppose lawless ambition.

Earl Stanhope said, that it appeared to him, that the only serious difference between the French government and ours, was in consequence of our insisting upon keeping Malta for ten years, in spite of the treaty of Amiens. In his opinion, we were bound to restore it; nor could he grant that France had so much increased her dominions since the peace. At the peace, she was in possession of Italy and Holland; she was also in possession of St. Domingo, which she has since lost, and which, if she possessed, our West India colonies would be in great danger. As Bonaparte offered to give up Malta in perpetuity, for an adequate consideration, he thought our ministers should, at all events, have negotiated with respect to the consideration which might have satisfied the French government.

The Duke of Clarence went over the history of the last war, and traced the anxiety and clamour for peace, to the failure of so many of our expeditions. It was from perceiving the wishes of the public so strong for peace, that he gave his consent to the preliminary articles. He took an able review of the hostile conduct of the French government, from the day they had signed the preliminaries. He more particularly dwelt on the conversation of Bonaparte with Lord Whitworth, in which the first consul declared his views upon Egypt, and considered the possession of Piedmont and Switzerland as "*des bagatelles*," trifles not worth considering, and which must have been foreseen while the treaty was pending. At the time of the treaty, it was considered a primary object to guarantee the independence of Malta; but the destruction of that order, to which it was to have been restored, and the change in the relative situation of France, since the treaty, made it more neces-

sary than ever, not to restore Malta, till its independence could be perfectly secured.

Lord Mulgrave thought the oppressions exercised by France over other powers, to aggrandize her empire, was a sufficient reason for us to refuse to surrender Malta; but, by the letter of the treaty, we were bound to surrender Malta to the order, who were to be restored to their ancient privileges; instead of that, the order had been stripped by France both of its property and privileges. A grand master had been chosen by the pope, who was himself a vassal of France, and therefore to restore it now would be only giving it into the hands of France, as a key to the possession of Egypt. If ministers were to bear longer the insolence of the French government, they might have Napper Tandy sent over to them as a commercial agent; or Arthur O'Connor, as consul of Britain. He therefore approved of the conduct of ministers on this occasion.

Lord Melville was glad to find that the importance of Malta, as a key to Egypt, was universally admitted; and, also, that we had a right to secure its independence against the ambition of France. In the actual state of Europe, Great Britain and Russia were the only powers capable of giving security to Malta. He felt rejoiced, that the negotiation, as respecting Malta, was at an end, and that the treaty had, on this point, become a dead letter, by the act of France, who had made the execution of it impossible. The order of St. John of Jerusalem was now no more, and we must keep Malta, not for them, but for ourselves. He was content to say, that we went to war to keep Malta; and to support the address to his majesty, for his gracious communication on this ground alone.

The Duke of Richmond did not consider the question of Malta as a sufficient ground for war. He declared, that until the late negotiation, he had never heard of the island of Lampedosa, and whether it had springs or rivers, and whether it was or was not capable of being fortified, he was entirely ignorant; and yet this island, such as it was, would have contented ministers, with a ten years possession of Malta; he really did not think the difference worth going to war about.

The Marquis of Landsdown said, that in the experience of a long life, he had always found, that when ministers chose to go to war, they also endeavoured to mingle among their alleged causes, some of the popular topics of the times. He had often before now heard "the liberty of the press" held forward, by ministers, as an object of the first importance. As to the aggressions of France in Switzerland, and upon the continent, he thought those subjects rather belonged to Austria, and the continental powers, than to us, and yet they did not think them sufficient causes

for a war. For his part, in the present war, or in the American war, he thought that the spirit of reconciliation would do more than force of arms.

The Duke of Norfolk could not think of calling on ministers to give up Malta to the possession of France; but he hoped that the benefits of peace would not be lightly thrown away on the provocation of the moment. He hoped that the guarantee of Russia might still be obtained, upon this head. He wished that it should be the recommendation of this house to his majesty, that no mediation should be refused, that would hold out a hope of securing the peace of Europe; but if the independence of Europe, and the honor of the country, could no otherwise be obtained, then he must agree to meet again the miseries and difficulties of war.

Lord King expressed his concern, that we were again to be involved in war with France, for the reasons set forth in his majesty's declaration. He could not see what we were to expect from a new conflict with France; we could make no impression on that country: she had no colonies that could be affected by our attacks; and at home she was invulnerable. He did not think Malta a sufficient ground for war, much less did he consider it right to correct the errors of a treaty, by a breach of treaty. Although, as far as war was necessary, the house would support his majesty; yet he did not like unnecessarily hurling defiance at France. He then moved, as an amendment to the address, that those expressions should be expunged, which so warmly imputed to France the guilt of breaking the treaties.

The question being put, on the amendment,

Lord Ellenborough opposed it. He thought it evident, that we went to war, not for the island of Lampedosa (as stated by the Duke of Richmond), but for our independence, our liberties, and our commerce. It was most evident, that some new arrangements were necessary respecting the island of Malta, as we had neither the order to restore it to, nor the guarantees to secure its independence. This country was never situated so, as that any just claim could be made on her for the surrender of Malta; and the house must recollect the threats which had been held out by the first consul personally, of his intention of possessing himself of Egypt, sooner or later.

The Earl of Moira considered war so serious a calamity, both to the government and the people, that he was not surprised that the noble lord (Lord King), had proposed the amendment; although, for his part, he could not agree to it. The evils of war fell not upon their lordships, but upon the poor, in the first instance; it was therefore humanity to give them the fullest consideration. He hoped, however, that there might be no division upon the question, as it was a

time that the greatest unanimity should be found in the councils of the nation. He did not consider Malta as the only ground, or the principal ground of the war; the many insults and aggressions of France were such, that, for his part, he did not consider Malta a sufficient satisfaction. The state of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, were grounds still stronger than that of Malta. The possessions of France were now enormous, and were employed in wounding and injuring us. He considered that the country was never engaged in a war more necessary than the present; nor was it ever more necessary to prosecute a war with vigour and decision. If we carried it on well, he had no doubt of success; but if we carried it on badly, he thought the country would *never be troubled* with managing another war.

Earl Spencer considered the war unavoidable, under the present circumstances. He did not wish the house to run away with the idea, that this was to be but a short war, as it might well turn out to be otherwise. He wished the country to understand its danger, and the house to keep that jealous superintendence of the management of the resources of this country, without which we could not hope for any important success.

The Earl of Rosslyn, although he agreed with a noble lord (Lord Melville), that Malta alone would be a sufficient ground of war, yet thought it evident, that the whole system of France, since the peace, and her many breaches of good faith, amounted to an abundant cause of war, on our part. He considered the menacing language, held forth by Bonaparte to Lord Whitworth, as a sufficient cause of war. He considered his whole conduct, since he signed the treaty, as an uniform system of arrogance, insult, and injury. His views against the Turkish empire, which he did not take the trouble to conceal, were contrary to the letter of the treaty of Amiens, and therefore a ground of war. He wished that this should not be considered as a war likely to be short, but as one so absolutely necessary, that our only wish should be, to carry it on with vigour and success.

The Marquis of Sligo thought the provocations given to England, were such as made war inevitable. He hoped we should always retain Malta.

After a few observations from some other noble lords,

Lord Grenville expressed his approbation of the address, which he thought was drawn up in terms congenial with those sentiments of national honor and personal pride, which formed the best securities for the country. He did not wish to be considered an advocate for war. No man felt more strongly than he did the calamities of war, or the care that ought to be taken to avert so great an evil. But it was often the best way to avoid it, not to appear too much afraid of it. It was from

this conviction that he had always recommended to ministers a system contrary to what they had chosen to pursue, but which he firmly believed would have been more effectual even for avoiding the war. As to the non-execution of the article of the treaty respecting Malta, he saw and stated, that, from the commencement, it was an article not capable of being carried into execution. Without dwelling much, however, upon the ground of Malta, he thought it clear that the present war was just, necessary, and expedient; inasmuch as it was a resistance to a series of violence, aggression, and insult, that could not be endured, without sinking the country to the lowest state of degradation. It was better to begin the contest now, than wait till we should be forced to engage in it, with diminished means, and against increased forces. The designs of Bonaparte on the Turkish empire were in direct violation of the letter and the spirit of the treaty of Amiens. The first consul was not a man to be conciliated to the practice of justice by the appearance of submission: all the energies of this country must therefore be called forward; we must expose ourselves to dangers, and reconcile ourselves to burdens; and prevent, by temporary sacrifices, the total sacrifice of our country and ourselves.

Lord Darnley supported the original address, as did also Lord Gwidir.

The house then divided on Lord King's amendment. For it 10; against it 142; majority 132 for the original address.

On the same day there was a very animated debate in the house of commons. After some pertinent observations from Mr. Erskine, Mr. Pitt expressed a strong hope, that upon the great and important question now at issue between this country and France, all parties would be unanimous. There had been such evident proofs of hostility on the part of France, as justified this country in retaining Malta for its security. The report of Sebastiani, the circumstances of his mission, and the express and deliberate avowal of Bonaparte himself, proved the intention of the first consul to renew his hostile attempts against Egypt, which would be undeniably an act of hostility against this country, and its most important interests, and a direct violation of the treaty of Amiens. He then commented at length upon the report of Sebastiani, and his mission, which he thought was most evidently of a hostile nature: as to the pretence of his being sent to answer and refute assertions in Sir Robert Wilson's book, that was ridiculous, inasmuch as his mission was antecedent to the appearance of that book; and, in fact, Sir Robert Wilson's statements had not been at all contradicted by the report of Sebastiani. Bonaparte, in his conversation with Lord Whitworth, only disowned the intention of seizing

Egypt at present; as he declared, that sooner or later it must belong to France; and yet, although it was thus confest to be a favorite object of the consular ambition, still the only security that France would give was this, "that the French ambassador at Constantinople *should be charged to give assurances to the Porte, of the disposition of France to strengthen, instead of weaken, the Turkish government.*" He would not disbelieve this assertion, when he recollected, that it had been the new policy of France, ever since the revolution, to disclose the most daring designs, long before their execution, in order that the first feelings of indignation, which would lead to vigorous resistance, might have passed away, and given place to neglect and indifference. He therefore did believe the first consul and his minister, when they declared their views upon Egypt; and thought our ministers would have been most blameable, if, when such designs were avowed, they should surrender Malta without sufficient security. He thought the annexation of Piedmont, the arrogant conduct of France with respect to the German indemnities, and, above all, the violence offered to Switzerland; were sufficient causes of war at any time, if we had had such continental co-operation as to afford any prospect of success. The various aggressions stated in his majesty's declaration, were all grounds sufficient to prove the necessity and justice of the war. He concluded by calling upon ministers, in a very impressive manner, to prepare without delay such vigorous measures of finance and national defence, as would convince our enemies that they were neither able to diminish our spirit by threatened invasions, nor to exhaust our resources by a long-protracted war. Great and unexampled as were our efforts during the last war, those of the present war should still exceed them. He lamented the necessity of those painful exertions as much as any man; but we had no option between the blessings of peace and the dangers of war; from the fatality of the times, and the general state of mankind, we must consider our lot as cast in a time of trouble and peril, and must now rouse our national spirit, to meet the dangers, and discharge the duties, of the situation we find ourselves placed in.

Mr. Grey moved an amendment to the address, and a discussion took place, which, as the reporters could not gain admission, was never accurately made public. The debate, however, was adjourned till the next day, when it was resumed by Mr. T. Grenville, who was decidedly of opinion that the conduct of France, upon all the principal points stated in his majesty's declaration, amply justified this country in retaining Malta. He should not have considered a mere abstract wish of the first consul to possess himself of Egypt, as a sufficient ground of war: but the conduct of

Sebastiani, and the avowal of the French minister, made it clear that a hostile attack was meditated, not only on Egypt, but on the Ionian isles, in direct violation of the treaty of Amiens: he knew no period in which so many and invincible grounds of war, on the part of this country, were so clearly and distinctly made out. He preferred the original address to the amendment, because he thought it necessary to show the greatest unanimity.

Mr. Whitbread said, he also wished for unanimity: he put it, however, to the last speaker, to Mr. Pitt, and other gentlemen, whether they could, with a safe conscience, vote an address which would be a direct approbation of the conduct of his majesty's ministers. The right hon. gentleman had distinctly admitted, that ministers had committed the honor of the country. It appeared to him, that the best mode of obtaining unanimity, was, by supporting the amendment of Mr. Grey, which, while it pledged the house to the support of the war, did not approve of the conduct of ministers. Whatever aggravated circumstance might have occurred since the peace of Amiens, he considered that the only thing we were at war for now, was the terms of our *ultimatum* delivered to the French court. If we had been suffered to retain Malta, all would have been well, and we would now enjoy peace. After taking a review of the whole conduct of ministers, both before and after the treaty of Amiens, he felt convinced, that they had no right to declare those to be reasons for going to war, which were no reasons for preventing the peace being signed at Amiens: he concluded by expressing a hope, that his majesty's ministers might now avail themselves of the interference of Russia, and that the peace might be preserved.

Mr. Dallas wished the attention of the house to be confined to the question immediately before their consideration, namely, whether the war was just or unjust? As to the abilities of ministers, and their general conduct, that was a separate question, which might be discussed at another time. He thought there was no doubt, but that, in this quarrel, the country was in the right; ministers had made every cession required by the treaty of Amiens, excepting Malta alone, and, in that instance, they had done every thing in their power to obtain the guarantees that were stipulated in the treaty. On the other hand, the conduct of France, with respect to Switzerland, Holland, and Italy, justified the jealousy of our government. The first consul himself had avowed his designs upon Egypt; he therefore should answer the last speaker, who asked, "What we are at war for?" by saying, "We were at war for Malta; but not for Malta only, but for Egypt; not for Egypt only, but for India; not for India alone, but for the integrity of the British empire,

and the cause of justice, good faith, and freedom, all over the world."

Mr. Elliot agreed in the justice and necessity of the war, and on that ground, and that alone, supported the address. He considered the mission of Sebastiani as an act incapable of explanation or reparation. He had always reprobated the late unfortunate truce, and wished now that the contest should be continued, until real peace and tranquillity could be restored.

Mr. Serjeant Best thought, that not only Malta, but the smallest island upon earth, would be sufficient ground for war, if demanded in the peremptory manner in which France demanded Malta. Although he admitted that France had given many other just causes for war, yet he did not blame ministers for not being too ready to seize them.

Mr. Canning supported the address, but by no means conceived himself to be precluded, by so doing, from expressing his opinion fully, upon a future occasion, of the whole of the conduct of ministers. As to the justice and necessity of the present war, he thought it was altogether obvious; and whether ministers ought, or ought not, sooner to have made their stand against France, yet he had no doubt, but that, under the circumstances which then existed, they were right in refusing to give up Malta. The importance of Malta had been proved by this, that both the English and French expeditions, bound for Egypt, found it most convenient to touch at Malta in their passage. It was evident that, in the present state of Europe, Russia is the only neutral power which could sufficiently protect Malta, but Russia had shewn no disposition either to garrison or guarantee it.

Mr. Fox felt it to be his duty to the people of England to endeavour to rescue them from a situation of great danger, and certain misery, whatever might be the success of the war. He differed from those who had divided the question, as he thought the justice or injustice of the war must, in a great measure, depend upon the circumstances of the conduct of ministers. He thought it was much better to vote for the amendment, respecting which there could be no difference of opinion, than for the original address, which certainly required much explanation. The honorable member took a review of the whole of the correspondence, in which, he thought, there was a great deal of shuffling on both sides. He very much disapproved of the application of the first consul to remove those emigrants who had obtained the protection of this country; as also that for abridging the freedom of our press; he thought, however, too much stress had been laid on the expressions used by him in the conversation with Lord Whitworth, which being given from memory, could not be supposed to be

exact. He, however, saw no great pride or haughtiness in the consul speaking of the invasion, and confessing that the chances were an hundred to one against him; and that he almost despaired of being able to accomplish his purpose. The desire of Bonaparte to be possessed of Egypt, was not, in itself, a sufficient ground of war, or we should never have been at peace with the house of Bourbon. As to their general system of aggrandizement, we had no more right to complain of it in France, than France would have to complain of our aggrandizement in India. To excuse ourselves from possessing this spirit, we must say as the lady did, who was accused of frequent disregards of virtue: "Never before, upon my honor, on this side the Cape of Good Hope." As to Egypt, at the time that Vergennes, the minister to Louis the XVIth, had an expedition ready for Egypt, instead of war, we made a commercial treaty with France. As to Malta, it was known that Russia would have guaranteed it upon certain conditions; but we rather chose to keep it to ourselves for ten years. He did not consider the missions of Sebastiani as a sufficient cause for war. There had hardly been a year of peace, since the treaty of Utrecht, in which the old French government had not some such missionary at work. Europe would never know a single year of peace, if war was necessary on such a ground. He blamed ministers for allowing an accumulation of insults, without demanding satisfaction; and for finally going to war on a sordid principle, for which it was impossible that we could find any allies. He was alarmed when he heard of the unusual exertions that should be made for this war, and that from an old member (Mr. Pitt), who had already so much increased the burdens of the nation. That gentleman seemed to threaten us with an increase of two or three hundred millions to our debt, and that purely for Malta, unconnected with any great, general, generous interest of Europe. He had, in his life time, heard plenty of philippics, such as Demosthenes might have envied; but whenever he heard members indulging the house with luxurious treats of eloquence, full dressed speeches, and high-toned declamations, he pitied the people, whose lot it was to pay dearly for all this. It put him in mind of the French proverb, "*Le cout ote le gout*;" and, certainly, it must be admitted, that the fine speeches in the American war, and in the last, cost the country dear enough. After strongly recommending an alliance with Russia, if possible, Mr. Fox concluded by saying, that, in his opinion, the best way to obtain unanimity, was to support the amended address, which every body must approve of, rather than the original address, which no one could assent to without some qualification.

The chancellor of the exchequer lamented that

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the effusions of the honorable gentleman's great and exalted mind should have been employed for the purpose for which they were then applied. He considered the war as one of obvious necessity, and justified the conduct of his majesty's ministers from the imputation of want of sincerity in their endeavours to procure peace. The honorable gentleman had not done justice to ministers, when he charged them with not having made the proper remonstrances, as it had appeared, from the papers on the table, that they had remonstrated upon almost every topic mentioned in the declaration. He avowed, that it was the intention of this country to assist Switzerland, if, by any means, it could have been done. He then proceeded to take a general view of the conduct of France since the treaty, which evinced a constant design of injuring and insulting this country. He dwelt particularly on the report of Sebastiani, and the conversation of Bonaparte with Lord Whitworth. As to the interference of Russia, respecting Malta, he should say, that if Russia, or any other great power, should interfere, with friendly intentions, and make any proposition of a practical nature, by which peace might be restored, no man would be more glad to attend to it than himself. At present, however, he thought it necessary to prepare the country for an arduous contest, and to be ready to make great sacrifices in support of it. The cause in which we were now engaged, was that of justice, against insult and aggression; a cause which had left to his majesty or parliament no alternative.

The attorney-general supported the address, and highly disapproved of the tendency of Mr. Fox's speech, whose arguments went, as he thought, to justify the conduct of Bonaparte. He conceived that this country had never been engaged, in a contest before, on more honorable principles, or more absolutely necessary, than the present war.

Mr. Windham, in very strong terms, condemned the arguments of Mr. Fox, which, he thought, not only fallacious, but *wicked*. His speech was like a quiver of *poisoned* arrows, aimed at the hearts of his hearers. The honorable gentleman had made himself a *pander* to all the base and illiberal passions of the people, by supporting selfishness against patriotism, and opposing private considerations to the grand views of national policy. If he stooped so low, he was not to be envied for the triumph of eloquence. He then drew a comparison between his conduct and that of Mr. Pitt, who had employed his great talents in kindling the flame of patriotism, and in calling forth the energies of the country.

Mr. W. Smith condemned the severe epithets which had been applied, by Mr. Windham, to the speech of Mr. Fox. He thought, when the heat

of the moment had subsided, he must feel remorse for the expressions he had used.

Mr. Windham, in explanation, allowed that he did not wish the words that had fallen from him, in the heat of debate, to be understood in the strict literal meaning.

Mr. Fox said, he excused the warmth of the right honorable gentleman; and, as for himself, he had a foible of not easily and slightly quarrelling with an old acquaintance.

The house then divided on the amendment, when there appeared 67 for it; 398 against it. The original question was then put and carried.

Great Britain having been, by his majesty's declaration, and by the rejection of Russian interference, fully committed in warfare with France and her dependencies, resolutions of the strongest and most decided tendency towards the inculpation of ministers were brought forward in both houses of parliament, but negatived in both by a great majority. In the course of these important debates, the masterly speeches of Earl Temple, Mr. Pitt, and Lord Hawkesbury, were indicative of the expression of the feelings of the different interests, and the parts which each took upon the subject; and the manly and spirited manner in which Lord Hawkesbury rejected the species of compromise between a direct answer and a total acquittal recommended by Mr. Pitt, who moved that the other orders of the day be read, and his calling on the senate for either direct acquittal or condemnation, gained, as it deserved, considerable respect and applause. The friends of Mr. Fox, in both houses, declined giving any opinion, or dividing on this occasion, with the exception of Mr. Tierney, who had accepted the high and lucrative office of treasurer of the navy, with the rank of privy-counsellor. But, although the old opposition stood aloof in the present instance from the new, as the latter had from co-operation with the former on the motions severally made by Lord King and Mr. Fox, tending to the disapprobation of the conduct of ministers (which had been negatived) there was a similarity of feeling, a spontaneous concurrence of sentiment which approximated towards a perfect coincidence of public conduct. Mr. Pitt and his friends had also taken their ground, if not in declared hostility, at least in the most threatening position. Here then were three parties, confessedly including a vast proportion of the property, the abilities, and patriotism of the nation, who required but one principle of action, and a mutual understanding, to bear down every thing which could oppose them. In this discussion, Mr. Addington triumphed, and he proceeded in confidence and security to provide for the exigencies of the war, on systems of defence and finance.

CHAPTER III.

Irish Affairs.—Tumults in the South suppressed.—New Conspiracy.—Characters of the Leaders.—Grand Attempt on the Capital.—Commencement of the Attack.—Assassination of Mr. Clarke.—Of Colonel Brown, and others.—Massacre of the Lord-chief-justice and his Nephew.—Character of Lord Kilwarden.—Emmett's remarkable Address to the Court.—Executions, &c.

At the close of the year 1802, the affairs of Ireland presented a far more gloomy aspect than at that of the preceding year, when the union took place. Indications of a turbulent spirit existed in many parts of the south. Early in the year 1803, judges were sent by special commission to try the disturbers of the public peace, in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford, in the two former of which commotion had been very general; the latter was only affected by its proximity to Tipperary. In the process of these trials nothing of a treasonable disposition was discoverable in their unfortunate, but deluded subjects. The sacrifices which were made to public justice on this occasion restored at least the appearance of tranquillity. The magistrates of Tipperary and Limerick earnestly petitioned to be indulged with the power of inflicting discretionary punishment and transportation, under what is called in Ireland the insurrection-act, to which his majesty's government in Ireland refused to concede, and chose the milder and more authorized mode of regular legal proceeding.

Some time before his majesty's message to parliament had announced the probability of a rupture with France, it became obvious to the wary observer, that there existed a considerable degree of feverish agitation among those who had favored the late conspiracy, and an alarming resort to Ireland of persons notoriously in the interests of the French government. Undoubtedly the great majority of the people, who had been deceived and led away by the intrigues and artifices of the jacobins, those especially who had any property to lose, or stake in the country, had seen through, and heartily repented their delusion; but there were still to be found some pardoned delinquents, who had yet to learn prudence from their escape of punishment, and whose wickedness had not been put to flight by the glaring conviction of its folly. This intractable and restless description of people hailed with transport the opportunity of recommencing their machinations, and while some spread themselves over the country in every direction, others fixed themselves in the metropolis—an active correspondence was set on foot

with France—and the organization of a new conspiracy was commenced and prosecuted with unceasing diligence. Nor was Bonaparte inattentive or remiss to forward, by every means in his power, his darling project of revolution. The chiefs of the preceding Irish rebellion were summoned to Paris, from the insignificance and contempt in which, since the peace of Amiens, they had lived in different states of the continent; consultations were held with them; their hopes and passions stimulated by promises and flattery; and they were directed to communicate similar impulses to their agents and adherents in their native country.

The person who took upon himself (or to whom that task was delegated by his confederates) the office of director and principal mover of this new plot upon the British dominion in Ireland, was Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of specious and promising talents. He was the younger brother of that Emmett who had, previously to the rebellion of 1798, abandoned a respectable situation at the Irish bar, in order to project and carry into execution the wild schemes of that day—an Irish republic, and separation from Great Britain. His father had filled, during a considerable period, the situation of state physician in Dublin.

This young man had been sufficiently unguarded in his conduct, while the previous disturbances existed, to become an object of the vigilance of government, and had found it prudent to reside abroad so long as the habeas corpus act was suspended, but had returned to Ireland on the removal of that obstacle. His mind was ardent, his imagination brilliant, and he possessed a flow of elocution, often rising to sublimity, and always consistent with the correctness of legitimate oratory. His conversation and deportment at all times manifested the high degree of phrenzy to which his heated and distempered spirit, naturally too prone to such impressions, had been wrought up, by the political enthusiasm in which he had been early formed; by the revolutionary objects which had been in such rapid succession presented to his mind; and by the society of fanciful projec-

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tors, to which, from inclination and habit, he had confined himself both at home and on the continent. The death of Dr. Emmett had placed a sum of two thousand pounds in ready money within his reach, and with this fund he proposed to himself the subversion of an old and well-established government! It is not, however, improbable, that this sum, miserable as it was when compared with his objects, might have tempted the cupidity of a few parasitical adventurers, (to whose wants it might for a season administer) to beset and attach themselves to him; who, by the acts of adulation, by flattering his hopes, and encouraging his designs, at the same time that they revelled in the waste of this little patrimony, nourished his chimerical projects until they had involved him in irretrievable ruin. His principal associates were Dowdall, who had formerly filled a very inferior office under the Irish house of commons; Redmond, a man of narrow means, who affected to be engaged in some low species of commerce; and Allen, a broken woollen-manufacturer.

A conspirator of a different stamp, and of a much higher rate of abilities than those mentioned, was Quigley, a mechanic, but of considerable address, who having been outlawed in 1798, had since that period resided in France; and who, upon the recommencement of hostilities, had returned thence, under circumstances which clearly indicated his agency to the enemy. He seemed well furnished with money, which he certainly could not have derived from his own resources, and of which he was unsparingly liberal. He perambulated with unceasing activity Kildare, his native county, tampering with the people of the lower classes; exhorting them to throw off the slavery imposed upon them by the present form of government; reviving and recalling to their minds every cause of dissatisfaction and complaint; and, by freely distributing strong liquors in many places, and occasionally money, attached the multitude through the medium of its prevailing propensities, and corrupted and deluded vast numbers to hold themselves in readiness for that attempt, which although completely impracticable, destitute of the slightest probability of success, and tending only to the inevitable destruction of those miserable instruments, yet answered, to a certain degree, the purpose of their unprincipled employer, as it distracted and threw some odium on the existing government, and revived distrusts and jealousies among the people.

In another part of the country, a second enthusiast presented himself as a chieftain, and who seemed so confident in the merits of the mighty boon he had to offer as the meed of prosperous rebellion, that he never once suspected, that it would not be accepted and grasped at with as

much avidity, at least, as it was tendered. Mr. Russel was the son of an officer of reputation in his majesty's service, and who having retired, enjoyed an honorable retreat in the situation of master of the royal hospital for veterans at Kilmainham, near Dublin. He was placed early in the army, and had served at Bunker's Hill and the subsequent campaigns in North America. After the peace he either retired on half-pay, or his corps was reduced: so far his situation was suited to the mediocrity of his talents. He then fixed himself, in consequence of accidental connection, in a town of considerable trade in the north of Ireland; but which was not less remarkable for its encouragement of speculative theology, metaphysical inquiry, and the extent and diversity of opinions, both in matters of church and state. Mr. Russel, eager and ardent, at first acting under military impressions, was remarkable for his zealous attachment to his sovereign, and had thus even rendered himself obnoxious in a disaffected town, by a constant display of the most fervent loyalty. In this state of seclusion he addicted himself to the cultivation of literature, and hazarded some pieces of criticism which afford no proofs of superior attainment: he likewise engaged eagerly in those religious investigations which occupy the leisure or fill the minds of the more rigid dissenters. Immersed in pursuits of such a nature, with a scanty income, and a mind at once gloomy and sanguine, it may well be supposed, that at the period when the modern doctrines of political reform were broached, they found in this unfortunate man an apt and enthusiastic proselyte. In justice, however, to the memory of this unhappy person, it must be observed, that he was affectionate and tender-hearted, and possessed more of the feeling and sentiment of a gentleman, than are usually found in the confirmed democrat.

Such were the conditions and characters of the principal leaders of the conspiracy, which, having been conducted in security and darkness, broke out into insurrection on the 23d of July. Emmett and Dowdall were stationed in Dublin; Quigley in the county of Kildare, and (indeed without the slightest gleam of probable success to cheer him on his mission), Russel in the populous districts of the north, Down and Antrim; others of less note were subdivided throughout various parts of the country, with authority from their leaders to forward the design by every means in their power. Some important assistance was likewise hoped for in the acquisition of a person of the name of Dwyer, whom they treated with, and urged to levy his utmost force and make the first attack on the capital.

This man, at the head of a gang of deserters and banditti, had remained in arms from the

period of the rebellion of 1798, obstinately rejecting repeatedly proffered mercy; and who dexterously eluding all pursuit, had sustained himself under the protection of the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains. His party did not ostensibly exceed twenty, but he was supposed to possess unbounded influence over the peasants of that district; so that a large body, on any notable undertaking, was within his means of command.

What is most observable of these transactions, is the impenetrable secrecy with which they were conducted.—Undoubtedly many surmises, obscure reports, and mysterious observations connected with them, were afloat in Dublin, and strong symptoms of clandestine meetings and novel conferences were noticed in the more distant counties; yet the parties to the main design continued with inviolable fidelity true to each other, and their cause. Mr. Emmett is said at one period to have counted upon 80 persons with whom he was in strict confidence, eminent for zeal, steadiness, and resolution.

He continued still in Dublin, feeding his vanity and his hopes with the pompous projects of a founder of constitutions; and lurking in all the mysterious varieties of conspiracy. He lodged in several different houses, passed in various places by distinct appellations, and what was of more consequence to his grand object, established his arsenal and magazines in two tenements, hired in the names of other persons, in obscure parts of the town, in one of which some small quantity of gunpowder was manufactured; in the other, timber was provided for constructing pikes, and those already made, and his other arms and stores, were there deposited. Here again it must be observed, that the depositaries of those secrets were the hostler of an inn, and others of the meanest and most indigent stamp, whom yet neither levity, nor the certainty of an ample reward, nor the wavering instability common to men engaged in danger and dangerous designs, could draw the discovery from the impenetrable recesses of their fidelity! To account for this, it must be supposed that the hearts of the people were with the project; or perhaps it was that the departments of the police of Dublin were all filled by men who had been deeply engaged in the severities of the preceding rebellion, and who being on that account stigmatised and detested by the people, even those who had secretly returned to reason, were not willing to unbosom themselves to men whom they regarded with so much horror!

By the month of June, however, government had seen or heard sufficient to induce it to quicken its diligence, and the officers of the police appeared thenceforward more alert and vigilant;

notwithstanding which, it was difficult to bring the public to believe that the project of insurrection was on foot; especially as the chief governor of the island, Lord Hardwicke, and his family, had exerted themselves with uncommon condescension to acquire the public approbation. This state of delusion continued until the 14th of July, the anniversary of the French revolution, which opened the eyes of many, and excited a considerable degree of alarm. Bonfires were publicly made in commemoration of that event, and collections of people, though not numerous, yet apparently strenuous and decided, formed and partook in the festivity. A day or two after, an explosion took place in the house where, as already stated, gunpowder was stored or manufactured. This circumstance tended to create an universal sensation of distrust and uneasiness, although it did not particularly stimulate the suspicions or the efforts of government: and as the leaders of the conspiracy apprehended that under such general impressions it would not be much longer in their power to machinate in security, they immediately determined to press forward the execution of their projected treason.

The interval of the ten days next ensuing after the explosion, was employed by the malcontents, either in deliberating on the propriety of immediately flying to arms, or in concerting the most practicable mode of commencing their operations. It was considered that the discontent, the levity, and the ignorance of the multitude, would afford an abundant supply of men: but to arm them was essential, and in arms they were deficient. It was then proposed to seize upon the several depôts and arsenals in the vicinity of Dublin; and, above all, it was universally determined to gain possession of the castle, as in that case it was supposed they could more decidedly influence the public mind by having the seat of government in their power.

Certainly a more absurd and impracticable project never fascinated the mind of an heated and frantic visionary, than that such a force as was at that moment actually disposeable in Ireland, backed by the armed property of the kingdom, was to be subdued by eighty adventurers, at the head of a tumultuous, half-armed, and undisciplined rabble! Incoherently, indeed, did those deluded wretches calculate upon their means of success, when they flattered themselves with the expectation of governing the most intractable of all mobs, or of compelling it to any principle of subordination. If they had even succeeded in carrying the castle, the booty it presented would have unnerved their force, and dissipated their followers. How could they have impeded or prevented immediate succours from being thrown in by England? nor would their success against

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As they approached the precipice, the greater part of the conspirators clearly contemplated their danger, and wished to defer the attempt. These were either the needy and the profligate, who had fastened themselves on the spoils of Emmett; the agents of the French government, whose object it rather was to agitate and predispose the country to ferment, than to embark themselves in immediate action; or, lastly, those busy and depraved simpletons, who cherishing a morbid vanity and thirst of self-importance, had imagined, that contrary to the obvious destination of their rank in life and endowments, they were called upon to act a part on the great theatre of public affairs; but who, startled at the near view of danger, were willing (although now too late) to shrink back and shelter themselves in their own insignificance. Mr. Emmett, however, was peremptory in the opposite way of thinking, and those who had assisted in feeding his illusions were now urged forward in their turn. He represented, with an impetuosity not to be resisted, that the militia was about to be embodied: that the country would be placed every day in a more unassailable posture; and, by its multiplied measures of defence, become impregnable.

After this conference, many of his partizans slunk away, and declined all farther participation in his designs: others, however, and those the majority, resolutely determined to follow the fortunes of their beloved leader, and declared that they would not desert him, although they advanced with the certainty of utter destruction to themselves and to their cause. The die was cast, and all farther reflection was repelled by the ardour and firmness of resolution.

Fortune, on this occasion not to be accused of fickleness, seems never, from their first embarking on this desperate adventure, to have been, for a single moment, auspicious to the devoted conspirators. Their negotiation with Dwyer had failed—and a plan, even more specious, and on which they now grounded the most sanguine hopes of success, proved equally fallacious. A part of the plan of general attack determined upon, was to force the batteries and stores at the mouths of the harbour of Dublin, by the assistance of those working people from the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, who, in the months of June and July, repair, in considerable numbers, for the purpose of hay-making, to the neighbourhood of Dublin. The minds of this class of men appeared by no means more softened, nor their passions less alive to every motive of discontent, whether real or imaginary, than they were at the period of the rebellion of 1798, which they had principally

supported, and the daring conduct of which had prepared and habituated them for similar encounters; their enmities were fierce and vehement; their courage and resolution undoubted; it was therefore natural that they should be selected as most useful and valuable auxiliaries.

For some time they had manifested the most cordial concurrence; but, on the 22d of July, the day before that appointed for action, for some cause unknown, they formally declared their abandonment of the design. They did not, however, accompany their refusal with any discovery of the plot.

For some days prior to the 23d of July, Emmett passed his time entirely in his dépôt, reposing at night upon a mattress thrown upon the ground, amid the implements of death which he had there collected. Here, with pikes and gunpowder strewed promiscuously around; did this poor zealot indulge the wildest workings of his imagination. In such a scene as this, did this lawgiver of four-and-twenty, superior in his own opinion to the Platos, the Mores, and the Harringtons, (because he conceived himself, superadded to his own, in the full possession of their experience,) meditate a digest of their several principles, for the benefit of the future Hibernian republic: or perhaps he meditated whether it might not be better and more consonant to the will of the sovereign people, to divide the country into separate independent states, and connect them on some just and broad principle of alliance, of which probably one of the then existing federative unions of Europe afforded the archetype. How did he, in this den of treason and of massacre, elevate himself above the tribe of modern legislators, and look to posterity for that palm which his better genius had wrested from Penn, and Mounier, and Sieyes. But who can attempt to paint the enthusiastic reveries of this devoted young man, who, for objects chimerical and impracticable, such as his were, had quitted his station in life, to associate with the vilest of the vile—to court danger, degradation, and death?

Among the papers found in a desk which he had used in this forlorn residence, there was one that contained the following rhapsody. "I have little time to look at the thousand difficulties which still lie between me and the completion of my wishes; that these difficulties will disappear, I have ardent, and I trust rational hopes; but if it is not to be the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a sanguine disposition. To that disposition I run from reflection, and if my hopes are without foundation; if a precipice is opening under my feet, from which duty will not suffer me to run back, I am grateful for that sanguine disposition which leads me to the brink, and throws me down, while my eyes are still raised

to the vision of happiness that my fancy formed in the heavens!"

It has been already stated, that the 23d of July was fixed upon by this enthusiast to form the era of Irish liberty---on this day the capture of the castle of Dublin, and the subversion of the government and constitution of Ireland, were to take place. The date was determined by its coincidence with Saturday, when the resort of people from all parts of the country would be less liable to notice upon the general business of the markets: it was also that on which the streets would naturally be filled with labourers and handy-craftsmen, after their dismissal from work, and having been paid their weekly stipend by their employers. Another circumstance, too, promised to cloak the extraordinary assemblage of people, or bustle of active preparation on that particular day; it was the eve of the festival of St. James, on which occasion an ancient custom prevailed among the common ranks, of collecting in great numbers, in a considerable suburb of Dublin, for the purpose of repairing to the church-yard dedicated to that saint, and there dressing the burial places of their deceased relatives with flowers and other decorations, the evening being afterwards devoted to merriment.

It does not appear that the positive determination to act was communicated to the insurgents until the very previous day; even some who were considered the most resolute, and most to be depended on, were not admitted earlier into this great resolve. The failure of the former conspiracy was attributed to a minuteness of preparation---the actors in it were too eager to convince the entire public, that they were themselves the fittest persons to govern, and their proposed form of constitution was the most eligible; the present, on the contrary, chose to prove their title to be obeyed, by their audacity. They hoped to gain, on the side of concealment, more than they should lose by too anxiously bespeaking approbation, and storing up good-will; and that, at all events, by this latter mode they would advance with more security to the completion of their wishes.

On the morning of the appointed day for this momentous enterprize, unusual crowds of peasants were observed on the great southern road to Dublin, directing their hurried steps towards the capital, from all parts of the county of Kildare, which lies in that direction. The reader will recollect, that it was in the latter district that Quigley had succeeded in agitating the minds of the lower orders, and had disposed them, with very few exceptions, once more to try the fortune of rebellion. The city was filled at an early hour, and continued so during the whole day; indeed it was observed by travellers and others, that many parts of Kildare were completely emptied of

their male inhabitants; women, and children, and feeble men, alone remaining in the tenements deserted by their male population.

Towards evening the populace began to assemble in vast numbers in St. James's-street, which is about a mile in length, leading from the side of the county of Kildare into the heart of the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood, without however any visible arrangement or discipline: these were, forsooth, the materials on which Mr. Emmett proposed to construct the edifice of republicanism. The next object was to arm the body thus collected: for this purpose, pikes were deliberately brought out from the store provided for them in that neighbourhood, and with unmolested regularity placed along the sides of the street for the accommodation of all who might choose to equip themselves. The inhabitants, during this dreadful and alarming scene, (the most extraordinary and unprecedented ever exhibited in a civilized country---in the metropolis---in day-light---within a mile of the residence of the chief governor; not half that distance from the barracks, where between two and three thousand men were lodged, and commanded by a most gallant, experienced, and vigilant commander-in-chief, under whom was a numerous and well-appointed staff---and in the heart of a city whose police establishment was perhaps the most expensive in Europe) were panic-struck, and seeing no prospect of succour or protection, withdrew within their houses, barred their doors and windows, and betook themselves to imploring the protection of providence, to avert from them the impending calamity.

The plot had been well concealed, its machinery was perfectly prepared, and it now only remained to be proved, whether it could be put in execution: every thing, hitherto, had favored the designs of the conspirators; henceforward, however, ultimate success entirely depended upon the conduct of that vast body they had set in motion.

Towards dusk the concerted signal that all was in readiness, was given by some men riding furiously through the principal streets; but general alarm was not excited until the firing at and severely wounding Mr. Clarke, in the midst and most frequented part of the city, had taken place; an act as audacious as it was atrocious and brutal. This gentleman, the proprietor of a considerable manufactory in the neighbourhood of Dublin, in the direction of that quarter whence the force was collected for the meditated insurrection, had previously imbibed strong suspicions of approaching tumult, from the symptoms of fever and agitation universally perceived by the most incurious observer, to prevail in the actions and manners of the lower orders, and of which he thought it his duty to apprise the lord-lieutenant's secretary. On the afternoon of this memorable day, some

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unusual appearances among his workmen confirmed his opinion; as he rode from town (as was his custom) to pay them off at the conclusion of the week, he met nearly their whole body proceeding to Dublin, without waiting for their wages or the accustomed hour of dismissal from work.—On questioning some of the foremost as to the cause of this extraordinary conduct, he was rudely and abruptly answered; on which, with great presence of mind, he instantly turned round and rode with the utmost expedition to the castle, to apprise government of what he had seen, and thence conjectured. Here surely was ground for active and immediate measures of precaution. His men observed this movement, and, aware of his intentions, reported the circumstance to their chiefs, who ordered them to way-lay Mr. Clarke on his return, and inflict upon him the dreadful punishment of death for this presumptuous interference: about nine in the evening, as he rode homeward, a blunderbuss was discharged at him by one of his own workmen, which must have been provided for the occasion, as the party was yet unarmed when he first spoke to them. Such was the outrage which commenced the horrors of this barbarous proceeding. Providentially, by the inexpertness of the assassin, or through some favorable but unknown circumstance, Mr. Clarke escaped with life, although desperately wounded.

About the period of this premeditated assassination, a small piece of ordnance, which had been in readiness for the purpose, was discharged, and a sky-rocket let off at the same moment, so as to be observed throughout the whole city. Mr. Emmett, at the head of his chosen band, sallied forth from the obscurity of his head-quarters in Marshalsea-lane, and drawing his sword in the street, with a flourish incited his ruffians to action; before they reached the end of the lane, in which they were arranged, a confidential member of the party discharged his blunderbuss at a person, arrayed as an officer, hastily passing along; and thus, by a base and unprovoked act of assassination, perished Colonel Brown, a most respectable and meritorious officer.

The prison for debtors being situated contiguous to the chief rendezvous of the insurgents, thither they directed their first onset, which could scarcely have any other object than that propensity to mischief which ever distinguishes the commotions of a rabble. The corporal of the ordinary guard there stationed, was inhumanly butchered, but meeting no encouragement nor succour from within, the assailants did not think fit to encounter the resistance of about twelve soldiers who stood on their defence; the unhappy inhabitants of this dreary abode called loudly for arms, to defend their prison against the ruffians by whom it was beset; wisely resolving to await rather the

chance of relief from the compassion of their country, than to trust to the infuriated phrenzy of a mob.

The most vigorous attempt, or indeed the only one which could be so considered in the entire affair, was upon a few soldiers composing an outpost, who, overpowered by numbers, were put to death. A single dragoon riding on command from some of the generals on the staff of Dublin, was fired at and killed.

A guard-house of the 21st regiment lay near the scene of rising; whilst the main body that composed the guard were absent on a patrol party, a band of the insurgents approached it; but the slight resistance which the remaining men could make was sufficient to repel it. A watch-house was also attacked, but with the like success, although in this latter instance, as in the former, the men were mostly on duty.

Having wasted above an hour in those futile and ineffectual attempts, distinguished only by acts of individual atrocity, notwithstanding every effort of their leaders to direct them towards the castle, the grand object of attack; the insurgents seemed at length seriously disposed to assay that most difficult part of their enterprize, and had actually collected in an immense column, and had proceeded through James's into Thomas-street, when the attention of its rear was diverted to the arrival of an equipage, which a moment's inquiry satisfied the rebels was that of the Lord-chief-justice of Ireland. A halt was instantly called, disorder and tumult again prevailed—the heads of the advancing party immediately returned upon their steps, and the massacre of the venerable Lord Kilwarden became the sole object of this infatuated and execrable mob.

It was at this period, it is asserted, that Mr. Emmett, and the other leaders, who had been somewhat more than an hour engaged in a task far beyond their powers—that of directing effectually and with precision an armed Irish mob—retired in despair, at finding all command disregarded, all efforts to produce subordination ineffectual, and their favourite project of assailing the castle rejected, for the slightest opportunity that occurred of indulging the predatory disposition to rapine and murder of their associates! It has been urged in their favor, that shocked and disgusted at the murder of Lord Kilwarden, the chiefs instantaneously came to the resolution of abandoning their vile associates.—But if that of Colonel Brown, and of the corporal of the prison guard, had not lessened their appetite for revolution, it cannot well be conceived that the subsequent barbarities exercised towards the lord-chief-justice, would have rendered them all at once so precise and squeamish.—In effect, what must that man be, who could embark on an hostile design with a drunken, armed populace, and not calculate

upon being the witness, the accomplice of every species of crime? It is very certain that the head of the advancing column never approached the castle nearer than Francis-street, which is thence distant about half a mile. The following anecdote, the authenticity of which may be depended upon, will serve to shew how little was to be apprehended from the adherence to each other in the moment of action, or from the subordination of this horde of barbarians. An inhabitant of Francis-street, as the advanced ranks proceeded in that direction, overheard from his window a leader calling out to his party "to advance," to which a reply was instantly made, with a tremendous oath, "We won't advance, you are no captain of mine, *I never eat nor drank with you.*"

The unfortunate Lord Viscount Kilwarden had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country-seat, nearly four miles from Dublin, as he was accustomed to do, after having passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his exalted situation. The last judicial acts of his lordship on the morning of this calamitous day, were the liberation of confined debtors, under the provisions of an insolvent act; and the prescribing some humane regulations tending to alleviate the miseries of others of that description, who were not entitled to its benefit. His seat lay on that side of the town whence the insurgents were collected; and a degree of alarm was excited in his family towards evening by the reports which poured fast upon each other, of vast numbers of suspicious persons having been seen flocking into the city, and of their obvious intentions, which latter were indeed no longer attempted to be concealed, and must have been by that time sufficiently notorious.

Lord Kilwarden had probably, as he had advanced in years, grown somewhat timorous; but certain it is, that since the period of the outrages of 1798, he was in perpetual apprehension of being surprised and assassinated by rebels; and had not ventured, from that time till the time of his assassination, to pass a night beyond the limits of Dublin. On the first intimation of the circumstances which denoted disturbance being conveyed to him, his fears returned: his anxious mind retraced, in terrifying succession, the horrors and the audacity of the previous rebellion. It probably suggested itself to him, that the moving directly forward upon the metropolis was an argument of the greater strength, confidence, and resources of the insurgents now, than on the former occasion. His situation was likewise peculiar; as attorney-general, it had been his duty to point out numbers of the disaffected to the offended laws of their country; and, as a judge, he had ordered, in the course of his duty, many of that description for execution: he, therefore, in

the event of their possessing power, however momentary had much reason to apprehend the most dismal effects from their ferocious resentment. In an evil hour, obeying the impulse given to his mind by reflections such as these, did his lordship determine to repair to Dublin for protection; and for that purpose, accompanied by his daughter and nephew, set out in a post-chaise about the dusk of the evening.

They passed unmolested and undisturbed through the solitary and deserted roads leading to the capital, and so continued until they reached the city; as indeed they would have remained, had they not quitted the country. One chance for safety yet existed. From the termination of the road on which his lordship proceeded, he might enter Dublin either by the barracks or by St. James's-street; but by the former road he would have had to pass about a mile farther than on the latter, and through a suburb thinly inhabited and little frequented; on the latter then he determined, naturally reasoning, that where there was most town there would be most safety; and, by an over-ruling fatality, directed his carriage to proceed through St. James's and Thomas-street, which were then triumphantly occupied by the insurgents! Had he providentially chosen the rejected avenue on the other side of the river, he would not have encountered the slightest interruption, nor witnessed the least appearance of disturbance: indeed, several individuals of that quarter, who had retired early to their habitations, remained in total ignorance of the dreadful events of the evening, until they were apprized of the dangers they had escaped, by the clamor of the frequent patroles, the posting of guards, and the general trepidation and panic of the next morning.

It was darker than it usually is at ten o'clock of a night in July, when the ill-fated party approached the scene of its sufferings: as it proceeded into St. James's-street, the mob had nearly evacuated it at the other extremity, and had advanced into Thomas-street, so that yet even in the town, his lordship did not experience any hostile interruption. A gentleman of no particular consideration had a few minutes before arrived in a post-chaise, and probably would have been the victim of this ferocious and insane banditti, but that the arrival of Lord Kilwarden's equipage accelerated his fate, and drew off their attention from him to an object of much greater magnitude; while the former captive, bustling unobserved through the crowd, effected his escape.

The chaise conveying the lord-chief-justice and his family was stopped about twenty yards from the entrance of Thomas-street. Lord Kilwarden immediately declared his name, and earnestly prayed for mercy; but in vain—the three indivi-

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duals were dragged from the carriage, the savages exclaiming they would sacrifice Lord Kilwarden and his male companion, but must spare the lady! They then desired the latter to escape as well as she could, and permitted her to pass through their entire column without injury or interruption.

Lord Kilwarden and his nephew were then felled to the ground, of course without resistance, but still imploring for some return of humanity; the savages to whom they sued were deaf to all entreaty, and pierced them with innumerable wounds. It was afterwards stated by his lordship's servant in evidence, that the ruffians violently contended and even fought for the distinction of stabbing with their pikes the prostrate and defenceless victims!

No portion of the conduct of assassins, which makes us shudder at their unfeeling barbarity, and blush for human nature, can ever be the theme of applause; but in permitting, in the moment of blind and infuriate rage, the escape of Miss Wolfe, we may trace some of the lineaments of the native character of the country, such as it exhibited before its people were corrupted by faction, brutalized by misrule, and maddened and depraved by the influence of that combination of all vice, and the source of every popular perversion—jacobinism!

The unfortunate young lady, having run through the streets, scarcely knowing whither, fortunately reached the castle in a state, as might well be imagined, bordering on phrenzy; where she announced the situation in which she had left her father!

The body of Lord Kilwarden being found not totally bereaved of life, had been carried to a watch-house in Vicar-street, where Major Swan saw him lying on the guard-bed, dreadfully lacerated; his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, was killed on the spot. His lordship, although near expiring at the time, knew the major, and appeared perfectly in his senses. He eagerly inquired as to the fate of his daughter, and being assured by the major of her safety, he exclaimed, with an emotion of gratitude to Heaven, "thank God!" A military gentleman present, naturally filled with indignation, observed, that every man taken with a pike in his hand ought to be instantly hanged: which Lord Kilwarden overhearing, turned to Major Swan, and most impressively exhorted him "to let no man be hanged without being brought to trial!" The unfortunate chief-justice lingered in excruciating pain about two hours. He was a native of the kingdom of Ireland, and had served the crown in the usual gradations of the highest law offices. He became solicitor-general of Ireland, when Viscount Carleton was promoted to the common pleas; and he became attorney-general, on Lord Clare's accession

to the seals. The Earl of Clonmell was his lordship's immediate predecessor in his last high office, that of Chief-justice of Ireland. As crown prosecutor, during a period which unfortunately called very much for the exercise of the duties of that office, he was fair, candid, and gentle; disposed to give the delinquent every reasonable advantage, and always less desirous to exaggerate guilt, than to ascertain innocence. As a judge, no man ever attempted to censure him on any ground, other than a strenuous, and what some considered in critical times, an overstrained assertion of the liberty of the subject. He was not, from his talents or attainments, calculated to extend the limits of science, or multiply the lights of his profession: but he was really what his dying expressions bespoke him, an upright honest man, who well knew how to appreciate law and justice, and whose unwearied sedulity, and long habits of the distribution of both, had fully and deeply impressed in his mind their soundest maxims.

About half past ten the rebels were in their turn severely attacked—the mighty project and elaborate preparation of Mr. Emmett and his associates; the numbers their design had assembled; the lofty conceptions they had formed; were all discomfited and dissipated in less than half an hour by two subaltern officers of the 21st regiment, each having about fifty men under his command, a peace-officer with fifteen constables, and nearly twenty unattached regular soldiers and volunteers, who had thrown themselves together under an officer employed in the recruiting service.

The 21st regiment of infantry was stationed in several occasional barracks, in that part of Dublin called "the liberty," inhabited solely by indigent manufacturers, and the workmen employed in breweries, distilleries, and other sources of employment of the same nature. In this neighbourhood was situated Mr. Emmett's headquarters; and Thomas-street, the first chosen scene of action. After the rebels had taken possession of certain streets, and had put every person in military attire to death, or severely wounded them; many other stragglers were then cut off, who were passing along in the unsuspecting confidence of security, and also some volunteers, who at these hostile appearances were anxiously repairing to the rendezvous appointed for them in cases of danger. The attack already mentioned, and the report that several soldiers had been intercepted by the mob, induced the officers at the principal barracks in "the liberty" to detach an escort for their colonel, who lodged at some little distance: Lieutenant Brady, with about fifty men, proceeding on this service, came unexpectedly upon the rear of the mob; in attempting to seize the first pike-man he met with, a shot was fired from

an entry, by which some one of his soldiers was wounded; and some other instances of aggression having taken place, Lieutenant Brady gave orders to fire; in a few minutes the mob fled in every direction, and left him complete master of the scene of action. The commanding officer of the regiment, whom this party was dispatched to seek out, was the unfortunate Colonel Brown, who on the first alarm was proceeding to the quarters of his regiment, and who was, as already described, basely assassinated by an atrocious ruffian of the name of Howly, who afterwards met with that punishment he so richly merited. The light company of the same regiment was stationed in the street called the Combe, contiguous to Thomas-street; Lieutenant Douglas, who commanded it, had had the precaution to place his men under arms. A column of rebels proceeding down Thomas-street, seemed desirous to attack them, two or three shots were fired, by which some of the soldiers were hurt, and the mob then ran forward as if to charge, but on receiving a volley fell back; a second volley dispersed them, and no farther attack or resistance was experienced.

No return was ever made of the lives lost on this occasion; of soldiers and volunteers there must have been nearly twenty, and perhaps about fifty of the populace. The affair would have terminated earlier, but for the indecisive weakness of a magistrate, under whose disposal was placed the Combe party of the 21st regiment; he patrolled the streets and brought it directly on the insurgents, but refused his permission to fire, and obliged it to retreat. On his return he abandoned them and secured himself, when the officer, left to his own discretion, did his duty.

The great preparations which were observed in Marshalsea-lane, and the number of armed men who issued thence, naturally attracted a good deal of attention. Lieutenant Coultnan, of the 9th regiment, at the time accidentally in Dublin, partaking in the general alarm, collected a few men zealous and resolute like himself, some of whom were of the regiment to which he belonged, others, volunteers of the barrack division, of a serjeant and twelve men whom he met on his way, and who all put themselves under his command; the entire party proceeded to the place whence so much mischief had appeared to issue. The house and the lane adjoining it were by this time completely abandoned, Mr. Emmet and his party not having prepared any measure for its security, or provided any means of retreat to it. The passage through the lane was strewn with pikes, which marked the way to the magazine already mentioned. Lieutenant Coultnan and his party, on entering it, found the entire apparatus of rebellion: a large quantity of ball-cartridges, hand-grenades, pikes, and gun-

powder; some military dresses; but above all, a proclamation, wet from the press, of persons styling themselves the provisional government, and containing their projects of a future constitution.

Mr. Emmett, after he had acted the general for the short space of an hour, finding himself either deserted by his army, or at the head of a crowd by whom his commands and even his entreaties were slighted, fled in despair and mortification from Dublin. The next morning the secret history of the depôt, of the preparations there, and of his individual share in the transaction, were become perfectly notorious. A man who had been made prisoner, (passing by the magazine on the morning of the 21st of July,) by the insurgents, and who were apprehensive of his having discovered their preparations, was saved by Emmett, contrary to the wish of the miscreants who acted with him. This person effecting his escape, on the night of the 23d, after he had been detained for two days, was able to detail with minuteness all the transactions of the place, and to describe the parties concerned. A hot pursuit was instantly commenced after the chiefs. Emmett, with twelve chosen men, had taken the road which led to the mountains adjacent to Dublin; there, for a few days, they marched about in the guise of French officers; but they received no other succour than what compassion afforded; their appearance, and the character they had assumed, created sensations which could not long be kept secret; the alarm given, a search was made in every direction. The rebel leaders found this stratagem, which was indeed as puerile as the former part of their proceedings were weak and depraved, of no use. Emmett again took refuge in Dublin, where he was quickly traced by the vigilance of the police, and committed to prison. Dowdall and Allen escaped out of the country; Redmond was arrested at Newry, as he was about to take his passage for America; Quigley, and a principal of the name of Stafford, fled into the interior of the country, and were not apprehended until after Emmett's execution.

The prisoners made on the night of the 23d, were some of the most wretched amongst the rabble. In about three weeks after the affair, an order was issued for trying all those charged with treason, and all taken in arms, and others of the like condition, against whom evidence appeared; and with Messrs. Emmett and Redmond they were severally brought to trial.

When Mr. Emmett was called upon to know if he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he addressed the court and jury nearly in the following terms:

"I am asked if I have any thing to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon

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me. Was I to suffer only death, after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence; but a man in my situation has not only to combat with the difficulties of fortune, but also the difficulties of prejudice; the sentence of the law which delivers over his body to the executioner, consigns his character to obloquy. The man dies, but his memory lives; and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I use this occasion to vindicate myself from some of the charges advanced against me.

"I am charged with being an emissary of France---tis false! I am no emissary---I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France. No! never did I entertain the idea of establishing French power in Ireland---God forbid! On the contrary, it is evident, from the introductory paragraph of the address of the Provisional Government, that every hazard attending an independent effort, was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of introducing a French army into the country. Small would be our claims to patriotism and to sense, and palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, if we were to encourage the profanation of our shores by a people who are slaves themselves, and the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others:

"If such an inference be drawn from any part of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, it calumniates their views, and is not warranted by the fact. How could they speak of freedom to their countrymen? How assume such an exalted motive, and meditate the introduction of a power which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the globe? Reviewing the conduct of France to other countries, could we expect better towards us? No! Let not, then, any man attaint my memory by believing that I could have hoped freedom through the aid of France, and betrayed the sacred cause of liberty by committing it to the power of her most determined foe: had I done so, I had not deserved to live; and dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execration of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would have given freedom.

"Had I been in Switzerland, I would have fought against the French---in the dignity of freedom, I would have expired on the threshold of that country, and they should have entered it only by passing over my lifeless corpse. Is it then to be supposed, that I would be slow to make the same sacrifice to my native land? Am I, who lived but to be of service to my country, and who would subject myself to the bondage of the grave to give her independence---am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of France?

"My lords, it may be part of the system of

angry justice, to bow a man's mind, by humiliation, to meet the ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the scaffold's shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the imputation of having been the agent of French despotism and ambition; and, while I have breath, I will call upon my countrymen not to believe me guilty of so foul a crime against their liberties and their happiness.

"Though you, my lord, sit there a judge, and I stand here a culprit, yet you are but a man, and I am another; I have a right, therefore, to vindicate my character and motives from the aspersions of calumny; and, as a man, to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in rescuing my name and my memory from the afflicting imputation of having been an emissary of France, or seeking her interference in the internal regulation of her affairs.

"Did I live to see a French army approach this country, I would meet it on the shore, with a torch in one hand, and a sword in the other---I would receive them with all the destruction of war! I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their very boats; and before our native soil should be polluted by a foreign foe, if they succeeded in landing, I would burn every blade of grass before them, raze every house, contend to the last for every inch of ground; and the last spot on which the hope of freedom should desert me, that spot I would make my grave! What I cannot do, I leave a legacy to my country, because I feel conscious that my death were unprofitable, and all hopes of liberty extinct, the moment a French army obtained a footing in this land."

After some farther matter, he concluded thus:—"My lamp of life is nearly expired; my race is finished: the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. All I request, then, at parting from this world, is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives dare vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them; let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain undescribed, till other times and other men can do justice to my character."

The foregoing is a faithful report of this unfortunate young man's exculpation of himself from the charge of co-operating with the French in any design to invade Great Britain; and whether the sincere conviction of his mind, or the imposition of pride, anxious to rescue his memory from the foul shame of having sought to deliver his country up to a foreign and a cruel enemy, he is entitled to equal credit; and if any thing were inscribed on his tomb, most honorable to himself, and atoning to his country, it is the character which he had given of the arch foe to the peace and liberty of mankind.

The court listened to him with a great deal of patience, and although indignation was visible in the countenance of every person in court, at this public avowal of his guilt, yet not a murmur was heard.

Lord Norbury, after a salutary remonstrance to the prisoner, and paying a handsome compliment to some of the respectable members of the family to which he belonged, pronounced the awful sentence of the law in cases of high-treason.

Mr. Emmett, after his trial, was taken to Newgate, where dinner had been prepared for him. He there requested to see Mr. Mac Nally, one of his counsellors in his defence. To him he made a full disclosure of all the means he had used to effect the late insurrection, and authorized him to make it known to government. He declared himself the chief mover and instigator of that attempt to effect a revolution, and solemnly denied having any associates in this country of either property or respectability. He accounted for the expenses incurred in preparations for rebellion, by stating that he had received, on the death of his father, 3,500*l.* and that he had expended of that sum, 2,500*l.* in purchasing the arms found in the depôt in Marshalsea-lane. He also denied having solicited or received any assistance from the French government, and protested, were his country invaded by Frenchmen, from his information of their principles and conduct wherever they went, that he would be one of the most zealous in the expulsion of such treacherous, rapacious, and sanguinary miscreants. At the place of execution he expressed the same sentiments.

At the time that Emmett ventured his project in the metropolis, his friend and associate, Russel, made an appeal to the passions of the peasantry in an obscure corner of the northern province. He collected together some persons, who coldly listened to his harangue, but were far from compliance with the meditated treason to which he endeavoured to incite them. In fact, these projects had lost their attraction; the enthusiasm which for some years had agitated the north of Ireland, had been permitted to subside; the animosities by which it was supported had grown languid. No attempt was made to secure the person of Russel, although some threatened him with immediate personal violence, and others went forthwith to disclose the facts to a magistrate. The catholic clergyman of the parish, who had by some means become aware of the projected rising, earnestly exhorted his people to be upon their guard against the specious delusions of the agitators. Mr. Russel, upon these inauspicious appearances, fled, but hazarded, from the place of his concealment, a proclamation (somewhat indeed more modest than that of the provisional government already alluded to) in which he stiled himself General of the Northern District; and endea-

voured to seduce the people by that sort of language which, on former occasions, had become familiar to their ears, and was then probably not unacceptable. After the arrest of Emmett, Russel introduced himself clandestinely into Dublin, with a view to rescue his friend, if possible, under favor of some commotion. About two days after his arrival, it became known that some person was mysteriously secreted in the immediate vicinity of the castle. Information to this effect having been conveyed to the town-major, that officer proceeded to the examination of a house in Parliament-street, where he was found, and to whom Mr. Russel, though well armed, surrendered without resistance. It was supposed he was in this act influenced by a religious scruple. He was immediately transmitted to Downpatrick, in the north of Ireland, where he was shortly after brought to trial, and upon the clearest evidence of his treason, convicted. After his trial, he manifested all that wildness of religious enthusiasm which had for some time formed the prominent feature of his character. On conviction he addressed the court, at great length, and with remarkable firmness. He declared his adherence to the political opinions for which he was about to suffer, and touched, in a tender point, the gentlemen of the county of Down, by whom he was surrounded. These gentlemen, although latterly become more anxious to preserve their property than to enlarge the circle of their liberties, had been foremost in the outcry for parliamentary reform and political independence. Russel reminded them of this circumstance, and declared that he was doomed to suffer, for endeavouring to put into execution the lessons imbibed amongst them, and concluded by begging for a few days of life, to complete a moral work which he had in hand. The nature of this work sufficiently displayed the state of mind of its unfortunate author. It was a collection of notes, on a publication of the celebrated millenarian, Mr. Dobbs, and calculated to enforce that gentleman's interpretations of certain prophecies, which, according to him and his disciples, indicated the near approach of the millenium. It appeared, from Russel's conversation with some gentlemen who saw him shortly before his conviction, that he acted under an idea that the great political events he had already witnessed, and others he with confidence looked forward to, were parts of the great change permitted by Providence, in accomplishment of the prophecies contained in the Old Testament.

After the execution of Emmett and Russel, Quigley and Stafford were apprehended, in the county of Galway. Government was, however, satisfied by the examples which were made, and was inclined to lenity; the lives of these two, and of the other untried prisoners, were spared, on

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their making a full disclosure of the circumstances yet unknown of their treason.

Dwyer, and the band of outlaws whom he commanded in the county of Wicklow, struck with the impracticability of any treasonable attempt they could undertake, submitted on a similar stipulation, namely, that their lives should be

spared; and thus was brought to a close whatever remained of the rebellion of 1798; and the conspiracies of that period and of 1803 were at once completely destroyed.

The Habeas Corpus act was again suspended, and Ireland at this period was under martial law.

CHAPTER IV.

State of both Countries at the Commencement of Hostilities.—Mode of Warfare adopted by each.—Attack of the lesser French West India Islands by England.—Attack of Hanover by the Army of General Mortier, which is reduced, and occupied by the Armies of the French Republic.—Navigation of English Vessels in the Elbe and Weser impeded.—Consequent Blockade of the Mouths of those Rivers by an English Squadron.—Further Violations by the French.—Ambition of Bonaparte.—His Preparations for invading England.—The Challenge fairly accepted by Great Britain.—France forces the weaker Powers to assist her.—Unjustifiable Detention of English Subjects.—St. Domingo, and other Islands, taken from the French.—Remarks.

Soon after his majesty's declaration of war, the French, as well as the British government, made every possible preparation for war. The line of hostilities, which each nation intended to pursue, could easily be foreseen, from their relative positions. Great Britain, being mistress of the seas, would naturally direct her principal attack against the colonies and maritime possessions of her enemy; while France, being equally powerful at land, was resolved to obstruct and attack the commerce of Great Britain, in Italy, Germany, and every country where her armies could penetrate: she was also strong enough to wrest from her weaker neighbours a full equivalent for any colonial loss she might incur in the approaching contest. In pursuance of the different systems of warfare, which each nation had adopted, the British government, soon after the king's message of the 8th of March, sent a strong reinforcement of troops to the West Indies; used every possible diligence in equipping her fleet; and increased considerably the defensive force of the country, by calling out the supplementary, as well as the established militia, and by accepting the services of a considerable number of volunteer corps. The exertions of government appeared, however, to be so entirely confined to measures of defence, that even the enemy observed: "It was strange that Great Britain should seek a war, merely to shew that she could put herself into a strong position of resistance." The fact, however, was, that notwithstanding the resolutions to break the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, and the declaration of war which proceeded from the British cabi-

net, yet it was not prepared with a plan to commence the contest, by any grand and efficient operation; and the taking of the small islands of St. Lucie and Tobago was the utmost that the disposable force of Great Britain, in its then state of reduction, appeared equal to the achievement of: for if, in the course of the year, the colony of St. Domingo should be rescued from the French armies, that was an event which could not well be calculated upon by the English government, as it depended entirely on the courage, discipline, and perseverance of the black army.

The conduct of the French government evinced a degree of vigour widely different, both in precautionary and executive measures. A few days after the date of the message, Admiral Linois sailed from Brest, for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, having 6,000 troops on board, who were destined not only to strengthen the garrisons of the French colonies in the East, but also to put the Cape of Good Hope in such a condition as to resist any attack made upon it by Great Britain. In Europe the French armies were immediately put in motion. The army of Italy was strongly reinforced, and pushed forward a very large detachment upon Tarentum, and all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples, which lay on the Adriatic. The French generals, charged with the execution of those orders, expressed in their proclamations, that it was necessary, while England retained Malta, France should occupy those important positions.

On the side of Germany the French government was no less active, enterprising, and daring.

M. Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs, had already stated, in plain terms, to Lord Whitworth, that in the event of hostilities, it was natural that a considerable army should be assembled in Holland, and on the frontiers of Hanover: and immediately subsequent to the king's message, France began to put her threat in execution. During the protracted period of the negotiation, a considerable French army was actually assembled on the threatened points, and were in perfect readiness to commence the campaign, at the moment the negotiation broke off. His majesty's declaration of war was not laid before parliament till the 18th of May, and on the 25th, the French general, Mortier, from his head-quarters at Coeverden, summoned the Hanoverian electorate to surrender to his army.

In the attack of Hanover, Bonaparte formally professed that he wished to occupy that country only as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, and endeavoured to cover this flagrant violation of the independence and constitution of the German empire, by asserting that it was merely for the purpose of compelling the King of England to maintain the peace of Amiens, that he had ordered his armies to occupy that portion of Germany, in which the present reigning family of England were peculiarly interested. Under those weak and flimsy pretences, he was suffered, without any opposition from the great continental powers, or the states of the empire, to possess himself of that country, which not only yielded him considerable plunder, but gave him a most commanding position in the North of Europe, and which materially affected the politics of the continent.

Notwithstanding that the attack on Hanover had been so long threatened, his majesty's English ministers had not taken the slightest step, either to succour his German territories, or to secure the retreat of the Hanoverian army, and thus procure a most valuable addition to the disposable force of the British empire. Hanover was completely abandoned to its own means of defence, and to the precarious intervention of the German empire; the powers of which, however, having suffered most materially, in the preceding war with France, were not at all inclined to begin another, for the sake of a state neglected and deserted as it was by its natural protector. Although it was not possible that the electorate alone could pretend to oppose itself with effect to the immense power of France, his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge was sent over thither from England, as commander-in-chief, and proclamations were published in his name, and that of the Hanoverian government, calling upon all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, to defend their country to the last drop of their blood!

It was not to be expected that such proclamations, at such a time, could have produced any good effect; if, indeed, the inhabitants of the electorate had been previously armed and organized, they would doubtless have been able to repulse a much greater force than General Mortier commanded; but to suppose that citizens and peasants were to form effective armies, at a moment's notice, and when the enemy were just entering their country, was altogether as absurd as it was unreasonable. The Duke of Cambridge, it is true, pledged himself to share all their dangers, but his situation differed very materially from that of the Hanoverian people. In case of defeat, a frigate was always ready to carry his royal highness back to England; but for the army or inhabitants of that state, there was no retreat, after having irritated the power of France by an opposition, which must have been fruitless, while they were unsupported by any auxiliary means whatever. It was therefore not very surprising that they paid more attention to the proclamations of the French general, than to that of the English prince. General Mortier told them, in his address, that "he had heard of proclamations dictated by the blindest fury, for the purpose of drawing them into a contest, to which they ought to be strangers, and desired them to preserve themselves from an aggression equally absurd and useless, of which they alone would be the victims." To this advice the Hanoverians listened, and positively refused to rise in mass, for the purpose of opposing the French. The opposition therefore which that power experienced from the regular army of Hanover is hardly worth detailing.

On the 26th of May, the invading army entered the town of Bentheim, where the Hanoverian garrison, consisting of an officer and thirty-six men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. On the 28th, the French force passed the river Ems, at Mippen; and the next day a body of 10,000 entered the principality of Osnaburgh, which had been evacuated by the Hanoverians. The main body of the latter, commanded by Gen. Walmoden, and amounting to near 18,000 regulars, appeared determined to make a stand in their positions on the Hunte; and General Hammerstein occupied the town of Diepholtz, with a considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The French immediately prepared to dislodge them; a division of their infantry, under the command of General Schiner, and another of cavalry, under the orders of General Nansouty, forced the passage of the Hunte, and directed their march to Sublingen, with a view of cutting off whatever force might be stationed between that town and Diepholtz. General Hammerstein, finding his right turned by this manœuvre, was obliged to retreat in the night, to Borstoen. On the 1st of June, there was a smart skirmish

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between a Hanoverian rear-guard and the French advanced pickets. On the 2d, notwithstanding a severe cannonade from the Hanoverian army, General Drouet, who commanded the French advanced army, attacked them, and after a charge of cavalry, obliged them to retire.

The river Weser was now the last line of defence for the Hanoverian army; the banks of it were well planted with artillery, and it appeared as if the passage of it would be attended with some difficulty. The town of Nieubourg was the Hanoverian head-quarters, against which General Mortier was in full march, when a deputation arrived from the civil and military authorities of the regency of Hanover, to intreat him to suspend his march; which he positively refused, until they had signed a convention, agreeing to put him in possession of the entire electorate, and all the strong places dependent upon it, together with all the artillery, arms, and ammunition. The Hanoverian army were, by the conditions of this convention, to retire behind the Elbe, and to engage not to serve during the war, against France or her allies, until regularly exchanged. The terms of the convention were, however, conditional, depending entirely on the ratification of it by the first consul and his Britannic majesty. It was evident, however, that his majesty could not ratify this convention, as King of Great Britain; and as Elector of Hanover, it would have amounted almost to a renunciation of his sovereignty were he to consent to such terms.

On the 5th of June, the French were in possession of Hanover, where they found a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition. Besides the absolute value of the electorate as a conquest, which enabled them to remount their cavalry, and recruit their treasury, the French were now masters of the navigation of the Elbe and Weser, and were determined to use their power there to the injury of the British commerce in Germany. Being in the immediate neighbourhood of the rich commercial Hanse Towns of Hamburgh and Bremen, they were also enabled, under the shape of loans, to levy considerable sums of money upon them; and were the continental powers patient, under this outrageous violation of the German empire, there seemed but little prospect of the possibility of limiting their future encroachments. Under all those circumstances, there can be no doubt, but that the conquest of Hanover was a most important and advantageous acquisition to France, which she had been allowed to make without the slightest opposition from the English government.

The real value of Hanover was not generally known or understood, until France had possessed herself of it. It had always been one of the vulgar prejudices of the English nation, (there were occasionally also ministers to be found, who,

in order to court popularity, gave it their support,) that Hanover was rather to be considered as a clog and an incumbrance to Great Britain, than an advantageous possession: but when it was seen how eager France was to ease his majesty of that incumbrance, the tide of popular opinion ran the contrary way; and, whether with respect to the honor or interest of the nation, the great majority of the people began to think that it should have been defended and maintained.—The conquest of Hanover was undoubtedly of the utmost consequence to France, at the same time that it limited her conquests in the course of the year.

Bonaparte endeavoured to push the effects of this acquisition to the utmost possible extent, by aiming at the destruction of the commercial navigation of the British merchant vessels on the rivers Elbe and Weser. A measure which his generals excused by the contemptible sophistry, that as the fortune of war had given them the occupation of the King of England's dominions in Hanover, it could not be expected that British ships would be allowed to pass within the reach of a French battery. If this principle were admitted, it followed that they had gained on the same principle a right to prevent British vessels from going up to Hamburgh or Bremen. The British government, however, with becoming resolution, would by no means admit of this reasoning. They laid it down as a principle, that the conduct of France, in the invasion of Hanover, was an unauthorized and outrageous violation of the independence of the German empire; that it would be an act of hostility in Germany to permit British vessels to be fired at or captured when navigating in the ports and rivers of Germany; and, therefore, (retaliating in some measure on the empire, for not having defended Hanover) took ample measures that the mouths of the Elbe and Weser should be strictly blockaded by British squadrons, and no vessels allowed to pass, so long as British vessels were excluded from their navigation.

The Hanse Towns of Hamburgh and Bremen were now placed in a most deplorable and distressing situation. By the blockade of their harbours, their foreign trade was cut off, while the neighbourhood of the French armies placed them in perpetual danger of military violence and exaction. In this situation they applied to the King of Prussia, as guarantee and protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany; but the cabinet of Berlin, either entering into the views of France, or under the impression of its vast and irresistible power, refused to interfere, and thus were abandoned all the smaller states of the north of Germany to the mercy and discretion of the French government.

The terms of the convention at Sublingen had

placed the French general in possession of the whole of the electorate of Hanover lying on the south side of the river Elbe, the Hanoverian army having retired across the Elbe to the duchy of Lauenburgh: but as this convention was only conditional, and required to be ratified by the British and French governments, so soon as it was known in Paris, that the courier had arrived, announcing his Britannic majesty's refusal to ratify it, Bonaparte sent express orders to his generals to re-commence the campaign. General Mortier thereupon sent a letter to Field-marshal Count Walmoden, the Hanoverian general, informing him, that the refusal of his Britannic majesty to ratify the convention had rendered it null and void. He therefore sent him a fresh proposition, to surrender with his army prisoners of war, to be sent into France. The field-marshal replied, that those terms were so very humiliating, that his army preferred perishing with their arms in their hands; that they had already made sufficient sacrifices for their country; and that they must now defend their own honor. The officer, however, who carried this answer, was empowered to state, that if any acceptable terms were offered, they would probably not be rejected. General Mortier refused to make any other propositions, and immediately prepared to cross the Elbe in the face of the Hanoverian army, who had taken a strong position on the banks of the river, which was well defended with artillery. But General Walmoden seeing that the French army was determined to force its passage, sent new propositions, which were at length agreed to, and on the 5th of July a convention was settled, by which the Hanoverian army was to be disbanded, and return to their homes upon their parole, not to serve against France or her allies until regularly exchanged; and its artillery, horses, and military stores, were to be given up to the French. General Mortier, in his letter to the first consul, said, that "it was only from generosity to an enemy imploring clemency, that he granted those terms; that General Walmoden signed the capitulation with an afflicted heart; and that it was difficult to paint the situation of the fine regiment of the King of England's guards at dismounting."

The French government, in possessing themselves of Hanover, professed, in a laboured manifesto, that it was their intention to retain it merely as a pledge for the restitution of Malta, and trusted by that pretence to prevail on the other powers of Germany to look with indifference on this invasive violation of the independence and integrity of the empire. The apathy of those powers encouraged the French to the levying large contributions upon the Hanse Towns, and to commit farther encroachments on the German territory. The Prince Regent of Den-

mark had, indeed, upon the first news of the march of the French army, advanced a considerable body of troops into Holstein; but after the conquest of Hanover, it was intimated to him, that the French government saw with displeasure preparations which appeared hostile and menacing; in consequence of which he thought it advisable to withdraw his army, and Hanover, and the adjacent country, remained in the undisputed possession of France.

The aggressions of Bonaparte were not, however, confined to Germany, under the pretext of retaining pledges for Malta: notwithstanding the conditions of the separate peace with Naples, a considerable French army was in motion to occupy all the Neapolitan ports on the Adriatic, and particularly the town and port of Tarentum, to which Bonaparte had always attached vast importance, and which in the negotiations with Lord Whitworth, it appeared the French government considered as an equivalent for Malta. Ancona, and the principal possessions of the pope on that sea, were seized on by the French army at the same time. And now the moment was arrived, when the avowed system of France in her war with England might be developed, and be put in execution, namely, first, to increase her strength and reinforce her treasury, by the possession and plunder of the weaker states in her neighbourhood; and, finally, to apply her whole collected strength and resources to the invasion and conquest of Great Britain. In was to this darling object of his ambition that Bonaparte applied the large sums which he had obtained from America for the sale of Louisiana, those from Portugal as the price of peace, and the contributions from Spain, Italy, and the Hanse Towns either in the shape of military levy or of loan.

From the very commencement of the war, every preparation was made to carry into effect the menace which he had thrown out to Lord Whitworth of invading England. Independently of his grand fleet at Brest, which was presumed to be destined for the invasion of Ireland, an immense number of transports was ordered to be built, and collected with the greatest expedition. The success of the Spanish gun-boats off Algeziras, during the preceding war, had made the French believe that it would be possible for some thousands of similarly constructed vessels, but built on an improved plan, to force their way across the channel in spite of the British navy. This idea was universally received in France, and in the course of the year such astonishing exertions were made, that a sufficient flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, to carry over any army that France should choose so to employ. This menacing disposition, and the mighty preparations for carrying it into effect, were perhaps ultimately advantageous to Great Britain. The evident

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necessity of defending the country against invasion obtained a ready consent to every plan which could be proposed for increasing its military defence. Independently of the regular and supplementary militia, an additional army of 50,000 men was proposed, under the title of an army of reserve, and a general *levy en masse* of all persons capable of bearing arms, was universally approved of: this measure was however rendered unnecessary by the spirit of the country, which in a short time presented above 300,000 effective volunteers, as an additional defence to the country. This vast reinforcement to its military strength, placed it on so proud a footing of security, that the English nation no longer feared the visit of their invaders, but felt so conscious of their strength as rather to wish the enemy to try that experiment.

Notwithstanding the menaces of the French government, which boasted that an immense flotilla could be assembled at Boulogne without much interruption from the English cruisers, the people of Great Britain appeared perfectly tranquil. Indeed, the latter nation fairly accepted the challenge thrown out by France, as her government had pompously and arrogantly asserted that she was no longer able to contend single-handed against her. The British government, in justice it must be said, wished that the war should solely exist between Great Britain and France. The latter (though the challenger) found it necessary, *meanly to force the weaker powers to engage in her assistance*. Holland, contrary to her evident interest and wish, as well as the Italian republic, were compelled to become parties; and consequently while the commercial interests of the latter were severely injured in the course of the year, the former lost all her West Indian colonies: Spain and Portugal were likewise compelled to furnish pecuniary assistance to France, in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with the generosity and magnanimity of Great Britain, whether they should not be considered as involved in direct acts of hostility.

Independently of these measures, which the French government embraced as part of its war system, it took a step at its commencement which had never before been heard of among civilized nations, and which had always been protested against as an act of barbarity, disgraceful even at Constantinople or Algiers. Under the pretence of making prisoners of war of those Englishmen enrolled in the militia of their country, it seized indiscriminately upon all the nobility, gentry, and commercial agents who had incautiously put themselves within the reach of Bonaparte in France, and who were engaged in travelling in any of those countries occupied by the French armies, and either shut them up in prisons, or confined them to par-

ticular places as prisoners of war upon their parole, and who were not to exceed the limits there assigned them! This violent outrage on all the established courtesies of civilized nations, did not promise even the slightest advantage to France, and could only be considered as an angry and capricious display of the power and ill-humour of the usurper who had seized upon its government: this act of wanton cruelty was farther aggravated, by its having been preceded by a perfidious promise to the English, that they should enjoy the protection of the government after the departure of the British ambassador, as extensively as during his residence. Those were the principal measures taken by France in the first year of the war.

On the part of Great Britain, her first object was to raise the military strength of the country from the deplorable state to which it had been reduced, and to lay a foundation for its permanent defence, without being obliged to have recourse to excessive loans; and, secondly, to annoy her enemies as much as possible, both in their colonies and commerce. In the first object, the government were successful beyond its most sanguine hopes and expectations.

No territorial acquisition she could have made, would have so far raised Great Britain in the estimation of foreign nations, as the zeal and courage which was exhibited by all ranks to defend the country from French invaders. The power of France, for the first time since the revolution, appeared to have received the most serious check; and the British channel seemed a barrier beyond which it could not pass.

Although the additional strength which was gained at home was by far the most important of the advantages which Great Britain derived from the war, yet the government was not altogether inattentive to the annoyance of the enemy in the only vulnerable part of his dominions. Expeditions against the Dutch settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, and the French islands of St. Lucie and Tobago were dispatched in the course of the year. St. Domingo, the most valuable colony that France ever possessed, was wrested from her by the black population, assisted by a British squadron; and in the East Indies the successes of Great Britain over the native princes were brilliant, glorious, and decisive.

The reduction of the French army in the island of St. Domingo was beyond all question the severest blow which France sustained in the course of the year. It had been entirely owing to the facilities which her shipping afforded, of passing troops rapidly from one strong post or town on the coast to another, that France was at all able to keep down the insurrection in that island; those facilities, however, being entirely taken away by the superiority of the English blockading

squadrons, all those positions fell, one after the other, to the insurgent army, and General Rochambeau, and the remains of that great army which had been judged fully sufficient to reconquer the colony, were necessitated to surrender prisoners of war to the naval force of Britain. By this event the sanguine hopes which Bonaparte had entertained of restoring to France the most valuable of her foreign possessions, was completely frustrated.

St. Domingo was not the only loss which France sustained in the West Indies. The islands of St. Lucie and Tobago were also wrested from her. The expedition which was prepared for the attack of those colonies, sailed from Barbadoes on the 20th of June, and arrived at day-break, on the 21st, off St. Lucie; in the course of the day they effected their landing, drove in the advanced posts of the enemy, took the town of Castries, and summoned the French general Nogues to surrender at discretion. That officer, however, refusing to accede to those terms, Lieutenant-general Grinfield, who commanded the expedition, resolved upon attacking the Fort of Morne Fortunee by assault, as the rainy season was soon expected to commence. The attack was made the next morning at four o'clock, and the place was carried in the most gallant manner in about half an hour, without much loss, if the boldness of the enterprise be considered. That on the British side, was about 138 men killed and wounded, including some officers. The number of the French garrison made prisoners of war amounted to 640. Besides the possession of a valuable sugar island, this victory was important in many points of view. In the first place, the storming so gallantly a fort strongly garrisoned by the French, proved again to the world that French troops were not invincible; and that the same armies which beat them in Egypt could conquer them again in any part of the world. At the same time that it established the reputation of the British army for gallantry and spirit, it was attended by a circumstance that displayed that generosity of national character, which is inseparable from true courage. The French general had refused a capitulation; he was determined to abide the assaults; and although it might be supposed that conquering troops, provoked by the losses which the obstinacy of the enemy exposed them to, would have revenged themselves by a bloody victory, yet, to the honor of the British name, notwithstanding the extent of the provocation, they did not kill or wound a single Frenchman after the works had been carried. This was a triumph worthy of a civilized nation, and the brilliant display of British gallantry and generosity on this occasion was of infinitely more importance than even the capture of St. Lucie.

This first success of the British, was of a nature to excite respect and admiration from those great powers of Europe that remained anxious spectators of the contest between France and England; while the successes of France in Hanover could only be considered by them as a daring violation of the territories of an independent and neutral nation, and an alarming proof of the disregard with which Bonaparte viewed his most solemn treaties.

On the 1st of July the island of Tobago surrendered to General Grinfield, who, after the conquest of St. Lucie, directed his force thither. The garrison were too feeble to oppose any resistance, and therefore immediately proposed a capitulation, in virtue of which they were to be sent over to France at the expense of Great Britain. Beside the French islands of St. Lucie and Tobago, in the West Indies, the Dutch settlements of Berbice and Demarara fell into the hands of the British in the course of the present year, but without experiencing any resistance worth a particular detail.

When two nations such as France and England were at war, it might naturally be expected that each would have recourse not only to every measure of serious annoyance, but also to such as might afford matter of temporary triumph; of the latter nature may be reckoned the successes of the British arms in the West Indies.

By treachery to the brave Toussaint (as related in the preceding book), Bonaparte had acquired St. Domingo; and, previously to the recommencement of hostilities with England, the first consul appeared determined to establish a colonial power both in St. Domingo and Louisiana, which would bid fair not only to out-rival the British empire in the West Indies, but also to check the rising greatness of the United States of America. These objects were entirely deranged and defeated by the rupture with England; his plan of possessing himself of Egypt and the Levant, had been also crushed by the constant superiority of the British fleet in the Mediterranean. The views of the first consul therefore necessarily took a different direction, and he sought to establish his power on other grounds. He made himself the absolute master of Italy, and shewed the Kings of Naples, Etruria, and the pope, that no treaties could bind him to respect their neutrality, or would prevent him from entering and occupying their territories whenever he pleased, and of levying contributions upon them, the measure of which should be alone determined by a compromise between their ability and his extortive rapacity. Spain and Portugal were reduced to the state of provinces, on which he could at pleasure levy what sums of money he deemed necessary, and at the same time enjoy all the advantages of their great possessions in Southern America, without

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No circumstance could evince more clearly the power that Bonaparte had, and meant to retain, over Germany, than the invasion and occupation of Hanover. Austria and Prussia contented themselves with demanding explanation upon those points; to which the answer of the French government was, that it was solely the possessions of the King of England which were attacked, but that in other points the integrity and independence of the German empire should be respected. The Emperor of Germany affected to be content with this explanation, as he was in no condition to war with France about Hanover, a country which had preserved its neutrality when he and the German empire were in the greatest difficulty and danger. The King of Prussia also, whatever discontent he might feel, professed also to be satisfied: that monarch well knew, that the first consul would by no means abandon his plan, on account of any remonstrances he could make, and he therefore did not choose to irritate him by a fruitless opposition. It must, however, have been very galling to that monarch to find, that the power of France had so soon stripped him of the title which, while it suited the convenience of Bonaparte, he was pleased to allow him, that of "Protector of the north of Germany." From the moment that the French army had entered Hanover, he perceived, as did the lesser states of the empire, that there was no power at hand to rescue the latter from the grasp of France. In vain did the imperial city of Hamburgh appeal to his protection, and to that of the head of the empire, when the French occupied Cuxhaven, and had demanded a considerable loan from them: no relief was obtained, or even a remonstrance issued, upon that unwarrantable proceeding.

Thus circumstanced, the government of Denmark was the only neighbouring power which displayed the slightest spirit. The prince royal speedily collected an army of 30,000 men in Holstein, and took vigorous measures to defend his territories; but when he found that Prussia had acquiesced in the encroachments of France, and that the official journal of Bonaparte had begun to threaten Denmark herself in unequivocal terms, unless she immediately dispersed the army of Holstein, the prince royal found himself (though reluctantly) compelled to submit to the imperious and over-ruling necessity of the case, and his German states were again placed on a peace establishment.

Although Russia was intimately connected with the interests of the north of Europe, and must doubtless have felt much displeased at the advance of the French army, and the violation of the Germanic empire, of which she was the

guarantee, yet the Emperor Alexander was so pacifically disposed, as not to consider that aggression of France as an immediate ground of war. Bonaparte had solemnly alleged, that he only occupied Hanover in order to induce the King of England to give up Malta, agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of Amiens. The emperor, who eagerly wished for the restoration of peace, would probably have been glad that England could by any means have been induced to execute that article which respected the island of Malta. The British government had however most imprudently rested the war entirely upon the possession of that island. The great and continually increasing aggrandizement of France; the violence and outrages committed by her, daily, against the independence of every nation in Europe; and her continued insult and injury to Great Britain, were all to be forgiven, if she would consent that the latter power might retain the possession of Malta. It was not at all surprising therefore that the nations of Europe evinced the most profound indifference upon the subject of the island of Lampedosa, or even of that of Malta. There were but three nations in the world that would have wished to be troubled with the possession of either, namely, England, France, and Russia. To any of these nations the possession of the latter island would be an important object, as the means of increasing or establishing their power in the Mediterranean: and Russia having evidently wished and demanded the possession of Malta for herself, it could not be expected that she would be very sanguine in her efforts to procure it for England.

As therefore England had embarked in war, on a ground in which the continental powers could feel no interest; and as it was evident that the neutral nations would be obstructed and cramped in their commercial relations, as well in the prosecution of this as in every former war, it was natural for them to wish that a peace might be concluded upon any terms; and as Bonaparte professed solely to desire the execution of the treaty of Amiens, they were content to allow him to occupy Hanover as the means of compelling Great Britain to fulfil her engagements.

The real views of France, however, were soon more perfectly developed. The army of Hanover was but the advanced guard of that vast force which she could rapidly move into the heart of Prussia, or any northern nation that should resist her will. The armies at Boulogne and in Holland were in reality as formidable to the north of Europe as to England. In Italy, her armies had entered the kingdom of Naples, occupied all the strong places on its eastern coasts, and levied contributions throughout the

whole country: at once a most flagrant violation of direct treaty with that power, and also a manifest insult to Russia. From the moment that Bonaparte had ascertained that nothing was to be apprehended from either Austria or Prussia, he evinced the greatest indifference towards the court of Petersburg, and behaved with marked inattention and incivility to its ambassador, Count Markoff. With respect to his solemn engagements formerly entered into with that power, he paid to them not the slightest regard. It had been agreed by treaty between Russia and France, that the affairs of Italy should be settled by those two nations in concert; that the King of Sardinia should have a compensation for the loss of Piedmont; and that the independence of the kingdom of Naples should be completely respected. On all those points Bonaparte evinced marked disregard, and by the conduct of Sebastiani, at Corfu, proved that it was his intention to dispossess the emperor of these islands. So many provocations and insults undoubtedly must have deeply affected the mind of Alexander: the year, however, was permitted to pass over, without any decided opposition to France, from him or any of the continental powers.

The attitude of Europe at the close of 1803, may be thus stated:—While France was extend-

ing her giant arms from the Adriatic to the Baltic, and scorned to bound her dominions on the north by the Rhine, or even the Elbe; Germany seemed lost in apathy, or the sluggishness of despair! Italy was directly governed as a province of France; while Spain, Portugal, and the Hanse Towns, were necessitated to furnish such contributions in money as were demanded by the French government.

Arrived at this height of power and military glory, there was no greater object left for the ambition of Bonaparte, than the conquest of England. But vast as his fortune had hitherto been, when opposed to the continental powers of Europe, it seems to have been constantly kept in check by the better genius of England. In Syria, in Egypt, in Malta, and in St. Domingo, he had constantly found the greatest and most promising of his ambitious projects rendered abortive by the valour of the British arms. It is not then to be wondered at, that he should strain every nerve, and risk every danger, to destroy the only nation which had the will and the power to oppose him. But the exertions and means employed for the invasion of England only served to raise the spirit of the British nation, to defend their coasts and chastise an insolent invader.

CHAPTER V.

Views of Bonaparte in a Rupture with England.—Flattering Representation of the State of France.—

Plot against the Government of Bonaparte detected.—Moreau and others arrested.—Consequent Agitation and Alarm.—Arrest of General Pichegru.—Bonaparte jealous of Moreau.—Affected Lenity.—Moreau transported.—Unjust Seizure and Condemnation of the Duc d'Enghien.—General Indignation excited by his Highness's Murder.—Spirited Conduct of Russia.—Resentment of Bonaparte.—Frivolous and unjust Accusations against the English Government.—Summary of the Correspondence on the Occasion.—Mysterious Death of General Pichegru.—Execution of Georges, &c.—Ambition of Bonaparte.—Is proposed to be hereditary Emperor of France.—Carnot's Opposition to the Measure.—Fayard's Support of it.—Decree to that Effect.—Bonaparte announces his Dignity.—Declarations of the Courts of Russia and Sweden on the Occasion.—Fresh Violation of the Germanic Empire by Bonaparte.—Seizure of the British Minister at Hamburgh by the French.—Bonaparte's Coronation, &c.

THE great concessions subscribed to by the British cabinet, in concluding the treaty of Amiens, appeared to have misled Bonaparte. The inference drawn by his overbearing mind, was, that the spirit of Great Britain was so far broken, as to suffer his arrogance and ambition to range uncontrolled; but, finding that England was not so far reduced as implicitly to acquiesce in all his

projects, or base enough to participate in them, as he had more than once ventured to suggest, he considered the existing peace as an obstacle to his further aggrandizement, and that a rupture, which he might ascribe to the bad faith and ill-will of Great Britain towards France, would furnish him with a more specious pretext, and more ample means, to consummate his views. By such

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an event, the French people would again be thrown into a state of uncertainty and dismay, which would the better enable him to increase his personal influence and authority, by the augmentation of his various establishments, civil and military; whilst all murmurs would be silenced by the dread of the revival of those sanguinary scenes which had occurred during the course of the revolution, and to which, it was very generally feared, the overthrow, or the weakening of the existing government, might lead.

These apprehensions were adroitly inculcated, and kept alive by his partisans, whilst the vigilance and indefatigable attention of the supreme head of the government were loudly proclaimed on all occasions. The minister of the interior concluded his speech to the legislative body, on the opening of their session of the year 1804, in the following terms:—

“The French people, proud of their government, confident in their resources, and happy in their institutions, express but one sentiment—love for the august head of the state; free from fear, from agitation, from disquietude, they repose in him the care of their destinies.”

The flourishing state of France was portrayed in the most captivating colours in the official report laid before the legislative body. It was there represented, that although the republic had been forced to change her attitude, her situation was in no respect deteriorated, and that the consciousness of her strength was a sure pledge of her prosperity; that the internal tranquillity of the country had not been disturbed since the torch of war had been rekindled by a jealous enemy; that the public indignation against that enemy was as much increased as the devotion to the first consul; that all danger of internal divisions was at an end, in despite of every effort made by the English to promote them. In short, that the war had not even interrupted the plans formed for a time of peace, such as the construction of roads, canals, bridges, and harbours, and objects of a similar nature; and that the government had pursued, with constancy, every measure that tended to establish the constitution, in conformity to the genius and wishes of the citizens, so as to attach all interests and all hopes to its duration; that the finances were in a most thriving condition, and the revenues collected with the greatest facility; that public credit had maintained itself in the midst of shocks of war, and that the sinking fund fulfilled, with constancy and fidelity, its destination; that out of two hundred millions (of livres), which might have been captured by the enemy, more than two-thirds had been saved; that the Hanoverian army, to the amount of 25,000 men, had laid down their arms to them, and that their cavalry had been remounted at the

expense of a possession dear to the King of England, and which would be a security in their hands of the justice which he would hereafter be obliged to render them; that France would never acknowledge less advantageous conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens; and, finally, that the most perfect harmony subsisted between France and the United States, Helvetia, Italy, the Ottoman empire, and that the tranquillity given to the continent, by the treaty of Luneville, was secured by the last proceedings of the diet of Ratisbon.

Such was the substance of the report made by the government, and which was well calculated (allowing its truth to remain undisputed) to tranquillize the minds of the French people, and inspire them with a firm reliance on their ruler. But, admitting the general truth of this statement, and forgetting for a moment, that, in all similar publications, every unfavorable circumstance is suppressed, it might be presumed, that the source of so much national prosperity, like the overflow of a mountain torrent, might be but of short duration. The whole of this flattering representation being founded upon the supposition, that the pecuniary resources of France were adequate to the maintenance of the various establishments therein mentioned, without touching upon the additional expenses occasioned by the war, it should be observed, that extraordinary funds, to the amount of 150 millions *tournois*, (about 6,250,000*l.* sterling) had been received, in the course of the preceding year, from contributions levied on the United States, Hanover, the Hanse Towns, Spain, and Portugal; independently of which aid, nearly a fourth part of the French army was maintained at the expense of Italy, Holland, and Hanover. As France was thus aggrandizing herself at the expense of other powers, it behoved Europe, for the happiness of the world at large, to prevent this from being a permanent revenue.

While France was thus lulled into credulity by the artifice of Bonaparte, an event occurred which materially contributed to accelerate the completion of his projects.

Early in the month of February, a plot was detected, the object of which seemed to have been the overthrow of the government. The principal persons implicated in it, were General Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, Lajollais, a confidant of the former, and several other individuals attached to the latter. It likewise appeared that General Moreau had, to a certain extent, entered into the views of Pichegru, and had had some secret interviews with him since his return to Paris. It was also positively asserted, that the conspirators had come to the resolution of making away, in the first instance, with Bonaparte.

The first intimation of this intrigue is said to

have been given by a confidential agent of the parties, who had been arrested near Calais, on his return from England.

Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were hereupon arrested; but Pichegru and Georges, though known to be at Paris, found means, for a short time, to screen themselves from the researches of the police.

On the 17th of February, the following report, relative to this conspiracy, was made to the government, by the grand judge, minister of justice:

“ Citizen First Consul !

“ New plots have been hatched by England; this was the case even amidst the peace which she swore to maintain, and when she violated the treaty of Amiens, she counted less on her strength than on the success of her machinations. But government was vigilant; the steps of the agents of the enemy were followed by the eye of justice: the people of London were no doubt expecting to hear the explosion of that mine which had been dug under our feet. At any rate, the most ominous reports were spread, and they were indulging the most criminal hopes; on a sudden the agents of the conspiracy were arrested; proofs have accumulated, and they are so strong and so evident, that they carry with them conviction to every mind. Georges and his band of assassins had remained in the pay of England; their agents were still traversing La Vendée, Morbilian, the Côtes du Nord, and were endeavouring, but in vain, to find partisans, of whom they were deprived by the moderation of government and of the laws. Pichegru, unmasked by the events which preceded the 18th Fructidor, year 5, (Sept. 5, 1797,) and unveiled, in particular, by that correspondence which General Moreau had addressed to the directory, had carried with him to England his hatred against his country. In the year 8, he and Villot were in the train of the armies of our enemies, in order to unite with the brigands of the south. In the year 9, he conspired with the committee of Barreuth, and since the peace of Amiens he has still been the hope and the counsellor of the enemies of France. The British perfidy associated Georges with Pichegru, the infamous Georges, with that Pichegru whom France had esteemed, whom she wished for a long time to consider as incapable of treachery! In the year 11, a criminal reconciliation united Pichegru and Moreau, two men between whom honor ought to place eternal hatred. The police seized at Calais one of their agents, at the moment when he was returning a second time from England. This man had in his possession documents which confirmed the reality of a reconciliation at that time inexplicable, had not the bonds which united them been formed by criminality. On the arrest of this agent, General

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Moreau appeared for a moment to be agitated. He took some private steps to ascertain whether government was informed of it; but it was passed over in silence, and he himself, when he recovered his tranquillity, concealed from government an event which could not but awaken its vigilance. He observed silence even when Pichegru was publicly admitted into the councils of the British ministry, when he united in a notorious manner with the enemies of France. Government was disposed to consider his silence as arising from the dread of a confession, which would have humbled him, as it considered his retirement from public affairs, his suspicious connections, and his imprudent language, as the effect of peevishness and discontent. General Moreau, who could not fail of being suspected, since he maintained a secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and who, in consequence of this suspicion, which was too well founded, would at any other period have been arrested, was suffered to enjoy in tranquillity his honors, an immense fortune, and the kindness of the republic. Events, however, rapidly succeeded each other: Lajollais, the friend and confidant of Pichegru, went privately from Paris to London, returned to Paris, carried to Pichegru the ideas of General Moreau—carried back to Moreau the ideas and designs of Pichegru and his associates; the brigands of Georges were preparing, even in Paris, every thing that was necessary for the execution of their common designs. A place was assigned between Dieppe and Treport, at a distance from molestation or the eye of vigilance, where the brigands of England, brought over in English ships, landed without being observed, and where they found corrupted men to receive them—men paid to conduct them during the night from fixed stations, previously agreed on, and thus to convey them to Paris. At Paris lurking-places were procured for them in houses hired before-hand, where they had confidants to protect them: they had some of these in different quarters and streets at Chaillot, in the Rue de Bacq, in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, in the Marais. A first debarkation was effected, consisting of Georges himself, and eight of his brigands. Georges returned to the coast to assist at the landing of Coster St. Victor, condemned by a sentence passed in the affair of Nivôse 3, and of ten other brigands. In the commencement of the present month a third landing was effected; it consisted of Pichegru, Lajollais, Armand, Gaillard, brother of Raould, John Marie, one of the first confidants of Georges, and some other brigands of the same stamp.—Georges with Joyau, called d'Assar, Saint Vincent and Picot, went to receive this third debarkation: the whole assembled at the farm de la Poterie. A fourth landing was expected; the vessels were in sight, but contrary winds prevented

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them from approaching; a few days ago, they were still making signals. Georges and Pichegru arrived at Paris, where they lodged in the same house, surrounded by about thirty brigands, under the command of Georges; an interview took place between them and Moreau: the place, the day, and the hour, where the first conference was held, are known—a second was agreed on, but did not take place; a third and a fourth took place, even in the house of General Moreau. The presence of Georges and Pichegru at Paris, these conferences with General Moreau, are confirmed by incontestable and numerous proofs. Georges and Pichegru have been traced from house to house. Search has also been made for those who assisted at their landing: those who, under the cloud, conducted them from post to post; those who gave them an asylum at Paris; their confidants and accomplices. Lajollais, their principal agent, and General Moreau, are arrested; the effects and papers of Pichegru have been seized, and the police is employing the greatest activity to find him. England wishes to overthrow our government, and by this overthrow to effect the ruin of France, to deliver it up to ages of civil war and confusion. But to overturn a government, maintained by the affection of thirty millions of citizens, and surrounded by a brave, powerful, and faithful army, was a task not only superior to the strength of England, but of all Europe. England, therefore, had no hopes of accomplishing her design, but by the assassination of the first consul, and by covering this assassination under the shadow of a man who was still protected by the remembrance of his services. I must add, that the citizens need be under no uneasiness. The greater part of the brigands have been arrested; the rest have fled, and are closely pursued by the police. No suspicion attaches to any class of citizens, or to any branch of administration. I shall not give any further details in this report; you have seen all the papers; you will, therefore, give orders for their being laid before the eyes of justice.

“Signed by the grand judge, minister of justice.

“REGNIER.

“Certified in due form, the secretary of state,

“H. B. MARET.”

This paper having been read to the tribunate, the president, after making a few observations on the subject, concluded by declaring, in the name of the assembly, that they would be responsible for the life of Bonaparte, which secured to France her glory and her prosperity. He then proposed that the tribunate should, in a body, wait on the first consul, in order to express their detestation of the meditated attempt, and to congratulate him on his escape from the threatened danger.

Hereupon, the brother of General Moreau, who was a member of this body, testified his deep con-

cern to find that endeavours had been made to traduce a man who had rendered such important services to the republic, and who was deprived of the liberty of exculpating himself. He made a solemn declaration of his brother's innocence, and demanded that he should be brought to trial before an ordinary tribunal, for he could easily make it appear, that the accusation against him was an infamous calumny.

It was said, in reply, that the defence of General Moreau should have all the latitude, liberty, and publicity of which so important a cause was susceptible.

Deputations from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate waited accordingly on the first consul, and, in terms of strong indignation, deprecated the conspiracy which had been revealed: attributed it to the instigation of England, and exhorted him to pay greater attention than his natural courage prompted him to do, to his personal safety, which was so inseparably connected with that of the nation. The most memorable passage in those addresses is the following, used by Joubert, president of the tribunate.

“While we imagined, citizen first consul, that you had nothing to dread but the dangers of legitimate war, the perfidy of the English government surrounded you with new snares. What a humiliating avowal of its inability to combat with open arms the repairing genius of France!!!”

Bonaparte replied to these addresses, that, “Since he had attained the chief magistracy, many plots had been formed against his life. Educated in camps, he never regarded, as important, dangers which caused in him no fear.—But he could not avoid experiencing a serious and painful feeling, when he reflected on the situation in which that great nation would have been involved, had this last conspiracy succeeded: for it was principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people that it was planned. He had long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All his days were employed in fulfilling the duties which his fate and the will of the French people had imposed upon him. Heaven would watch over France, and defeat the stratagems of the wicked. The citizens might be free from alarm—his life would continue as long as it should be of utility to the nation. But he wished the French people to understand, that without their confidence and affection existence would be to him without consolation, and to them without an object.”

These measures were accompanied by communications to the same effect, issued in general orders to the French armies, and were followed, of course, by corresponding addresses.

That from the sailors, composing what was styled the right wing of the national flotilla, concluded thus:

“Citizen first consul, we wait with impatience

for the moment when you shall proclaim the hour of vengeance."

These events, together with the extraordinary activity of the police, created the greatest agitation and alarm.

On the 28th of February, Pichogru was arrested in a private house at Paris, having been betrayed by a person with whom he had lodged: and, on the 29th, a law was proposed and passed, in the course of a single sitting, by which the punishment of death was denounced against all those who should conceal Georges, or any of his accomplices; and a deputation was charged to communicate this law to Bonaparte.

Duval, their organ on this occasion, delivered the following speech:

"Citizen first consul, the tribunate and the legislative body have adopted measures to cut the last thread of the conspiracy.—These measures would be in vain, if they were not prompt. Love of the country dictated to the tribunate the wish it has expressed for their being put in immediate execution. Every thing is at stake when you are in danger. It is the repose, the glory, the existence of the republic which must be saved by the preservation of its chief, from criminal attacks. The French people have intimated to us their destinies; you owe it to them, and we require of you to take all means for preserving him in whom centre their wishes, their affections, and their hopes."

The first consul answered, that he would take the wish expressed by the tribunate into early and serious consideration.

At the same time a proclamation was issued from the police office, notifying the law which had just passed—informing the inhabitants, that Georges and his associates were still at Paris, from whence it was impossible for them to escape, the barriers and roads being guarded with the utmost vigilance; and summoning all those who had, or did conceal them, to profit of the period allowed by the law, for the purpose of averting its axe. Masters of furnished houses were ordered to examine all individuals lodging with them. The drivers of hackney-coaches were apprized, that such persons were in the habit of using their carriages, and a reward was promised to those who would assist the police in securing them. A report was likewise published, describing the persons, to the number of sixty, implicated in this affair.

Accordingly, on the 9th of March, Georges, accompanied by a person of the name of Leridan, the younger, was arrested in a cabriolet, attempting, as it is supposed, to escape from Paris, in the dusk of the evening. He killed, with a pistol shot, the peace officer who stopped the horse, and wounded another, who endeavoured to seize him. Several others were daily taken up.

General Moreau's wife was suffered to remain

at liberty; and, indeed, during the confinement of her husband, she experienced, notwithstanding the jealousy of the government, open marks of attention and compassion, from the inhabitants of Paris. But this lenity towards Madame Moreau, so unusual on the part of the French government, was more a measure of policy than of humanity. For the high military reputation of her husband, his probity, moderation, and disinterestedness, had rendered him the idol of a great proportion of the army, and had gained him the esteem of all well thinking persons in France. He was also considered as the natural rival of the first consul, and looked up to as the person most likely to deliver France from his tyranny. He had long excited the jealousy of Bonaparte, but prudence had checked the exercise of that passion by any act of violence. A pretext for his arrest was consequently an object of the greatest magnitude to the first consul. However, it was still judged expedient to proceed against him with caution, lest any apparent harshness might cause a clamor, and perhaps stronger marks of dissatisfaction on the part of the troops; and although he was found guilty of the charges adduced against him, by the tribunal before which he was tried, his sentence was remitted on his having written a penitential letter to Bonaparte, upon the condition that he should retire to the United States of America.

The conspiracy being thus defeated, and the principal persons concerned in confinement, Bonaparte availed himself of an opportunity which then presented itself, to get rid of one of the princes of the house of Bourbon, from whom he entertained considerable apprehensions. In this he was not actuated solely by the spirit of revenge, for he had been previously heard to say, that the only individual of that unfortunate family who could be deemed dangerous to the existing French government, resided in an obscure manner in a small town in Germany. This could apply only to the Duc d'Enghien, consequently, it is probable that the seizure of that prince had long been in contemplation.

In fact, the Duc d'Enghien had acquired the highest reputation. During the whole of the preceding war, he had served under his gallant grandfather, the Prince of Condé, and had so much distinguished himself by his skill and bravery as an officer, added to his unbounded generosity and humanity, as to be adored by his followers, and admired by his enemies. Such conduct must have procured him numerous friends and partisans in France.

The violation of the territory of an independent but weak potentate was no impediment, and but a trivial consideration in the eyes of Bonaparte, compared with the sacrifice of so illustrious and valuable a victim.

Shortly after the disbanding of the army of

Condé, his highness fixed his residence at Ettenheim, in the electorate of Baden, where he passed his time in the society of a few select friends. His principal occupation was study, his recreations the culture of a small garden, and hunting. Besides, it is probable, that the locality of his retreat furnished him with the opportunities of receiving earlier intelligence of what was passing in France, than if he had been further removed from the frontiers.

The first intimation which the Elector of Baden had of Bonaparte's design, was the following letter, dated the 10th of March, from Talleyrand, French minister for foreign affairs, to Baron Edelsheim, the elector's prime minister.

"Sir,

"I had formerly sent you a note, the purport of which was, to request the arrest of the French emigrants who were assembled at Offenbourg, as the first Consul, from successive arrests of the banditti, which the English government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenbourg have had in those horrible plots, which have been devised against his own person, and against the safety of France. He was, at the same time, warned that the Duc d'Enghien, and General Dumourier, were at Ettenheim. As it is impossible that they should be in that city without the permission of his electoral highness, the first consul, therefore, could not see, without the deepest concern, that a prince, whom he had distinguished by every mark of friendship, should give an asylum to the most determined enemies of France, and permit them, so tranquilly, to project such unprecedented conspiracies. From these extraordinary occurrences, the first consul has found it necessary to order two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenbourg and Ettenheim, to seize the authors of a crime, the nature of which is such as to place those, who are proved to have had a share in it, out of the protection of the law of nations. It is General Caulincourt who is charged with the execution of these orders of the first consul, and who, there is no doubt, will employ every care and attention in fulfilling the same, which his electoral highness can wish. He will have the honor to deliver the letter which I have been directed to write."

Little suspecting any attempt upon his person, the Duc d'Enghien was seized, together with several other individuals, on the 15th of March, by a body of French cavalry, who had passed the Rhine on the preceding night, under the command of General Caulincourt, aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, and instantly conveyed to the citadel of Strasburgh.

On the 17th he was sent forward to Paris, in

consequence of orders received by the telegraph, and was obliged to continue the journey, a distance of about 400 miles, without the smallest intermission, escorted by relays of *gens d'armes*. At six o'clock in the morning of the 20th, he arrived at Paris, and was conducted, in the first instance, to the Temple, as it were to wound his feelings by the sight of a prison where so many of the royal family had suffered such atrocious cruelties; even there he was not permitted to repose, but was hurried away to the castle of Vincennes, where a tribunal, under the appellation of a special military commission, composed of persons devoted to Bonaparte, selected by his brother-in-law, General Murat, governor of Paris, had been convened. At nine o'clock in the evening of the same day, almost exhausted from want of rest and nourishment, he was forced to appear before his judges, who, in the course of two hours, passed upon him the sentence of death.

He was accused, 1st, Of having borne arms against the French republic. 2ndly, Of having offered his services to the English government, the enemy of the French people. 3rdly, Of having received and accredited agents of the said government; of having procured for them the means of maintaining an understanding in France, and having conspired with them against the internal and external safety of the state. 4thly, Of having placed himself at the head of an assemblage of French emigrants, and others in the pay of England, formed in the countries of Fribourg and Baden. 5thly, Of having maintained a correspondence in the town of Strasburgh, tending to stir up the neighbouring departments, for the purpose of effecting there a diversion in favor of England. 6thly, Of being one of the favorers and accomplices of the conspiracy planned by the English against the life of the first consul, and intending, in case of the success of this conspiracy, to enter France hostilely.

Upon each of these charges the court found the prisoner guilty, and judgment was pronounced in the following words:

"The special military commission unanimously condemns to the pain of death, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, in atonement for the crimes of being a spy, of carrying on a correspondence with the enemies of the republic, and of an attempt against the internal and external safety of the state."

No evidence whatever was produced upon the trial, which was a mere formality, preparatory to the execution of a sentence virtually pronounced by the order for the prince's arrest.

During the whole of this distressing scene, the Duc d'Enghien manifested the greatest calmness and fortitude, a circumstance the more surprising, when we consider how much cause he had to be irritated by the treatment he had experienced, and to be enervated by the fatigue and want of proper

nourishment, which he had endured for the last six days. Even the interval between his condemnation and execution was not undisturbed. Four *gens d'armes* were posted in the dungeon where he was confined; and, it is said, that he was not permitted to communicate with the clergyman who attended him on the occasion, otherwise than in a tone of voice loud enough to be overheard by his guards. In the course of the night, General Murat arrived at Vincennes, under an escort of Mamelukes, accompanied by four aides-de-camp, together with Generals E. Mortier, Duroc, Hulín, and Louis Bonaparte. The castle was surrounded, and the avenues to that part of the wood of Vincennes appointed for the execution, guarded by Italian troops of *gens d'armes*, while each Mameluke was provided with a torch for the occasion.

The duke, on being informed of his sentence, tranquilly replied, "I am ready and resigned." It is moreover asserted that, upon hearing that the grenadiers commanded to shoot him were Italians of Bonaparte's guard, he said, "Thank God they are not Frenchmen! I am condemned by a foreigner, and God be praised that my executioners are also such. It will be a stain the less upon my countrymen;" and that, at the place of execution, he lifted up his hands to heaven, exclaiming, "May God preserve my king, and deliver my country from the yoke of a foreigner." It was proposed to bind a handkerchief over his eyes, but he prevented it, saying, "that a loyal soldier, who has often been exposed to fire and sword, can face death with open eyes, and without fear." He then looked at the soldiers, who had levelled their pieces, saying, "Grenadiers, lower your arms, otherwise you will miss or only wound me." Of the nine who fired, seven hit him: two bullets pierced his head, and five his body. A coffin, partly filled with lime, was ready to receive his corpse, and a grave had been dug in the garden of the castle, where he was interred. Thus perished, in the prime of life, the only son of the Duc de Bourbon, a prince who inherited all the virtues of the illustrious house of Condé!!!

By this foul deed Bonaparte manifested his determination (if it admitted of any question before) to perpetuate, at all hazards, his dominion. He certainly got rid of one formidable opponent, but he created many others, who only waited for a favorable opportunity to declare themselves. Unfortunately for mankind, he had such numerous accomplices in guilt, whose fortunes, and perhaps existence, depended upon the upholding his authority, and who were perfectly in possession of the means of governing that ignorant and abject people, namely, by severity and corruption; and having those means completely in their hands, that it required more than an or-

dinary course of events, and a prodigious reverse of fortune, to shake his power.

This unjustifiable proceeding excited a general, but, in many cases, a smothered indignation. Russia, however, came forward with that openness and intrepidity which so well became her. His imperial majesty, conformably to that magnanimity which has long characterised the court of St. Petersburg, took the earliest opportunity of testifying the lively interest which he took in the fate of this unfortunate prince: and the following spirited remonstrance, upon this inhuman transaction, was addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs, through M. Oubril, his imperial majesty's *chargé d'affaires* at Paris.

"According to the orders which the undersigned *chargé d'affaires* of his imperial majesty the Emperor of all the Russias has received from his court, he hastens to inform the minister of the French republic, that his illustrious master has learned, with equal astonishment and concern, the event that has taken place at Ettenheim, the circumstances that have attended it, and its melancholy result. The concern of the emperor on this occasion is the more lively, as he can by no means reconcile the violation of the territory of the Elector of Baden to those principles of justice and propriety which are held sacred among nations, and are the bulwark of their reciprocal relations. His imperial majesty finds in this act a violation of the rights of nations, and of a neutral territory, which, at least, was as arbitrary as it was public; a violation, the consequences of which are difficult to estimate, and which, if considered as admissible, must entirely annihilate the security and independence of sovereign states. If the German empire, after the misfortunes it has suffered, which have made it sensibly feel the necessity of tranquillity and repose, must still be in fear for the integrity of its territory, could it have been expected that this should have originated on the part of a government which has laboured to secure to it peace, and imposed on itself the duty of guaranteeing its continuance. All these considerations have not permitted the emperor to pass over in silence this unexpected event, which has spread consternation through all Germany. His imperial majesty has held it to be his duty, as guarantee and mediator of the peace, to notify to the states of the empire, the manner in which he views an action which endangers their security and independence. The Russian resident at Ratisbon has, in consequence, received orders to deliver in a note to the diet, and to represent to it, and to the head of the empire, the necessity of remonstrating to the French government against this violation of the German territory. His imperial majesty

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holds it in like manner to be his duty to notify his sentiments directly to the French government by the undersigned, as his majesty is assured, that the first consul will hasten to attend to the just remonstrances of the German political body, and feel the pressing necessity of taking the most active measures to relieve all the governments of Europe from the alarm he must have occasioned to them, and put an end to an order of things too dangerous to their safety and future independence.

"The undersigned hereby fulfils the commands of his illustrious master, and avails himself of this opportunity to communicate to the citizen minister for foreign affairs, the assurance of his high esteem."

The following note was also presented on the 6th of May, at the diet of Ratisbon, by the Russian minister resident there; dated May 5, and signed De Kluppell:

"The event which has taken place in the states of his highness the Elector of Baden; the conclusion of which has been so melancholy, has occasioned the most poignant grief to the Emperor of all the Russias. He cannot but view with the greatest concern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German territory. His imperial majesty is the more affected by this event, as he never could have expected that a power which had undertaken, in common with himself, the office of mediator, and was consequently bound to exert his care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed, in such a manner, from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had so lately taken upon itself. It would be unnecessary to call the attention of the diet to the serious consequences to which the German empire must be exposed, if acts of violence, of which the first example has just been seen, should be passed over in silence; it will, with its accustomed foresight, easily perceive how much the future tranquillity and security of the whole empire, and each of its members, must be endangered, if such violent proceedings should be deemed allowable, and suffered to take place without observation or opposition."

It did not seem expedient though to most of the powers to whom this exhortation was addressed, to take up the subject with that earnestness which their dignity and independence seemed to demand, so that a step undertaken by Russia from such just and noble motives, terminated in a feeble and fruitless correspondence. It had, however, the effect of producing a note from the French government, composed with so little management as to aggravate instead of palliating the offence complained of; and, as it gave rise to a most animated and able discussion

on the part of Russia, it is here necessary to cite the most striking passages.

This note observed, that the influence of the enemies of France had prevailed in the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and that the good understanding between the two countries was thus endangered. That the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia, most concerned in the fate of Germany, had understood that the French government were authorised in arresting, at two leagues from the frontier, French rebels, who, from their conduct, had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations. That the first consul had no account to render to the Emperor of Russia, on a point which in no wise concerned his interests, but if the intention of his imperial majesty were to form a new coalition, what need was there for empty pretences? Why not act openly? That the first consul knew no man who could intimidate France; no man whom he would permit to interfere in the internal concerns of the country. It was required that France should employ the most efficacious means to tranquillize the different governments of Europe, and to put an end to an order of things too alarming for their independence and security. This very independence of the states of Europe was attacked by the protection afforded by Russia, at Dresden and at Rome, to the authors of plots; by the Russian ministers at most of the courts pretending to place under the safeguard of the law of nations, natives of the very country where those ministers reside, as Mr. Marcaff attempted to do in the instance of a Genevese, and by not removing from their situations French emigrants in the employment of Russia. After further remarks, the question is then asked: If, when England planned the murder of Paul the First, (supposing intelligence to have been received, that the authors of the plot were at a league's distance from the frontiers,) would not pains have been taken to arrest them? That the object of such persons was to rekindle the flames of war, which could only be advantageous to England. The first consul then declared his repugnancy to a war with Russia, but that he should prefer it to a state of things which did not place France on an equality with other great powers.

The tragical scene already alluded to had scarcely closed, when another intrigue was denounced by the grand judge. In his report, which was accompanied by a variety of documents and intercepted letters, it was stated, that the British minister, resident at the court of Munich, was engaged in a clandestine correspondence with certain individuals in the heart of France; with a view to overturn the government. That these agents had been supplied

with large sums of money, which were to be employed in obtaining information of the measures in contemplation, by establishing an intelligence in the different public offices; in gaining over those employed in the powder-mills; in having at their disposal a number of printers and engravers; in procuring a correct knowledge of the different parties in France; and in taking every means to disorganize the armies.

Such is the substance of the instructions cited by the grand judge, as given by Mr. Drake to his principal correspondent, Mehée de Latouche, who was supposed to be at the head of a committee of malcontents assembled at Paris. This M. Mehée was a man of notoriously infamous character, but who, it appears, had had sufficient hypocrisy and address to obtain a degree of confidence from some members of the British government, and, through their introduction, to have gained access to Mr. Drake, to whom he made a tender of his services.

No British subject, who had the interests of his country at heart, but particularly a British minister, could well refuse, under similar circumstances, to receive any useful intelligence which might be imparted to him. But this proposal from Mehée was merely a snare, in order to discover the views and the private means of procuring information, adopted by the English cabinet, for he had been from the beginning in the confidence of the French government.

The main drift of this publication was to implicate Mr. Drake in a participation in the plans of Georges and his adherents, and that was attempted to be proved by a distortion of Mr. Drake's correspondence. Not a syllable, however, was in any of the letters ascribed to him, to justify such a construction.

Copies of these papers were addressed to the several ministers from foreign courts, residing at Paris, with a circular note from M. Talleyrand annexed. The answers to which were conceived in general terms of compliment to the first consul, with the exception of a few, of which the writers, solely upon the faith of the communication thus made to them, ventured to reprobate, in the harshest terms, the conduct of Mr. Drake. Amongst the latter the Danish minister, Mr. Dreyer, and the American minister, Mr. Livingston, were the most conspicuous.

The originals were forwarded to Munich, and on the 31st of March, a note was addressed to Mr. Drake, by Baron de Montgelas, the elector's prime minister, wherein he expressed the regret of his serene highness, that his capital should have been the central point of a correspondence, so inconsistent with the mission with which Mr. Drake was invested at his court; and that he owed it to the dignity and welfare of his

subjects to declare, that from that moment it became impossible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his court.

After the delivery of this note, it was impossible for Mr. Drake to delay much longer his residence in the Bavarian territories; and Mr. Spencer Smith, British envoy to the Elector of Wurtemberg, who was stated to have been concerned in these transactions, was also under the necessity of quitting Stutgard.

The papers published with respect to the above transaction, had been so widely distributed and so generally read throughout Europe, that it became necessary that some notice should be taken of them by the British government. Accordingly, a circular letter on this subject was addressed to each of the foreign ministers, resident at the court of London, by Lord Hawkesbury, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs. In this letter Lord Hawkesbury repelled the charge of the king's government being parties to any project of assassination, whilst he maintained the right of all belligerent powers to avail themselves of any discontents existing in the countries with which they might be at war. And that this principle was to be acted upon with peculiar propriety, at a time when all Europe felt an anxious desire to see re-established in France an order of things more consistent with its own happiness, and with the security of surrounding nations. That this principle, were it under any circumstances doubtful, was, in the present case, most fully sanctioned, not only by the actual state of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, ever since the commencement of the present war, had maintained a communication with the disaffected in his majesty's dominions, and had actually assembled, on the coast of France, a body of Irish rebels, for the purpose of aiding their designs. And that if any minister, accredited to a foreign court, had held correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, he had done no more than ministers, under similar circumstances, had been uniformly considered as having a right to do, with respect to the countries with which their sovereign was at war.

These positions of Lord Hawkesbury were commented upon, some time after, in a circular note from M. Talleyrand, addressed to the several French diplomatic agents.

In this note, the French minister of foreign affairs observed, that the project conceived by the British government, for the last half century, gradually to abolish the tutelary system of public law, which unites all civilized nations, developed

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itself with a frightful progression: The British government was arraigned of audacity in sporting with the faith of oaths, and the most solemn treaties—that maritime nations daily experienced its tyranny—No longer did there exist a theoretical system of navigation—No convention which had not been scandalously violated, on every shore and on every sea; that neutral states, in exercising their rights with the most timid circumspection, were exposed to insult, pillage, and extermination; that now it attacked rights collectively, and directed a blow against morality itself, against the religion of public law.—Diplomatic agents had at all times been considered as ministers of peace—organs of conciliation—but the British government wished them to be the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors of machinations, vile spies, cowardly seducers. They were ordered to foment seditions, to provoke and to pay for assassinations; and, it was attempted to invest that infamous ministry with the inviolability which belonged to the mediators of kings, and the pacificators of nations.—That it was time to put an end to the disastrous career of principles subversive of all society. The persons to whom these notes were directed, were ordered to declare, to the governments where they resided, that Bonaparte would not recognize the English diplomatic body in Europe, so long as the British government did not abstain from charging its ministers with any warlike agency, and did not restrain them within the limits of their functions.

On the 8th of April, an article appeared in the French official journal, purporting to be the result of the depositions of six surgeons, appointed to inspect the body of General Pichegru, who had been found strangled two days before, in the place of his confinement; a laboured attempt was there made to prove that he had committed suicide: but, even from the circumstances related in that report, it seems almost impossible that he could himself have been the cause of his death, in the manner described; and, indeed, the general belief was, that Bonaparte, apprehensive of the sensation that might be occasioned by his trial or public execution, had caused him to be secretly dispatched by a party of Mamelukes. It was, moreover, confidently pretended, that he had previously been put to the torture, in hopes of extorting from him the crimination of General Moreau.

Georges, and several of his adherents, were publicly executed in the Place de Greve. In their last moments, as well as at their trials, they conducted themselves with the most heroic fortitude, and exemplary resignation, such as could only be inspired by a conscientious devotion to the principles which they had espoused.

In order, as it were, to make a deeper impression, and inflame the public mind against England, and consequently to weaken the indignation excited by the deaths of the Duc d'Enghien, and of General Pichegru, together with the arrest of General Moreau, a second report was published, on the 11th of April, by the grand judge, "respecting the plots of the person named Drake, minister of England at Munich, and of the person named Spencer Smith, minister from England at Stutgard, against France, and the person of the first consul," founded principally on the relation made by a person of the name of Rosey, who represented himself to have obtained an interview with those gentlemen, under the mask of being an agent of the persons in correspondence with Mr. Drake from France. This measure was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the inhabitants of Paris; for, on the 14th of April, General Murat, the commandant, deemed it necessary to recommend, in general orders to the aides-de-camp, officers, and non-commissioned officers of the garrison and national guard, to enlighten the citizens on the false rumours propagated by the disaffected—namely—that the death of Pichegru was not the effect of suicide, and that numbers of prisoners were shot every night; and to acquaint them, that military, as well as civil justice, was in no case exercised without public forms; and that not a single individual had been condemned, by the military tribunals, without his sentence having been printed, and posted up immediately; but whatever had been reported, relative to the facts of which the prisoners were accused, must be considered as false, and that the subsequent arrests had substantiated the guilt of General Moreau, and that undeniable proofs existed of every circumstance advanced by the grand judge.

Nothing could be more auspicious for Bonaparte's personal ambition than the present state of things. All ranks of Frenchmen were more than ever prostrate before him, and ready to anticipate his wishes by the most abject submission. Had his vanity and presumption prompted him, in imitation of some of the heroes of antiquity, to claim to be recognized of divine origin, he would probably have experienced no resistance on the part of the nation. But the crown of France was the object to which he had long aspired. The regrets of the people for their ancient monarchy, rendered, indeed, any system of government approaching to it, even in the person of Bonaparte, to a certain degree palatable: and this prevailing sentiment was used as a principal argument to advance his pretensions.

The first decided step towards the accomplishment of this long-meditated measure, was an address to the first consul, on the part of the senate,

dated the 27th of March, proposing to constitute him hereditary Emperor of France. His answer was dated the 25th of April, from St. Cloud, and was communicated, by a message, in the following terms :

"Senators, your address of the 6th of last Germinal has never ceased to be present to my thoughts; it has been the object of my most constant meditation. You have judged the hereditary power of the supreme magistracy necessary, in order to shelter the French nation completely from the plots of our enemies, and from the agitations arising from rival ambition. It likewise appears to you, that many of our institutions require improvement, in order permanently to secure the triumph of equality and public liberty, and present to the people, and to the government, the double guarantee of which they stood in need. We have been constantly guided by this grand truth, that the sovereignty resides in the French people, in the sense, that every thing, without exception, ought to be done for their interest, their happiness, and their glory. It is in order to attain this end, that the supreme magistracy, the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, the electoral body, the electoral colleges, and the different branches of the administration are, and ought to be, instituted. In proportion as I fix my attention on these great objects, I am the more convinced of the truth of those sentiments which I have expressed to you, and I feel more and more, that, in a circumstance as new as it is important, the counsels of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix my ideas. I request you, therefore, to make known to me the whole of your thoughts. The French people can add nothing to the honor and glory with which they have surrounded me: but my most sacred duty, and that dearest to my heart, is to secure, to their latest posterity, those advantages which they have acquired by a revolution that has cost them so much, particularly by the sacrifice of those millions of brave citizens who have died in defence of their rights. Fifteen years have elapsed since, by a spontaneous movement, you ran to arms; you acquired liberty, equality, and glory. These first blessings of nations are now secured to you for ever, are sheltered from every storm, they are preserved to you, and to your children. Institutions, conceived and commenced in the midst of the hurricanes of internal and external wars, developed with constancy, are just terminated in the attempts and plots of our most mortal enemies, by the adoption of such measures as the experience of centuries and of nations has demonstrated, as proper to guarantee the rights which the nation had judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness."

This was echoed by the most fulsome addresses

from the armies, the departments, and principal cities; two of which are here transcribed, as specimens of those compositions. The first was the address of the camp near Ostend, dated the 29th of April.

"General First Consul! a cry has been heard in the armies—that cry is re-echoed in every heart. The soldiers of the first division of the camp at Bruges, sensible of the dangers which you have encountered alone in the common cause, more sensible still of the benefits which they have derived from you, are eager to decree to you a title august and worthy of you. You are already their chief, and their father; but these titles are not sufficient to express either their enthusiasm or their love. Let, then, that of emperor teach the world, that France has known how to express her gratitude for all that you have done for her! Yet a painful recollection mingles itself with our hopes—already have the poniards of your enemies more than once threatened your destiny, to which that of so many others is attached. France was on the point of being annihilated in your person! let her survive in your illustrious family! and let posterity know what your great actions have been, and what has been our gratitude. As the organ of part of your troops, I am happy in having it in my power to express to you their sentiments.—Deign to accept, general first consul, the testimonies of love and respect of the first division, and of mine.

(Signed) "The General of Division,
"OUDINOT."

Followed by several other signatures.

The next was that of the municipal body of Paris, dated the 30th of April.

"To-day, citizen first consul, all France expresses the same wishes we expressed two years ago. To-day, all France, happy under your government, conjures you to eternize the benefits of it. Let not this escape your memory, citizen first consul. In 1789, France, without doubt, demanded a revolution—but she demanded it agreeably to the maxims of her government, and not in the unity which constituted her essence.

"The French, then free in the choice of their deputies to the states-general, free in the delivery of their sentiments and wishes, expressly demanded that all the citizens, equal in rights, should be admissible, without distinction of rank or birth, to all the public functions. They demanded, that the power of exercising arbitrary acts should no longer reside any where, and that no citizen should be condemned without trial.—They demanded liberty of conscience, or, rather, the free exercise of all forms of divine worship. They demanded that the representatives of the nation should be called to deliberate upon the

public burdens. They, in fine, demanded, as a guarantee of all the rights of which they invoked the restitution, that the executive power should be confided to the hands of a single person, and that this power should be hereditary. What the French demanded in 1789, they again demand to-day.—They earnestly demand it. A long experience has too fully convinced them, that whatsoever has been done or attempted beyond their first wishes, commanded, perhaps, by circumstances stronger than men, cannot constitute either the duration, the force, or the happiness of a great empire. We shall not, citizen first consul, point out the mode most suitable to be adopted for the accomplishment of our wish. We trust, in this respect, to the wisdom of the first authority of the state, and to your wisdom. But let us be fearful of dissembling the truth from ourselves. The moments are pressing. Our implacable enemies are observing us. We know what frightful projects they have shewn themselves capable of. They will never cease meditating our ruin, before strong, generous, and lasting institutions have convinced them that our ruin is impossible.”

(Signed) The twelve mayors, the twenty-four assistant-mayors, the five members of the council of prefecture, the prefect, and the secretary-general.

Matters being so far prepared, a proposition was submitted to the tribunate, on the 1st of May, by one of Bonaparte's creatures, named Curée, for conferring on Napoleon Bonaparte the rank and title of Emperor of the French, and of making the said rank and title hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture.

Carnot was the only member of that body who ventured to oppose the proposition. He began, by declaring that he should preserve the same moderation, in delivering his opinion, which had been exhibited by the tribunes, who had spoken in favor of the motion. He referred those who might be inclined to put a bad construction on his motives, to a rigid examination of his conduct, since the commencement of the revolution. He asked if it were to grant the first consul a reward for his services, to offer him the sacrifice of liberty. If it were not to destroy Bonaparte's own work, to make France his private patrimony. “I voted,” continued the orator, “against the consulate for life; and I will not this day pursue a different course. I will be consistent with myself. But the moment that the proposed order of things is established, I will be the first to conform to it, and yield to the new authority proofs of my deference. May all the members of the community follow my example.” He cited a number of passages from the Roman history, to shew that a

government placed in the hands of an individual was no pledge of its stability or tranquillity. He drew the same inference from the history of France, where intestine commotions and civil discords existed under the government of princes. After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte had the choice of a republic or a monarchy—but he swore to defend the former, and to respect the wishes of France, who had made him her guardian. Now it was proposed to render that power a property, of which, at present, only the administration was possessed. The Romans were most jealous of their liberty, and Camillus, Fabius, and Cincinnatus only saved the country by relinquishing the power which had been confided to them. The liberty of Rome perished as soon as Cæsar had usurped absolute power. It was reserved for the new world to teach the old the practicability of a nation's enjoying liberty with the rising prosperity of the people. Would the opinion of the public functionaries be the free wish of the whole nation? Would there not be inconveniences attending the avowal of opposite sentiments? Was the press so far restrained and degraded, that it would be impossible to make, in the public prints, respectful remonstrances against the proposed arrangement? Did the expulsion of the Bourbons involve the necessity of a new dynasty? Might not the establishment of that dynasty place obstacles in the way of a general peace? Would it be recognized by foreign powers? In case of refusal to recognize it, must arms necessarily be resorted to? In that case, the security of the French nation would be, perhaps, endangered for an empty title. The means of consolidation consisted in adherence to justice. Far be it from him to make any particular application, or to cast any blame on the operations of government. Was liberty, then, disclosed to man, only that it might never be enjoyed? He could not, however, consent to regard it as a mere chimera; and his heart told him, that its government was easy. He concluded, by declaring his readiness to sacrifice his personal opinion to the interests of his country. His respect for the law would remain unalterable—his desire was to see every sentiment united against their eternal, their implacable enemy; that enemy who was now meditating universal oppression.

The speech of Carnot, temperate as it was, and apparently delivered in a tone of constraint, did not fail to excite several vehement replies and animadversions on his conduct. He was asked, if he adopted the proper means of manifesting his respect for the laws, in reminding them, that he had, on a former occasion, voted against the consulate for life, sanctioned by the suffrages of more than a million of Frenchmen? If he had forgotten the regimen of 1793, and that horrible decemviral committee, which, in cold blood, signed ar-

rests for death and proscriptions? It was astonishing to hear of opposition to a measure which alone could prevent the return of similar miseries. The question was not concerning the interests of individuals, but the interests of the nation at large; a measure which would realize the plan of government, formed by the constituent assembly in 1789.

The discussion was resumed on the ensuing day, and the proposition was principally supported by a member, named Fayard, who, after expatiating on the transcendent merits and services of Bonaparte, and, by laying down the principle that nations have the right to enjoy that form of government for which they are by nature best adapted, he proceeded, by observing, that in vain political maladies affected and suspended those principles for a moment—the crisis ceased, and nature resumed her rights. It was in the nature of things, that a country of vast extent, whose security was not guaranteed by its physical position, and whose relations with its neighbours incessantly menaced its tranquillity, ought to be governed by one head. Rome, at her birth, had kings, because the surrounding nations were ruled by kings. Rome, after conquering her neighbours, expelled the kings, and created consuls. When her power had gone beyond the limits of her territories, when she had to combat nations far removed from the centre of her dominions, even the excessive love of freedom could not prevent the ruin of the republic, and emperors were elevated to the throne. Fortunate would it have been for that great nation, if the first of their emperors had, as he had it in his power, made the government hereditary in his family. The scenes which covered the throne with blood, the civil wars which dissolved that vast empire, and precipitated its downfall, would not have sullied the page of the history of those masters of the world. On the ruins of a monarchy destroyed, an attempt was made to substitute a monarchical government. France must have been destroyed, if the genius of Bonaparte had not erected the consulate to precede, for a few years, the creation of the imperial dignity. He was called to this elevated station by the unanimous wish. He had, as first consul, the power of performing vast services, and you have seen all his measures attended with a success unexampled in the page of the history of the world. This was sufficient for his own glory, but not enough for the happiness of France. If empires prospered under a great man, the moment which deprived them of their services menaced them with some dreadful explosion, if the same monarch did not substitute in his place him who was to be his successor. It was then that ambition became inflamed, and long before ambition prepared in secret the means of supplanting rivals. Long dis-

sensions, succeeded by civil wars, agitated the minds of men, disturbed for ages the union of the citizens; and the people were often so unfortunate as not to discern, amongst the rival candidates, the one most worthy to receive the sceptre, of which death had bereaved the object of their regret. What could prevent these disasters? A constitutional law, which gave the line of succession, and which gave to the family of the chief the new dynasty. This was the object of the nation; and if the throne were to be the reward of the virtues of the great man called to the imperial dignity, the succession to it by his family would guarantee to France ages of glory and repose.

It was observed, by another member, that absolute monarchy was the most degrading of systems; but that monarchy, connected with the representative system, conciliated political and civil liberty; and that was the system which Napoleon was about to establish.

The sitting concluded with the motion declaring the discussion to be closed, and that a report should be made on the next day on the original proposition.

Accordingly, on the 3d of May, the tribunate having heard the report of the special commission appointed to consider the proposition made by Citizen Curée, resolved, 1st, "That Napoleon Bonaparte should be proclaimed Emperor of the French; and, in that quality, be charged with the government of France. 2d. That the title of emperor, together with the imperial prerogatives, should be hereditary in his family, in the male line, and in the order of primogeniture. 3d. That the constituted authorities, in forming the necessary regulations for the establishment of the hereditary power, should make all due provisions for preserving equality, liberty, and the rights of the people. 4th. That the present vote should be carried to the senate by a deputation of six members, who were to explain the motives which had induced the tribunate to adopt this resolution."

Upon the above vote, the following decree was passed:—

"The tribunate considering that, at the breaking out of the revolution, when the national will had an opportunity of manifesting itself with the greatest freedom, the general wish was declared for the individual unity of the supreme power, and for the hereditary succession of that power; that the family of the Bourbons, having, by their conduct, rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to lose sight of its advantages, and drove the nation to seek for a happier destiny in a democratical form of government; that France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from them only the miseries of anarchy; that the state was in the present peril, when Bonaparte brought

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back by Providence, suddenly appeared for its salvation; that under the government of a single individual, France recovered tranquillity at home, and acquired abroad the highest consideration and glory; that the plots formed by the house of Bourbon, in concert with a ministry, the implacable enemy of France, warned France of the danger which threatens her, if losing Bonaparte, she continued exposed to the agitation inseparable from an election; that the consulate for life, and the power granted to the first consul, of appointing his successor, are not adequate to the preventing intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the supreme power; that, in declaring that magistracy hereditary, a conformity is at once observed to the example of all great states, ancient or modern, and to the first wish of the nation, expressed in 1789; that, enlightened and supported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wish more strongly than ever, and expresses it on all sides; that, in all political charges, it has been usual for nations to confer the supreme power on those to whom they owe their safety; that, when France demands for her security an hereditary chief, her gratitude and affection call on Bonaparte; that France will preserve all the advantages of a revolution, by the choice of a new dynasty, as much interested for her benefit as the old one would be for her destruction; that France may expect from the family of Bonaparte, more than from any other, the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people who choose them, and all those institutions best calculated to support them. But there is no title more suited to the dignity of the supreme chief of the French nation than the title of emperor."

The tribunate, exercising the right given them by the 29th article of the constitution, have come to the following vote, (reciting the above-mentioned vote.)

The foregoing decree having been put to the vote by the president of the tribunate, it was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the only member who delivered his sentiments against it.

Citizen Jaud Pauvilliers was named head of the deputation, for presenting it to the conservative senate. The other five members were chosen by lot.

This decree was accordingly presented to the senate on the 4th of May, and the following speech was delivered by the vice-president on the occasion.

"Citizens Tribunes, this day will form a memorable era. It is the day, on which, for the first time, you are called upon to exercise, with the conservative senate, the republican and popular privilege which the fundamental laws of

the constitution have delegated to you. You could not exercise this prerogative at a more favorable moment, or apply it to an object of more importance than the present. Citizens tribunes, you express to the trustees of the national rights a wish truly national. I cannot remove the veil which conceals, for a time, the labours of the senate on this important subject. I must inform you, however, in the mean time, that since the 6th of Germinal (March 27), the senate has directed the attention of the first magistrate to the same subject. The senate has previously sounded the public opinion, and has announced it to the government. But, you will find your advantages and privileges, when you observe that what we have been thinking of in silence for two months, the peculiar nature of our institution, and the place you hold in the constitution, has enabled you at once to submit it to discussion in the presence of the people. You have served at once the people and the government by disclosing and enforcing this opinion; pregnant with so many advantages, and it was first secretly cherished in the bosom of this assembly, where you have now so gloriously reported it. The happy developement which you have given to this grand idea, procures to the senate which opened the tribune to you, the satisfaction of being able to congratulate themselves on their choice, and to approve what they have done. In your public speeches we have found the basis of our opinions. Like you, citizens tribunes, we do not wish to return to the Bourbons, because we do not wish a counter-revolution, which is the only benefit we could derive from those unfortunate exiles, who carried with them despotism, nobility, feudal tyranny, slavery, and ignorance; and who, still to augment their crimes, have encouraged the hope that their return to France might be effected by the way of England. Like you, citizens tribunes, we wish to raise a new dynasty, because we wish to secure to the French people all their rights which they have reconquered, and which the folly of their enemies would take from them. Like you, citizens tribunes, we wish that liberty, equality, and knowledge, may no more have a retrograde motion. I do not speak of the great man, called upon, by his glory, to give his name to the age in which he lives, and who ought to be called upon by our wishes to consecrate to us his family and existence. It is not to himself, it is to us that he ought to devote himself. What you propose in the ardor of enthusiasm, the senate will consider with cool deliberation. Citizens tribunes, we are the cornerstone of the social edifice, but it is the government of an hereditary chief that must constitute the key-stone of the arch. You repose in your bosom the wish that this arch may be at last consolidated. In receiving this wish, the senate

does not forget that what you solicit is not so much a change of the state of the republic, as the means of perfecting and establishing it, and this certainly is what we are most interested in. In this national temple the constitution ought to repose, in some measure, on the god *Terminus*. If we are induced to interfere in any respect with this sacred compact, the guardianship of which is entrusted to us, it is only to add to its strength, and to extend its duration."

The senate then replied to Bonaparte's speech of the 25th of April, in an address signed by the vice-president François de Neufchâteau, Moreau de Galles, and Joseph Cornudet, secretaries, and the chancellor of the senate, Laplace.

On the 18th of May, a decree, denominated an "Organic Senatus Consultum" was passed by the Senate, conferring the title of emperor on the first consul, and establishing that dignity hereditary in his family. It was likewise decreed, that the members should immediately repair to St. Cloud, to communicate this decision to Bonaparte. They accordingly set out at the close of the sitting, escorted by a body of troops.

The senate were admitted to an audience on their arrival, and their president, Consul Cambacères, presented the "Senatus Consultum" to Bonaparte, accompanying it with an oration.

"Sire, the decree which the senate has passed, and which it takes the earliest opportunity of presenting to your imperial majesty, is only the authentic expression of a will already manifested by the nation. This decree, which confers on you a new title, and which, after you, secures the dignity hereditary in your race, adds nothing to your dignity or your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for some years, entrusted to your majesty the reins of government, and the constitutions of the state reposed in you the choice of a successor. The most august denomination, decreed to you, is then only a tribute which the nation pays to its own dignity, and to the necessity it experiences of giving to you daily testimonies of respect and of attachment, which every day increase. How could the French people find bounds to their gratitude, when you place none to your care and solicitude for them? Preserving the remembrance of the evils which they suffered when abandoned to themselves, how could they reflect, without enthusiasm, on the happiness they have felt since Providence inspired them with the idea of throwing themselves into your arms? Their armies were defeated; the finances were in disorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were disputing for the remains of our ancient splendour; every idea of morality, or even of religion, was obscured; the habit of giving and resuming power left the magistrates without con-

sideration, and even rendered odious every kind of authority. Your majesty appeared; you recalled victory to our standards; you established order and economy in the public expenses; the nation, encouraged by the use you made of your authority, resumed confidence in its own resources; your wisdom allayed the rage of party; religion saw her altars raised up; ideas of justice and injustice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they saw crimes followed by punishment, and virtue signalized and rewarded with honorable distinctions. In the last place, and it is, no doubt, the greatest of the miracles operated by your genius, that people, whose civil effervescence had rendered them impatient of every restraint, and hostile to every authority, were, by your means, made to cherish and respect a power which was exercised only for their glory and repose.—The French people do not pretend to establish themselves judges of the constitutions of other states; they have no critical remarks to make; no examples to follow; experience, in future, will become their guide. They have tasted, for ages, the advantages attached to hereditary power; they have made a short, but painful, trial of the contrary system; they return, by the effect of free and mature deliberation, to a path suited to their genius. They make a free use of their rights, to delegate to your imperial majesty a power which your interests forbids you to exercise by yourself. They stipulate for future generations; and, by a solemn compact, entrust to the offspring of your race the happiness of their posterity. The latter will imitate your virtues, the former will inherit our love and our fidelity. Happy the nation which, after so much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its bosom a man worthy of appeasing the tempest of the passions, of conciliating all interests, and uniting all voices! Happy the prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and the affections of the citizens! If it be in the principles of our constitution, and already several examples of this kind have been given, to submit to the sanction of the people that part of the decree which concerns the establishment of an hereditary government, the senate have thought that it ought to entreat your imperial majesty to consent that the organic dispositions should be immediately carried into execution; and that, for the glory as well as for the happiness of the republic, Napoleon may be immediately proclaimed emperor of the French."

The emperor replied in the following terms:

"Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent of having surrounded with honors my family. In

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all cases my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which they shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the Great Nation."

But as the measure of adulation was not yet quite filled, the senate requested an audience of her majesty the empress, and, on being admitted, the president addressed her as follows:

"Madam, we have just presented to your august spouse the decree which confers on him the title of emperor, which establishes the government hereditary in his family, and associates future generations in the happiness of the present race. A very agreeable duty remains to be performed by the senate—that of offering to your imperial majesty the homage of its respect, and an expression of the gratitude of the French. Yes, madam, fame proclaims the good which you are constantly doing; it says, that being always accessible to the unfortunate, you employ your influence with the chief of the state only to relieve distress; and that to the pleasure of obliging, your majesty adds that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude sweeter, and the kindness more valuable. This disposition presages, that the name of the empress Josephine will be the signal of consolation and hope; and, as the virtues of Napoleon will always serve as an example to his successors, to teach them the art of governing nations, the living remembrance of your goodness will teach their august consorts, that the care of drying up tears is the most effectual means of preserving an empire over all hearts. The senate thinks itself happy in the opportunity of being the first to salute you empress, and he who has the honor of being its organ, takes the liberty to hope, that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your most faithful servants."

The "organic senatus consultum" was then proclaimed by the emperor. It consisted of 151 articles, forming a totally new constitution.

The following is a summary of the principal points relating to Bonaparte and his family.

"The government of the republic shall be confided to Napoleon Bonaparte, under the title of emperor, and justice shall be administered in his name, by officers appointed by him.

"The imperial dignity shall be hereditary in the family of Bonaparte, in the direct line of descent by order of primogeniture, to the exclusion of females.

"The power shall be given to Bonaparte, provided he have no male issue, to adopt an heir from amongst the children and grand-children of his brothers, provided they have attained the age of eighteen years. On the failure of this limitation, the imperial dignity shall devolve first to Joseph Bonaparte, and his male issue; and, on failure of those; to Louis Bonaparte, and his male issue; and, finally, on failure of those branches,

an emperor is to be nominated by the senate. The members of the imperial family, in the order of inheritance, shall bear the title of prince, and the eldest son of the emperor that of imperial prince.

"The education of those princes shall be under the direction of the senate. They are prohibited from marrying without the consent of the emperor. Any marriage so contracted to incur the privation of the right of inheritance, both of the individuals and their descendants.

"The minority of the emperor shall cease at the age of eighteen. Until he arrives at that age, his functions shall be administered by a regent, the rules for whose appointment are prescribed, and his powers limited, from which office females are excluded."

The first exercise of the imperial authority, was the nomination of his imperial highness Prince Joseph Bonaparte to the dignity of *grand elector*; his imperial highness Prince Louis Bonaparte to that of *constable of France*; Consul Cambaceres to be *arch-chancellor of the empire*; Consul Lebrun to be *arch-treasurer*. These persons then took the prescribed oaths, in presence of the emperor.

The arch-chancellor then presented the ministers and the secretary of state, who likewise took the oaths.

The constable presented Generals d'Avoust and Bessieres. General Murat, Governor of Paris, was also presented; and General Duroc, who took the oaths, as governor of the imperial palace.

On the same day a letter had been addressed to each of the consuls, Cambaceres and Lebrun, notifying to them the change in their titles.

It was likewise ordered that the French princes and princesses should be addressed by the title of their *imperial highnesses*, and the sisters of the emperor to be of that number. The great officers of the empire to receive the title of their *serene highnesses*; and they, as well as the princes, to be addressed *monseigneur*. The secretary of state and the ministers to have the titles of their *excellencies*. The functionaries of the departments, and those who present petitions, to address them by the title of *monseigneur*. The president of the senate to have the title of *excellency*; and the marshals of the empire, when addressed in writing, to have the title of *monseigneur*.

On the 20th of May, the Generals Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Angereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, d'Avoust, Bessieres, Kellerman, Lefevre, Perignon, and Serurier, were promoted to the rank of marshals of the empire.

Bonaparte then notified his elevation to the bishops of France, by letters of a similar tenor to the following, addressed to the Archbishop of Paris.

"Cousin, the happiness of the French has always been the dearest object of my thoughts, and their glory that of all my labours. Called by divine providence, and the constitution of the republic, to the imperial power, I see, in this new order of things, only greater means of assuring, both at home and abroad, the prosperity and dignity of the country. I repose with confidence in the powerful succour of the Most High. He will inspire his ministers with the desire of seconding me by all the means in their power. They will enlighten the people by instruction; in preaching to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all the christian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of heaven upon the nation, and upon the supreme chief of the state. I write you this letter, that, as soon as you have received it, you will cause *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches of your diocese, and that you may invite to the prayers at your church, those authorities that have been in the habit of assisting at ceremonies of this kind; and that you may order a sermon to be preached in all the churches of your diocese, on the subject of the organic *sénatus consultum* of the 28th Floreal last; and assuring myself that you will, by your own example, excite the zeal and piety of all the faithful in your diocese, I pray God to have you, my cousin, in his holy and worthy keeping."

A circular letter was also addressed to them, on the same occasion, by Cardinal Caprara, legate a latere, resident in France, which was to the following effect:

"My lord, Napoleon Bonaparte having been appointed emperor of the French, you are to make use of the following prayer.

"O Lord, preserve our emperor, Napoleon, instead of that which was ordained by the concordat passed between the holy apostolic chair and the government of France. After this the following prayer may be recited, as it has already been used in the imperial chapel: 'O God, the protector of all kingdoms, and especially of the French empire, grant unto thy servant Napoleon, our emperor, that he may know and further the wonders of thy power, to the end that he whom thou hast appointed our sovereign, may be always powerful through thy grace;' which I accordingly notify to your greatness, declaring myself, at the same time, your greatness's true servant."

On the 28th of May, this event was officially announced by the French chargé d'affaires to the diet at Ratisbon, and a similar notification was made to the several foreign courts.

Regulations for the coronation were laid down by an imperial decree, dated from the palace of St. Cloud, July the 9th. This ceremony was appointed to take place in the month of November following, (the 18th Brumaire), and certain of the

public functionaries from the several departments, together with detachments from the different military corps were summoned to attend at Paris on the occasion.

Whilst the French government was thus seriously engaged in making arrangements for placing the crown of France on the head of Bonaparte, the general conduct of that power was looked upon with a jealous eye by many of the cabinets of Europe. Those most exposed to the effects of the violence of the new emperor, contemplated his encroachments and their own debasement in silence; but Russia and Sweden openly avowed their sentiments.

On the 21st of July a very dignified and circumstantial note, characteristic of the honorable and disinterested sentiments which have long distinguished the councils of the court of St. Petersburg, was presented, in reply to the evasive and insulting note from M. Talleyrand, of the 26th of May, (already mentioned,) by M. d'Oubril, the Russian chargé d'affaires at Paris. It was therein stated, that his court had justly disapproved his having received a paper which did not convey an answer to his preceding official communications, and was by no means fit to be laid before his august sovereign. That its contents consisted of assertions not only unfounded, but wholly unconnected with the note of the 22d of April. That the emperor, already moved by the calamities by which a great portion of Europe was oppressed, and by the dangers which threatened the German empire, whose interests Russia was particularly bound to support, in conformity to her obligations, received intelligence of another violation of the law of nations, which was perpetrated at Ettenheim. He, therefore, conceived himself bound to incite the assembled states of the German empire to concur with him, in protesting against the conduct of the French government, to whom his majesty communicated the same sentiments, in hopes that reparation would be offered to the German league, and the fears entertained by Europe, of a repetition of similar outrages, allayed. The evasive reply which was made to so plain a declaration, was offensive to Russia, to the German empire, and to France herself.—"We live no longer in those barbarous times," recited the note, "when every country regards only her immediate advantages; modern polity has introduced certain principles respecting the interest of the whole community of states." No state could view with indifference the event already mentioned, which gave such a dreadful blow to the independence and security of nations. By the peace of Teschen, Russia undertook to guarantee and mediate for the German empire; in this quality, his imperial majesty was not merely justified in raising his voice on this occasion, but was absolutely bound to do so.

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Russia at this time entertained not the least inclination for war, nor could she be benefited by it: it was the emperor's desire to preserve his former relations with France, but upon no other ground than that of perfect equality. The first condition was, that the terms mutually agreed upon should be sacredly fulfilled, and on this condition only could the two states, after what had happened, enjoy their former relations of goodwill and amity.

The note presented by M. d'Oubril, Russian chargé d'affaires at Paris, to the French minister of foreign affairs, July 21, exhibited a correct and temperate exposure of the dispositions manifested by the French government, and the system of aggression uniformly pursued by that power. This paper thus concluded:

"The undersigned has been ordered to declare, that he cannot prolong his stay at Paris, unless the following demands be previously complied with. First, That, conformably to the 4th and 5th articles of the secret convention of the 11th of October, 1801, the French government shall cause its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and, when that is done, that it shall engage to respect the neutrality of that kingdom, during the present and any future war. Secondly, That, in conformity to the second article of the said convention, the French government shall promise to establish immediately some principle of concert with his imperial majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted. Thirdly, That it shall engage, in conformity to the sixth article of the convention aforesaid, and the promises so repeatedly given to Russia, to indemnify, without delay, the King of Sardinia, for the losses he has sustained. Fourthly, and lastly, That, in virtue of the obligations of mutual guarantee and mediation, the French government shall promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the north of Germany, and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the neutrality of the Germanic body. The undersigned has to add, that he has received orders from his government to demand a categorical answer to these four points."

This note produced a reply, dated the 29th of July, abounding in invective, and full as unsatisfactory as the former one from the French government. It set forth, that France was justified in reproaching Russia with having neglected to perform her engagements; contracted by the secret convention of the 11th Vendemiaire, year 10, with having changed the government of the Seven Islands, without any concert or communication with France, and of having assembled large bodies of troops at Corfu; with having patronised the emigrants, and their projects against France; with having even placed herself in a posture of direct defiance to France, by ordering a court-

mourning, as a mark of respect to the memory of an agent, in the pay of England, engaged in a criminal design against France, after this traitor had been condemned by the just decision of a tribunal of the French government, and had been executed in pursuance of his sentence. The glaring partiality manifested by Russia towards England, and the perfidious conduct of Count Marcoff, who had increased the differences between the two governments, and had engaged in all the wicked designs of the emigrants and disaffected persons in France. That these were the real causes of the disposition lately evinced by Russia towards France. That Russia must fulfil the stipulations by which both powers were mutually bound, before she could expect France to comply with them. That the conduct of Russia was that of a conqueror to the vanquished. It were to suppose that France could be intimidated by menaces. The history of the war which preceded the peace with Russia, proved that that power had no more right than any other to assume a haughty tone towards France: but if, notwithstanding all the solicitude of the Emperor of the French, to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the two countries, the Emperor of Russia should join his armies to those of England, the Emperor of the French, with the assistance of God and his arms, was not in a situation to fear any man."

This correspondence was terminated by a note, dated the 28th of August, presented to the French minister for foreign affairs, by M. d'Oubril. The allegations contained in the former Russian notes, were forcibly recapitulated, whilst the recriminations made by the French government, were triumphantly repelled. It was stated that the total inattention of the French government to the just claims and remonstrances of Russia, was evidence of the little value attached by the French government to its relations with her, and of its invariable determination to adopt for its conduct a line absolutely contrary to the principles of justice, and the laws of nations; which could by no means harmonize with the sentiments and principles professed by his Russian majesty. In short, nothing further remained for the undersigned than to declare, that all correspondence between the two powers having, by these means, become perfectly useless, must cease, and that his majesty the emperor only waited for intelligence of the departure of his chargé d'affaires from Paris, to signify to the French mission to quit his capital. As the present state of affairs had arisen solely from the conduct of the French government, upon it would depend the decision of the question, whether or not war was to be the consequence. In case it should compel Russia, either by fresh injuries or by provocations, aimed against her, or against her allies, or by still threatening more seriously the security and independence of Eu-

rope, his majesty would then manifest as much energy in the employment of those extreme means, which a just defence requires, as he had given proofs of patience, in resorting to the use of all the means of moderation, consistent with the maintenance of the honor and dignity of his crown. This important paper concluded, by M. Oubril demanding the necessary passports for his departure from France.

In the mean time a vigorous protest, dated July 27, was made on the part of the King of Sweden against the conduct of France, in violating the neutrality of the German empire, in the instance of the Duc d'Enghien.

The part which Sweden had taken in these transactions, was reflected upon in language the most offensive and personal to his Swedish majesty, in a paper which appeared in the French official journal, the *Moniteur*, of the 14th of August. He was there accused of inconsistency and folly; of intermeddling in a thankless office, when he could do neither good nor harm; of insulting his father-in-law in his capital of Carlsruhe, and of acting in a manner highly prejudicial to the interests of his brother-in-law the Elector of Bavaria, during his residence at Munich; and of having abandoned his allies, the Danes, to their fate, before the bombardment of Copenhagen. That France was perfectly indifferent to all his steps; but that she knew how to discriminate between a loyal and brave people, justly called the French of the North, and a young man, led astray by false notions, and unenlightened by reflection. This latter observation was evidently intended to disseminate that discord which had so frequently subsisted between the crown of Sweden and the people.

The effect of this indecent attack was an immediate notification to M. Caillard, French chargé d'affaires at Stockholm, that his Swedish majesty could not, consistently with his own dignity, and the honor of his crown, after such an insult had been offered to him, wherein a line of separation was perfidiously attempted to be drawn between his majesty and his subjects, permit any further diplomatic intercourse, either public or private, to subsist between the French legation at Stockholm and his majesty's government.

An order was likewise forthwith issued, whereby all French journals, of every description, and all future French publications, were strictly prohibited from being imported into Sweden.

It might well be observed, that "the French government had taken the determination invariably to adopt for its conduct, a line absolutely contrary to the principles of justice, and the law of nations:" for, every remonstrance addressed to that upstart cabinet, really seemed an additional motive for trampling upon all established principles of right. An adherence to the rules of

justice and decorum was considered beneath the attention of that domineering power, as the attribute of weakness and pusillanimity; and unbecoming the energy and greatness of the regenerated nation. No opportunity was neglected where they could be set at defiance.

The recent expostulations, far from producing any change in their offensive system, served only to provoke further enormities. They had scarcely been expressed, when the neutrality of another independent member of the Germanic body was infringed, in the person of an accredited minister.

On the night of the 25th of October, a party of French troops passed the Elbe, (in consequence, as it was insultingly explained, of orders given by the minister of police at Paris) and seized Sir George Rumbold, the British chargé d'affaires to the Circle of Lower Saxony, at his country-house in the vicinity of Hamburg, under the pretext that he was concerned in plans similar to those attributed to Mr. Drake and Mr. S. Smith. This gentleman, together with the papers found in his possession, was forwarded, without delay, to Paris. On his arrival there he was confined in the Temple, and detained two days and as many nights. At length, on his being induced to sign a parole not to return to Hamburg, nor within a certain distance of the French territories, and having in vain demanded the restitution of his papers, he was conveyed to the coast, and embarked at Cherbourg, in a vessel carrying a flag of truce, which put him on board of his majesty's frigate *Niobe*, whence he was landed at Portsmouth.

This act of violence was the subject of an official note from Lord Hawkesbury to the cabinet of Berlin. But it appeared, that that court had previously made a remonstrance on the subject to the French government, to which the release of Sir George Rumbold was chiefly to be attributed.

While the French government was thus invading the liberties of the Northern States, it was not unmindful of its schemes of encroachment in the south of Europe. On the 20th of October, a convention was concluded with Genoa, by which France engaged to procure a peace for the Ligurian Republic with the Barbary States. If her endeavours in that respect failed, she promised to allow the vessels of the republic to carry French colours for their protection, and to permit the importation of Ligurian commodities, subject to certain duties, into Piedmont, Parma, and Placenza; and, in return for those equivocal advantages, the Ligurian republic engaged to furnish 6,000 seamen to France during the present war: she likewise ceded the harbours, dock-yards, arsenals, &c. and placed them at the disposal of the French government. And, as it was intended to construct, in the said dock-yards, ten ships of the line for France, the Ligurian republic engaged to enlarge, at her own expence, the basin,

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The period appointed for the coronation now approached. The preparations for that ceremony were framed upon an immense scale.—France was to be dazzled by its splendour and magnificence: the accomplishment of the measure itself was to establish the belief, throughout the world, in the solidity and permanence of Bonaparte's dominion. The arrogance of his conduct whilst this affair was pending, his defiance and contempt of other powers, no doubt flattered Frenchmen with the idea of their importance under his government; and, at the same time, conveyed a more general impression of his conscious security: and, the better to impose upon the ignorant and credulous, the pope was summoned to Paris, to place the imperial crown upon his head.

This humiliated potentate, on the 29th of October, previously to his departure from Rome, addressed an allocution to a consistory, wherein he extolled the merits of Bonaparte, for having, by the "Concordat," restored the catholic religion over his vast and populous territory. "The same most powerful prince," continued his holiness, "our dearest son in Christ, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, *who has so well deserved of the catholic religion for what he has done*, has signified to us his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the imperial crown from us, to the end that the solemn rights which are to place him in the highest rank, *shall be strongly impressed with the character of religion, and call down more effectually the benediction of heaven.*"

Thus a foreigner, who could be a Catholic, Mahometan, any thing or nothing, as necessity prompted, was accepted as an Emperor by a people who had previously murdered their legitimate king, and who had then bitterly railed against absolute power. On the 19th of November, Bonaparte, attended by a numerous military escort, and followed by an immense train of equipages, as brilliant as could be procured, filled with persons of the highest rank in the government, accompanied by the pope, proceeded through streets strewn with sand, and lined by a prodigious concourse of curious spectators, to the cathedral church of "Notre Dame," which edifice was decorated, for the occasion, both within and without, with all the sumptuousness which French ingenuity could devise. There his holiness performed a solemn service, anointed the emperor with the sacred unction, and placed the crown upon his majesty's head. To this ceremony, in the evening, succeeded plays, pantomimes, singing, music, dancing, fire-works, illuminations, fountains flowing with wine; in short, every thing

that could amuse and divert a giddy, inconsiderate populace. Impartial persons, however, who were eye-witnesses of this exhibition, have intimated that it was far from exciting that degree of enthusiasm which so shining and costly a spectacle might be expected to produce on a people who, more than any other, delight in public shows: that none seemed to take a sincere interest in it but those in power, or who were immediately benefited by the existing order of things; and that the lowest classes made merry, and danced, apparently from no other motive than because they found themselves supplied, free of expense, with the means of indulging in their favorite recreations.

To put the seal to this transaction, and to stamp it with still greater weight, the conservative senate, in pursuance of a former resolution, presented themselves in a body, on the 1st of December, at the palace of the Thuilleries, and their president, François de Neufchateau, addressed the emperor in a prolix and turgid complimentary oration, to which his imperial majesty replied:—

"I ascend the throne, to which the *unanimous* wishes of the senate, the people, and the army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted by the name of Great. From my youth, my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them, and I must add, here, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of the people. MY DESCENDANTS SHALL LONG PRESERVE THIS THRONE. In the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country—as magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and the confusion of social order, are only the result of the imbecility and uncertainty of princes. You, senators, whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors; be ever the props and first counsellors of that throne so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The tribunate having assisted at a similar solemnity, thus concluded this memorable event.

The session of the legislative body opened December the 26th, on which occasion, the members were assembled in extraordinary state, to receive the emperor, who was seated on a throne erected for the purpose; and, in his presence, an oath, in the following terms, was administered to each of the legislators, separately: "*I swear obedience to the constitutions of the empire, and fidelity to the emperor.*"

The emperor then rose, the legislators uncovered themselves, and his majesty addressed them as follows:—

"Deputies from the departments to the legislative body, and members of my council of state.—I am come, gentlemen, to preside at the open-

ing of your session. My anxious desire is to impress a more imposing and august character on your proceedings. Yes, princes, magistrates, soldiers, citizens, we have all of us, in the course we have to run, but one object—the interest of the country. If this throne, to which providence and the will of the nation have raised me, be dear in my eyes, it is because that throne can only defend and maintain the most sacred interests of the French people. Unsupported by a vigorous and paternal government, France would have still to fear those calamities by which she has been afflicted. The weakness of the supreme power is the deepest misfortune of nations. As a soldier, or first consul, I entertained but one thought—as emperor, I am influenced by no other—and that is, every thing which contributes to the prosperity of France. I have had the good fortune to illustrate France with victories, to consolidate her by treaties, to rescue her from civil broils, and to revive among her inhabitants the influence of morals, of social order, and of religion. Should death not surprise me in the midst of my labours, I fondly hope I may transmit to posterity a durable impression, that must serve as an example or reproach to my successors. The minister of the interior will submit to you a statement of the situation of the empire. The deputation from my council of state will present to you different objects that are to occupy the legislature. I have given instructions that there be laid before you the accounts which my ministers have given me of their respective departments; I am fully satisfied with the prosperous state of our finances; whatever may be the expenditure, it is covered by the revenue.—How extensive soever have been the preparations imposed upon us, by the exigencies of the war in which we are engaged, I call upon my people for no new sacrifice. It would have been highly gratifying to me, on so solemn an occasion, to see the blessings of peace diffused over the world; but the political principles of our enemies, their recent conduct towards Spain, but too strongly speak the difficulties that oppose it. I am not anxious to enlarge the territory of France, but to assert its integrity. I feel no ambition to exert a wider stretch of influence in Europe, but not to descend from that which I have acquired. *No state shall be incorporated with the empire*; but I shall not sacrifice my rights, or the ties which bind me to the states that I have created. In bestowing the crown upon me, the people entered into an engagement to exert every effort which circumstances may require, in order to preserve, unsullied, that splen-

dour which is necessary for their prosperity, and indispensable for their glory, as well as for mine. I am full of confidence in the energy of the nation, and in the sentiments it entertains for me; its dearest interests are the constant object of my solicitude.

“Deputies from the departments to the legislative body, tribunes, and members of my council of state. Your conduct, gentlemen, during the preceding session, the zeal with which you glow for your country, your attachment to my person, I hold as pledges of the assistance for which I call upon you, and which, I trust, I shall receive from you during the course of the present session.”

On the 31st, the annual report, on the state of the nation, was made to the legislative body.

This paper stated that the internal situation of France was what it was in the calmest times—every where the improvements of public and private property attested the progress of confidence and security—that all classes of the community, both military and civil, had testified their love of order, even during the absence of their immediate chiefs, (adverting to their attendance at the coronation)—that the sovereign pontiff had, from the banks of the Po. to those of the Seine, experienced a religious homage, the effect of attachment to the ancient doctrines, on the part of a people revering a sovereign raised to the throne by his *piety and virtues*—that the discovery of a plot, laid by an implacable enemy, had awakened the nation to her true interests, and taught her the value of hereditary power. After expatiating on the flourishing state of the empire, both at home and abroad, and construing, agreeably to their wishes, the dispositions of various other powers, this representation concluded with observing, that, “whatever might be the movements of England, the destinies of France were fixed: strong in her union, strong in her riches, and in the courage of her defenders, she would faithfully cultivate the alliance of her friends, and would not act so as either to deserve enemies, or to fear them. When England should be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the continent—when she should know that she had only to lose by a war without end or motives—when she should find that France would never accept any other conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens, and would never consent to leave to “her the right of breaking treaties at pleasure, by appropriating Malta, England will then have arrived at pacific sentiments.—Envy and hatred have but their day.”

CHAPTER VI.

Situation of the greater Part of Europe at this Period.—Disputes in the Empire of Germany, relative to the Equestrian Order.—Austria assumes the hereditary Dignity of Emperor.—Goree taken by the French, and recovered by the English.—Loss of the Apollo Frigate and her Convoy.—Mr. Addington's Administration terminates.—Mr. Pitt returns to the Office of Prime Minister.—Capture of Surinam by the British Force.—Unsuccessful Attempts on the French Flotilla.—Defeat of Admiral Linois.—Capture of the Spanish Treasure-ships.

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THE power of France, at this time, was very considerable. By the treaties of Luneville and Amiens, Switzerland, Lombardy, Holland, and Tuscany, were left in that state of dependent alliance with the French nation, that scarcely the appearance of right remained to Austria or Russia to question his conduct, if Bonaparte thought fit to annex them to his empire, separately, or altogether. With respect to Spain, and even Portugal, his power over those unfortunate countries seemed every day to be more confirmed and absolute. These states appeared to have been abandoned to his discretion by the treaty of Amiens; and if he did not take immediate possession of them, it was because he knew, that he could, at any time, effect this object, and that it would create less alarm among the other powers of Europe, to subjugate them gradually, by the various acts of intrigue and interference to which their weak governments but too much exposed them.

Notwithstanding this immensity of power, we have shown, in the preceding chapter, that the magnanimity of the Emperor of Russia did not slumber. In pressing for the execution of a treaty, which had for its objects the guarantee of the independence of Naples, and that of procuring an indemnity to the King of Sardinia for the loss of his dominions, he had at once increased the bitter enmity of the French ruler, and acquired the confidence and admiration of whatever yet remained independent in Europe, who saw, in this generous and noble conduct, a principle of action which might, at a future moment, check the strides towards universal monarchy of the restless Corsican. The fruits of the line of conduct which the Emperor Alexander had thus chosen, were perceptible in some uneasy movements on the part of France, and were not unuseful to the cause of England, as it occasioned the removal to Italy of many of those battalions which, stationed at Boulogne, were to form a part of the invading army destined to conquer Great Britain.

At the commencement of the year 1804, Austria appeared actively employed in repairing the losses which her armies had sustained in the

late war, and in placing her military establishments on the best possible footing. The Germanic empire had, at this period, been for some time agitated, in consequence of some very arbitrary measures resorted to by the Elector of Bavaria, to oppress the equestrian order in his territories in Franconia, acquired by the indemnities. That body, considering itself under the immediate protection of the head of the empire, appealed to the Emperor of Germany, who immediately interfered, and sent a most dignified and energetic remonstrance, in the capacity of its supreme chief, to the court of Munich; and also, at the same time, assured the equestrian order of his support, by ulterior means, against the elector. There could be little doubt but that, in this proceeding, the elector had either been secretly stimulated by France, or else had relied, with confidence, on the support of that power in any aggressive project he might form, which should tend to the diminution of the influence of Austria; but, to his utter disappointment and mortification, a short period had only elapsed, after the delivery of the imperial declaration in favor of the order, when the French ambassador to the Bavarian government expressed the displeasure of the first consul at the conduct of the elector towards the head of the German empire; which, of course, terminated the affair. In the whole of this transaction, as well as upon the seizure of Oberhaus by the Bavarian troops, which occurred the year before, Austria evinced a sufficient share of energy and decision, to convince France, that her spirit was not so broken, nor her consequence at so low an ebb, as to allow herself to be insulted with impunity. Bonaparte had, in these instances, certainly endeavoured to ascertain how far that power would bear the attempt to diminish her weight and consequence in the Germanic body, without having recourse to the chances of war in their vindication. The result of the experiment served to convince him, that there was a line of aggression which he must not pass, so long as he should think it prudent to continue at peace with Austria.

Though great was the animosity which existed between the courts of St. Peterburgh and Ver-

sailles after the much-lamented fate of the Duc d'Enghien, yet Russia and France were too remote from each other for an immediate commencement of hostilities. While the latter power was engaged in war with England, it was impossible that her navy could act against that of the emperor; nor had Russia, unallied with some intermediate power, the means of conveying troops sufficient to make any impression on the compact mass of the French territory. The year, therefore, was passed by both powers in making warlike preparations, and in the increase of their military establishments. Prussia still seemed warm in the interest of France, and Austria maintained a strict and guarded neutrality.

The assumption of the imperial dignity by Bonaparte, gave a new interest to the political concerns of Europe. As soon as that event was notified to the court of Vienna, the Emperor of Germany resolved, immediately, upon conferring the hereditary dignity of emperor upon the house of Austria. The patent for the purpose stated the object of this measure to be, "the preservation of that degree of equality which should subsist between the great powers, and the just rank of the house and state of Austria among the nations of Europe. As the emperor and the Germanic body had acquiesced, with scarcely an exception, in the increase of title in the French ruler; so, on the other hand, did the self-appointed Emperor of France offer no opposition to the Austrian house assuming the same hereditary dignity. The measure in itself, indeed, appeared indifferent in the eyes of all the sovereigns of Europe, except the King of Sweden, who presented a note thereon, at Ratisbon, declaring, "that he considered it as a matter that ought to be seriously weighed and discussed at the diet there sitting, and not as the subject of a verbal communication by the Austrian minister." But this step, however, excited some uneasiness in the political circles of almost every country in Europe, as it appeared to be an act undertaken in concert with France: that this mutual assumption of title was the fruit of a perfectly good understanding between these powers, and many feared, that there was still a farther connection between them; a conjecture not disproved by any event which took place within this year. The French journals even insinuated, that Austria was extremely jealous of the preponderant influence Russia had gained over the councils of the Porte, and of her approach to Dalmatia, by the occupation of Corfu.

But the power, in Europe, which was most undisguisedly hostile to the French government, was the King of Sweden. All his notes on the subject of the German empire, of what nature soever, teemed with expressions of the utmost severity against France and her upstart emperor.

In the spirit of retaliation, Bonaparte thought proper to have inserted, in his official public paper, the *Moniteur*, an article of the most offensive and galling nature to the feelings of that monarch. It treated, with the utmost contempt, those notes which the King of Sweden wrote, with so much precipitation, "as he travelled post through the different states of Germany;" it ridiculed his travels, and affected to consider his Swedish majesty as a very weak young man, deficient both in understanding and experience; it upbraided him with shamefully deserting the German empire, of which he now boasted he was the guarantee, and with the making a separate peace for himself; it concluded by declaring, that France considered both him and all his movements as unworthy of her attention. A personal attack of this nature, inserted in a journal of authority, could not fail of irritating the Swedish monarch to the greatest degree: he immediately ordered a note to be presented to the French *chargé d'affaires*, at Stockholm, announcing, that, after an insult of that nature, all intercourse must cease between the French legation and the Swedish government; and declaring the offensive expressions in the *Moniteur* to be "the improper, insolent, and ridiculous observations which *Monsieur* Napoleon Bonaparte allowed to be inserted in his journal." After a transaction of such a nature, it was evident that Sweden, as well as Russia, was prepared, the first opportunity which presented any prospect of success, to commence hostilities with Bonaparte.

The want of decision and energy in the councils of the British empire, at the commencement of the present year, had produced a considerable degree of torpor and despondency in the public mind. On the part of England, the war with France had assumed no decisive character; and its immense resources seemed entirely absorbed in providing means of defence against the threatened invasion. On the capture of a few ill-defended French and Dutch West India settlements, it appeared as if the energies of the country could go no farther, or make the slightest attempt to shake or produce any impression upon the vast mass of territory and power acquired by her ambitious and encroaching rival.—While, on the contrary, the ruler of the French, although he appeared unceasingly engaged in securing advantages in Italy and Germany, much more than equivalent to any which England could gain in colonial warfare, yet pursued with unremitting exertion the equipment of his armament at Boulogne, which at once menaced the country with invasion, and obliged the English to confine within their own islands, for home defence, a considerable portion of that army which might otherwise have been employed in foreign service. It was in vain that the British government at-

tempted to raise the hopes of the nation at home, or gain respect abroad, by suggesting the probability of coalitions being formed on the continent against France. Unfortunately, however, for such views, the grounds which Mr. Addington's administration had assumed on commencing hostilities, were fatal to any rational hope of continental co-operation. The objects which were known to govern Great Britain on that measure, were such as totally disconnected her interests from those of the other European powers. In the king's declaration, indeed, some stress had been laid upon the usurpations of Bonaparte, and his attacks upon the liberties of other nations, but a long period of acquiescence to those arbitrary measures, had sufficiently proved that they would still have been submitted to, if France had consented to have left Malta in the possession of England. To Austria and Prussia it was, indeed, matter of indifference in whose hands that island remained; but with Russia the case was different: that power had views of her own upon Malta, and certainly could not but see, with displeasure, the determination of Great Britain on its retention. It, therefore, was not matter of surprise, that England should have begun the war, and hitherto continued it, without a single ally, or the possibility of acquiring one, if the restless violence of Bonaparte did not compel the greater powers of Europe into a system of common defence against his encroachments.

The first military operations of any consequence which occurred in the course of the year, was the capture of the English settlement of Goree, on the coast of Africa, by a small French force, under the command of the Chevalier Mahé, which effected a landing on the rocks to the east side of the town, where the surf raged with the least violence, on the morning of the 18th of January: and having overcome the small force which Colonel Frazer, the commandant, had posted there, succeeded in penetrating through the town, and in surprising the main guard, of which he gained possession, though with some loss, and in the course of the day reduced Colonel Frazer to the necessity of capitulating; the force of the English being reduced to twenty-five white men, and that of the enemy being considerably augmented by the landing of the whole strength of the expedition, which had been fitted out at Cayenne for this purpose. This conquest, however, did not long remain in the hands of the enemy. On the 7th of the March following, Captain Dixon, of his majesty's frigate *Inconstant*, with a store-ship and some sloops under his command, having arrived off the island of Goree, and suspecting the settlement to be in the hands of the enemy, dispatched his first lieutenant to ascertain the fact: who not returning, nor making the signal agreed upon, Captain Dixon commenced hostilities by cutting out a ship

in the harbour, and stationing his small force in such a position as to cut off all succours from Senegal. On the following morning, as he was preparing to attack the town, he was agreeably surprised to see the English colours hoisted over the French, and shortly after received information that the garrison had capitulated to the officer sent on shore! He consequently stood into the harbour, anchored, and disembarked a sufficient number of troops to secure his conquest.—Thus was the settlement recaptured, and 300 black and white troops made prisoners, without a blow being struck.

Early in spring, a most heavy calamity occurred, in the loss of the *Apollo* frigate, of 38 guns, Captain Dixon, and the greater part of her convoy, off Cape Mondego, on the coast of Portugal. She had sailed from the Cove of Cork, in company with his majesty's ship *Carysfort*, and sixty-nine sail of merchantmen, bound for the West Indies, on the 26th of March. On the 2d of April, the *Apollo* and her convoy went on shore, and with difficulty twenty-nine of the latter were saved, and proceeded with the *Carysfort* frigate on their voyage.

The loss to England was, that of a fine frigate, her captain, many of her officers, and sixty of her crew, with forty sail of merchant ships, richly laden, and more than 500 seamen. The cause of this disastrous event was never ascertained.

It having been declared, that the safety of England required the formation of a more efficient government, Mr. Addington, instead of attempting a fruitless resistance against the three parties now united, viz. Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Fox, very wisely gave in his resignation. The following were the new arrangements which took place.

Mr. Pitt, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, vice Mr. Addington.

Lord Melville (late Mr. Dundas) first lord of the Admiralty, vice the Earl of St. Vincent.

Lord Harrowby, secretary of state for foreign affairs, vice Lord Hawkesbury.

Earl of Camden, secretary of state for the department of war and the colonies, vice Lord Hobart.

And Lord Mulgrave, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster (with a seat in the cabinet) vice Lord Pelham.

Of Mr. Addington's administration, the following cabinet-ministers retained their several situations in the government formed by Mr. Pitt, viz.

The Duke of Portland, president of the council.

Lord Eldon, lord-chancellor.

Earl of Westmorland, lord-privy-seal.

Earl of Chatham, master-general of the ordnance. And

Lord Castlereagh, president of the board of control.

Lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state for foreign affairs, under the late minister, also adhered to the present, but his office was changed to the home department, vice Mr. Yorke.

The government of Ireland continued unchanged, with the exception of Mr. Wickham, chief secretary, who retired, from ill health, and was succeeded by Sir Evan Nepean. Nor were there any changes made in the law departments of either country.

The alteration in the different public offices were as follow:

The Right Hon. W. Dundas, secretary at war, vice Mr. Bragge.

Right Hon. George Canning, treasurer of the navy, vice Mr. Tierney.

Right Hon. G. Rose	} Joint paymasters of the forces, vice	{ Mr. Steele, Mr. Hiley Addington.
Right Hon. Lord C. Somerset,		

Duke of Montrose, joint paymaster-general, vice Lord Auckland.

William Huskisson, esq.	} Secretaries to the treasury, vice	{ Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Sargent.
William Sturges Bourne, esq.		

With various changes in the high offices in the king and queen's household.

Mr. Pitt was gazetted on the 12th of May, and on the 15th his accession to the office of prime-minister gave the country a new naval administration. At this period, the situation of the British marine was, indeed, critical. The total want of stores, the neglected state of the dock-yards, and the universal dissatisfaction which pervaded both its civil and military departments, called loudly for new men and new measures. True it is, that the perseverance and unshaken spirit of loyalty in that service, gave just cause for national exultation; and the blockading system was still continued by those, whose shattered ships and worn-out crews hardly enabled them to obey orders, which, when executed, could neither add to their own renown nor to the advantage of the nation. But deep and loud murmurs daily broke forth at the instances which occurred of the inefficiency of that measure, which nearly two years' experience had completely exposed; while, from the abandonment of the gun-boat armament, the enemy sailed along his own coast in perfect security, (with the exception of the capture of two or three of his vessels, which boisterous weather had driven into deep water,) and assembled his immense flotilla, destined for the invasion, at Boulogne, in defiance of the sort of force which the admiralty had confidently boasted was the only class proper to be effectively employed on such service. Scarcely a wind that blew that did not bring an account of losses at sea, originating in

want of judgment. In fine, an opinion universally prevailed, that the very existence of the British navy depended upon a speedy change of the admiralty.

A perfect knowledge of the weakness of this branch of the government, induced Mr. Pitt here to direct his principal attack, and may be assigned as one of the means which enabled him, eventually, to overthrow Mr. Addington's administration. Under the circumstances of unparalleled difficulty in which the naval affairs were situated, it certainly was matter of the utmost moment to place at their head a successor to the Earl of St. Vincent, who should, at once, be able and popular, and possess sufficient talents to restore them to the prosperous condition in which they had been left by Earl Spencer. The appointment of Lord Melville (heretofore Mr. Dundas) as first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, appeared, therefore, utterly strange and unaccountable, as it was well known, that although as a statesman he had filled almost every high office under the various administrations of this country for the last twenty years, he was utterly unqualified, by his total ignorance of naval matters, for his proposed situation. Whether this nomination arose from the want of some other person, of sufficient abilities, in the narrow circle of Mr. Pitt's political adherents to occupy so important a trust, or, that it was his lordship's own ambition, certain it is, it at the time was predicted (and which subsequent events but too fatally proved) one, not founded in judgment, nor likely to revive the drooping laurels of the favorite service of the country.

On the 16th of May, an unsuccessful attempt was made by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, in the *Antelope* frigate, and some sloops of war, to prevent the junction of the enemy's flotilla from Flushing with that at Ostend. The failure of success principally arose from the want of gun-boats, which, from the depth of water in which these vessels move, could alone act against the enemy with effect. Fifty-nine sail of the Flushing division reached Ostend in safety, and the English force, on the falling of the tide, were obliged to haul off into deep water, after being nearly a whole day engaged, and the loss of about fifty men in killed and wounded.

Intelligence of a far more flattering nature was received by the British government on the 22d of June, in dispatches from the commander-in-chief of the land and sea service in the Leeward Islands, announcing the capture of the Dutch colony of Surinam, with very little loss on the part of his majesty's troops. This expedition sailed from Barbadoes, under the command of Major-general Sir Charles Green, and Commodore Samuel Hood, who hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Centaur*. On the 25th fol-

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lowing, the squadron came to anchor about ten miles off the mouth of the river Surinam. On the next day a corps of 600 men, under the command of Brigadier-general Maitland, was detached to effect a landing at the Warappa creek, about ten leagues to the eastward of the Surinam river, where the enemy occupied a post. The same day Brigadier-general Hughes, with the 64th regiment, took possession of Braam's Point, after some slight resistance from the fort which defends the entrance of the river Surinam, and on that and the following day the greater part of the fleet anchored in the river. The Dutch governor being now summoned, after some short delay, refused to capitulate. On the 29th it was determined to send 200 soldiers and seamen, under Brigadier-general Hughes, to try for a practicable rout through the woods, to come in the rear of the forts Leyden and Frederici, which formidable defences of the river it was considered unadvisable to attack in front. Accordingly, about eleven at night, this force landed at Resolution Plantation, and proceeded, led by negro guides. After a most laborious march, of nearly five hours, by paths always difficult, but then almost impassable, in consequence of the great quantity of rain which had fallen, the detachment arrived in the rear of the Frederici battery, which was immediately assaulted and taken, the enemy flying to Fort Leyden, first setting fire to the powder magazine, by which a few British officers and men were severely wounded. A repetition of the same gallantry at Fort Leyden was attended with similar success. The success of Brigadier-general Maitland's division, in effecting a landing at the Warappa creek, was equally complete. By these operations the junction between the latter corps and the main army could always be effected, and the command of the finest part of the colony was secured. On the 3d of May, Brigadier-general Maitland, having overcome every obstacle, came up the Commewine river, and was reinforced by a detachment from the main body. On the next day he advanced through a wood, and approached fort New Amsterdam, situated on the confluence of the Surinam and Commewine rivers, and defended by eighty pieces of ordnance, but which formed the last defence of the settlement. When on the point of investing the fortress on every side, a flag of truce arrived from the commander-in-chief of the Batavian troops, with proposals to surrender on terms of capitulation, which, after some modifications, were agreed to, and fort New Amsterdam was taken possession of the same evening, and with it the whole of the colony, of which, General Green said, "the inhabitants seemed greatly to rejoice at the event which had taken place, restoring them to the powerful protection of the British government, and the solid advantages arising therefrom."

On this occasion there likewise fell into the hands of the captors, the *Proserpine* frigate, of 32 guns, and the *Pylades* sloop of war, of 18; the quantity of ammunition, ordnance, and stores taken, was immense. The loss of the English force on this occasion did not amount, in killed and wounded, to more than sixty men, whilst the prisoners taken, (navy included) exclusive of staff and departments, exceeded 2,000. In this affair, the only conquest Britain had to boast over the enemy within the year, the valor and perseverance of her soldiers and sailors were eminently conspicuous.

In the month of August, an attempt was made on that part of the French flotilla which lay at anchor in the road of Boulogne, by Captain Owen, of the *Immortalité* frigate, and the sloops of war and cutters under his command, but with slender success. And on the 24th of July, and 2d of August, Captain Oliver, of the *Melpomene*, was equally unfortunate in his attempt upon the enemy's vessels in Havre Pier: some damage, however, was done to the town, by the shells and carcasses thrown into it on that occasion.

In consequence of Admiral Rainier's ignorance of the re-commencement of hostilities, the French admiral, Linois, having escaped from the roads of Pondicherry, carried on a predatory warfare against the English commerce and possessions in that part of the globe, to a considerable extent. Not only had he, in the *Marengo* line-of-battle ship, of 84 guns, and some frigates, captured several of the East India Company's ships, and others of the private trade, but he had also made a successful descent on Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen) and plundered the settlement. Flushed with his uninterrupted success, and in consequence of a pre-concerted project of the French government, he now determined on a bolder game. About the beginning of 1804 he cruized with his whole force in the Indian Seas, near the entrance of the Streights of Molacca, with an intention of capturing or destroying, at a single blow, the whole of the homeward-bound China fleet. In this measure, sufficiently well concerted, were his courage equal to his views, severe indeed would have been the consequence to Great Britain.

An official letter from Captain Dance, who acted as commodore, dated the 6th of August, to the court of directors of the East India company, announced his defeat of the French squadron, which had lain in wait for him, and doubtless considered him an easy and certain prey. On the 5th of February, the fleet under his command, as senior captain, consisting of fifteen company's ships from China, twelve country ships, a Portuguese East Indiaman, and a fast-sailing brig, (destined to execute the orders of the commodore till he had passed the Streights of Malacca,) passed Macao Roads, on the night of the 5th of February, when the Portuguese vessel, and one of

the company's ships, the *Rolla*, parted company and never joined the fleet again. On the 14th the signal was made by the headmost ship, of four strange sail in the south-west, which, upon reconnoitring, were perceived to be an enemy's squadron, consisting of a line of battle ship, three frigates, and a brig. The signal was immediately made, by the intrepid commodore, for his fleet to form a line of battle in close order. At sun-set the enemy was close up with the rear of the company's ships, and an immediate action was supposed inevitable. The country ships were then placed by the commodore on the lee-bow, for their more perfect protection. At day-break on the 15th, the enemy was three miles to windward, lying-to; at this moment both fleets hoisted their respective colours, when the French displayed a rear-admiral's flag, and battle was offered to him by the English, if he chose to accept the challenge. At one in the afternoon, Commodore Dance, not wishing to wait an attack, and fearful that his rear might be cut off, executed a bold and gallant manœuvre, which decided the fate of the day. He made the signal to tack and bear down on the French line, and engage them in succession. This order being correctly performed, the company's fleet bore down upon the enemy, under a press of sail. Admiral Linois then closed his line, and opened his fire upon the headmost of the English ships, which was not returned by them till a nearer approach, but before the three leading-ships of the latter could get well into action, the enemy's squadron hauled their wind and stood away to the eastward, under all the sail they could set. At two the commodore made the signal for a general chase, and pursued his dastardly antagonists for two hours. Thus did the intrepid valour of a handful of British merchant ships, and the gallantry and presence of mind of Captain Dance, of the East India company's service, bring to action and put to flight a French admiral, commanding ships of war superior in force and in men, to the indelible disgrace of the French navy, and the immortal honor of the British name. Nor should it be forgotten, that the property, so rescued from the insatiate gripe of France, was estimated at a million and a half sterling! On the arrival of Commodore Dance in England with his fleet, rewards were distributed, with an unsparing hand, by the East India company, to the various commanders and their brave crews; the wounded, and the representatives of the few killed in the action, were nobly remunerated; and, to crown the whole, the gallant captain (afterwards Sir Nathaniel) Dance, received the honor of knighthood at his majesty's hands.

Towards the latter end of the year a great proportion of the enemy's flotilla having assembled in safety and in considerable force at Boulogne,

the alarm of invasion universally prevailed. It was at this period, that a project for its destruction was set on foot, of the success of which the greatest hopes were entertained, as it was well known, that Mr. Pitt and the first lord of the admiralty had given it their entire approbation, and that the partizans of the government anticipated a result which should at once confound the designs of France, and establish the superiority of the present naval administration over their predecessors in office.

This plan was one which, to every experienced naval officer, appeared open to the severest animadversion. It was principally to be carried into effect through the medium of copper vessels, of an oblong form, containing a quantity of combustibles, and so constructed as to explode in a given time, by means of clock-work. These vessels were to be towed and fastened under the bottoms of the enemy's gun-boats, by a small raft, rowed by one man, who being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly escape detection in a dark night. Fire-ships, of different construction, were also to be employed in this projected attack. The most active and enterprising officers were distributed in the different explosion vessels, and the whole put under the orders and direction of Admiral Lord Keith, commanding in the Downs, who was to cover the smaller force with his powerful squadron. The appearance of 150 of the enemy's flotilla on the outside of the pier of Boulogne, determined the moment of attack, and an early day in October was fixed upon for this important operation. It is not easy to describe the mingled sensation of anxiety and confidence, which the length of time, and the extent of the preparation for this enterprise had created in the public mind. The latter, however, far predominated, and was confirmed by the rumours which were industriously spread, that the first lord of the admiralty would himself superintend the execution of his plan, and that Mr. Pitt and other of the ministers were to be witnesses of its success from the elevation of Walmer castle. To such a pitch had this infatuation risen, that accounts in the public papers were published, on the first moment it was possible that the issue of the contest could be known in the metropolis, announcing, in the most enthusiastic and exaggerated terms, its complete success, in the utter destruction of 150 of the enemy's ships (the whole number on the outside of the pier) and congratulating the country on the acquisition of such a naval minister as Lord Melville, for whom they claimed the whole merit of the plan, and no small share of that of its execution! The joy and exultation to which those fabrications, (which were, doubtless, written in anticipation of the event) gave birth, were lowered gradually by the non-appearance of official statements; and when Lord Keith's account ap-

peared some few days afterwards, totally subsided, and gave way to sentiments of a very opposite nature.

On the 2d of October, Admiral Lord Keith, with his formidable fleet, anchored at about a league and half from the north to the west of the port of Boulogne. In the course of the day, a sufficient force was thence detached to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, and to give protection to wounded men, or to boats which might be crippled; or, should the wind freshen, and blow in shore, to tow off the boats in general. While these preparations were going forward, the enemy was not inattentive or negligent in preparing his defences: the batteries were prepared, and the army drawn up in readiness for what might happen. At a quarter past nine, under a heavy fire from the advanced force, and which was returned by a tremendous one from the shore, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched. As they approached the French line, the vessels of the flotilla opened to let them through, and so effectually were they avoided, that they passed to the rear of the line without falling on board of any one of them.

At half-past ten the first explosion-ship blew up; it produced an immense column of fire; its wreck spread far and wide, but not the slightest mischief was done either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth, succeeded no better: at length, after twelve had been exploded, the engagement ceased about four o'clock on the following morning; and the English smaller vessels withdrew in perfect order, and without the loss of a man. No mischief whatever was ascertained to be done to the flotilla, but, from the missing two brigs and some smaller vessels in their line, the next day, Lord Keith thought it possible they might be destroyed. The French reports acknowledged the loss of twenty-five men in killed and wounded. Thus terminated, to the confusion of the projectors, and the bitter disappointment of the public, an enterprize, in the preparation of which much time, expence, and ingenuity were wasted, and which fully committed the reputation of the government of the country to derision and contempt, both at home and abroad.

The invention on which so much reliance had been placed was not new: it had been experimented during the American war, by the rebel force against some English ships, in situations much more calculated to secure success to such a mode of attack than those at Boulogne, and had completely failed. It evinced, therefore, a great absence of common knowledge, as well as of professional information in the admiralty, to countenance, for a moment, this base and contemptible species of warfare, which henceforward was, in

derision, termed "The CATAMARAN PROJECT," and which most deservedly fell into utter discredit after the first attempt had been made; nor were the public surprised or disappointed when a subsequent attack, by the same means, upon Fort Rouge, and the flotilla protected by it, in the harbour of Calais, was thoroughly unsuccessful. The public were now divided in sentiment, whether "The Stone Expedition" of the last year, or "The Catamaran" of the present, had more imposed upon their credulity, or were more deserving of reprobation. But it was recollected, that the latter was planned under the auspices of a man utterly ignorant of nautical affairs, whilst the former had its origin under those of one of the first naval characters of the age.

It is by no means necessary to detail some further attempts which were made, late in the year, by Captains Owen and Hancock, to prevent the junction of various portions of the enemy's flotilla at Boulogne, by the British cruisers, as they were attended with little or no remarkable success. In those efforts, the usual gallantry of the English character was uniformly, though unsuccessfully displayed, and many valuable lives were fruitlessly sacrificed.

The last transaction of the year which we have to notice, was the attack upon, and capture of, the Spanish homeward-bound treasure-ships, which was effected by Captain Moore, of the *Indefatigable*, and three other frigates under his command, off Cadiz. On the 5th of October, Captain Moore, who had been detached from the channel fleet for the purpose, fell in with four large Spanish frigates, which, upon being hailed (to induce them to shorten sail) without effect, were fired upon by the English force. A parley then ensued, when Captain Moore informed the Spanish rear-admiral, that he had orders to detain his squadron, and earnestly wished to execute them without blood-shed, but that his determination must be immediate. The officer dispatched on this message returning with an unsatisfactory answer, an engagement immediately ensued, each of the English frigates taking an antagonist. In less than ten minutes, one of the enemy's frigates blew up with a tremendous explosion. In half an hour more, two more of the Spaniards surrendered, and the fourth, after an attempt to escape, was captured long before sunset. The loss, on the part of the English squadron, was very trifling; that of the Spaniards was (independently of 240 lives lost by the explosion of the frigate) nearly 100 in killed and wounded. The ships thus captured were conveyed to England in perfect safety, and their lading was found to be of immense value, in coined and uncoined gold and silver, and precious merchandize, the produce of Spanish America.

A most melancholy circumstance took place

in consequence of the explosion of the Mercedes, one of the Spanish squadron. In it was embarked a native of Spain, who was returning from America with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons. The daughters were beautiful and amiable women, the sons grown up to manhood. With such a family and a large fortune, the gradual savings of twenty-five years industry, did this unhappy man embark for his native country. A short time before the action began, he, with one of his sons, went on board the largest of the ships, and in a few minutes became the spectator of his wife, his daughters, four of his sons, and all his treasure, surrounded with flames, and sinking in the abyss

of the ocean. This victim of almost unheard-of calamity, arrived at Plymouth, with the only remains of so many blessings, in Captain Moore's cabin, who was unceasing in his endeavours to administer all in his power towards the alleviation of his sufferings.

The justice of this procedure was called in question by many, since it took place before any formal declaration of war against Spain. To vindicate this conduct, it was said, that these vessels were only kept as hostages till Spain should give a satisfactory account of her formidable preparations, and the carnage on this occasion was charged to the account of the Spanish commander.

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CHAPTER VII.

Spain declares War against England.—Animosity of the French Emperor.—His Letter to the King of Great Britain.—The Reply, and consequent Anger, of Bonaparte.—Preparations for the Invasion of England.—Bonaparte's Journey to Milan, where he is crowned King of Italy.—Genoa annexed to France.—Return of Bonaparte to Paris.—Treaty between Great Britain and Russia.—Accession of Austria and Sweden.—Remonstrances against the French Encroachments.—The French Emperor abandons his Project of invading England.—His Preparations for destroying the Combination formed against him.—Conduct of Austria towards Bavaria.—Bonaparte leaves Paris, and puts himself at the Head of his Army.

THE seizure of the Spanish treasure-ships immediately produced war between England and Spain. This act could easily have admitted of explanation and satisfaction; but the Spanish government demanded neither. Totally influenced and controlled by France, who was exasperated in the highest degree at seeing her prey snatched from her grasp; in obedience to her command, she issued a declaration of war against England, Dec. 12. The Spanish manifesto allowed, in its onset, "the extreme difficulty of Spain or Holland avoiding a war with the enemies of France, when the connections with the latter power were considered—" and rested the propriety of the conduct of the court of Madrid on an implied promise, if not an actual convention, that its neutrality should be strictly observed and respected by England, upon certain conditions, which it asserted and declared Spain had adhered to rigorously. To support this reasoning, the only fact adduced was, that Mr. Frere, in one of his notes declared, that his Britannic majesty wished, as long as possible, to suspend the period of hostilities, if certain conditions were adhered to; that Spain strictly observed them, and that, therefore,

the British government was bound, by their own declaration, not to commence hostilities. These grounds for defending the Spanish declaration of war, were, it must be confessed, extremely narrow.

On the other hand, the British government positively denied that any such convention or declaration ever existed. That there was no system of public law which could countenance the principle, that the mere implied or constructive promise of an existing administration, at home, should have the power to bind every succeeding government to acquiesce in a conduct of actual hostility, carried on by a third power, under the name of neutrality. That the order to detain the treasure-ships was justified by the information then received; and that the execution of it was rather in the nature of an embargo and a precautionary measure, which might admit of explanation and satisfaction, than one of actual hostility. And, finally, that the war so much complained of, was the act of Spain, her declaration being, in point of fact, the first unequivocal and irretrievable measure of hostility which took place between the two countries.

BOOK VI. Such were the material points of argument upon which the governments of Spain and Great Britain rested their justification.

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The subject was warmly debated in both houses of parliament, and wide differences of opinion undoubtedly existed as to the justice and equitable conduct of the administration throughout this transaction. A great majority, however, seemed to allow, that Great Britain had abundant cause of provocation, and that an absolute necessity existed for attacking Spain.

The unceasing jealousy and hatred of the French government towards that of England, were sufficiently manifested in this affair, but the sentiments of the French were never more strongly depicted than in Bonaparte's address to the members composing the legislative body of the nation, on the very last day of the year.

After informing this body, that however extensive the preparations for war had been, yet the flourishing condition of the country rendered it unnecessary to impose fresh burdens upon, or demand new sacrifices from, his people; it would have been grateful to him, he added, at so solemn an epoch, to see peace reigning throughout the world, but the political principles of their enemies, and their recent conduct towards Spain, sufficiently made known the difficulty of it. He had no ambition to exercise in Europe a greater influence, but he would not sink in that which he had acquired. *No state should be incorporated in the empire, but he would not sacrifice his rights, nor the ties that attached him to the states which he had created!*

In order, however, that neither his own subjects, nor those of the other sovereigns of Europe, should remain in ignorance of his sentiments, some short time after, he caused his legislature to be informed, through the medium of the proper functionary, (after dilating upon the strength, resources, and general prosperity of every part of the French empire, the valor of his troops, his confidence in the prowess of his navy, and the flourishing state of his finances,) that "whatever may be the movements of the English, the destiny of France is fixed. Strong in the riches and courage of its defenders, she will faithfully cultivate the alliance of friendly nations. France will neither merit enemies nor fear them. When England shall be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the continent, when she shall feel that she cannot but lose in a war, without motive or object, that *France will never accept of any other conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens*, and never will consent that she shall exercise the right of breaking, at pleasure, those treaties, by appropriating Malta to herself, then England will really obtain pacific sentiments,—hatred and envy exist but for a time."

Having thus laid down, with a tone sufficiently

confident and decisive, the only terms upon which he would accord peace to England, Bonaparte resolved to address his Britannic majesty personally, and in a letter written with his own hand, dated January 2, 1805, he deprecated the further continuance of a war, in the prosecution of which so much useless blood was shed, without any view or object whatever; he thought it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation, in a moment which afforded the most favorable opportunity to silence the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. He abjured his majesty not to deny himself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that delightful task to his children. He reminded the British monarch, that the latter had gained more, in the last ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe; that his country was at the highest pitch of prosperity, and could only hope to form another coalition of some powers upon the continent against France. But that the only effect of such a measure would be to increase the preponderance and continental greatness of that country. "Did England hope to renew the internal troubles of France, or destroy her finances, or deprive her of her colonies? A war would produce no such effects: the French were happy; a flourishing state of agriculture was the support of their finances, and the colonies were but a secondary object to France; besides, had not the King of England, at that moment, more than he knew how to preserve?" After some more reasoning of the same kind, this curious document concluded, in a high-wrought strain of pathetic expostulation, in the following words:—"If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive, that the war is without an object; without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect! To cause two nations to fight for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to exist in it; and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart."

It must be evident, that the ruler of France had little else in view, when making this extraordinary overture, than that of indulging himself in the exercise of an act of indecorous presumption, and the satisfaction of indulging himself in the assumption of that tone of equality, with his brother the King of Great Britain, to the use of which he considered himself entitled by his novel dignity of Emperor of the Gauls. Perhaps, too, he was not averse from the desire of appearing in the eyes of Europe as anxious for peace; and proposed to himself the taking great credit with the continent for the magnanimity of this offer,

while England, on the contrary, by listening to the overtures thus made, would render those powers, yet friendly towards her, shy, and suspicious of a closer connection; or if she rejected them, would appear that ruthless and unappeasable disturber of the general tranquillity, which was in truth the character of her wily opponent. Be that, however, as it may, it is observable, that, in this important state paper, there is no longer to be found that tone of arrogant superiority which characterised the language of the French government in the preceding year: no reference to the impossibility of England contending "single-handed" with France, nor any apparent wish to consider the former but as a powerful and equal rival.

Early in the month of February, this letter was communicated to the legislative body, by order of Bonaparte, together with the answer to it, written by one of the principal secretaries of state of the British government, and addressed to M. Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs. In this reply, to which it is impossible to refuse the character of dignity, temper, and moderation, Lord Mulgrave acknowledged, on the part of his Britannic majesty, the receipt of a letter from the head of the French government. That there was nothing nearer to the heart of his majesty, than the obtaining the blessings of peace for his people, provided that it were such as would secure it to them permanently, and guard the essential interests of his states; that this great end could only be obtained by arrangements which should also ensure the tranquillity of the rest of Europe. That, conformably to this sentiment, his majesty could not attend more particularly to the overture which had been made him, until he should have consulted the powers of the continent, with whom he was engaged in confidential connections and relations, more particularly with the court of St. Petersburg; and concluded with a well-merited eulogium upon the Emperor Alexander.

M. Segur, in presenting the above, introduced them with a speech, which plainly evinced that the French government was by no means pleased with the answer they had received. He denied the existence or the chance of a coalition on the continent of Europe against France; he asserted that Russia would not embark in a war merely to gratify England, and that the emperor had received the most unequivocal testimonies of the amicable dispositions of Austria and Prussia. In a word, that the hopes of England, in a third coalition, were vain and chimerical, and that "it only remained for French bravery to display its whole energy, and to triumph, at last, over that eternal enemy to the liberty of the seas and the repose of nations."

The two other great public bodies, the tribunate and the conservative senate, were also at this period separately addressed by the proper functionaries, to the same effect with the oration of M. Segur. Both contained only illustrations, corollaries, and amplifications of the same scheme and design, namely, the presenting a flattering picture of the French resources and government upon the one hand, and on the other, to falsify and discolour the truth, in every particular, connected with Great Britain and her continental allies. From the speech of M. Talleyrand, however, to the tribunate, it seemed that it was the wish of the French government, that this overture should be considered as yet open, and, that after Russia had been consulted, farther discussions, of an amicable nature, might take place. "The character that pervades this answer," said the orator, "is vague and indeterminate. One single idea only presents itself with some precision, that of having recourse to foreign powers, and this idea is by no means pacific; a superfluous interference ought not to be appealed to, if there be not a desire to embarrass the discussions and to render them endless. The ordinary consequence of all complicated negotiations is to weary out good intentions and to throw back nations into a war, become more furious from the vexation of an unsuccessful attempt at accommodation.—Nevertheless, on a question regarding a multitude of interests, and of passions which have never been in unison, we should not rest upon a single symptom. Time will soon develop to us the secret resolutions of the government of England. Should they be just and moderate, the calamities of war will cease: should, on the contrary, this first appearance of accommodation prove but a false light, intended only to answer speculations of credit; to facilitate a loan, the acquisition of money, purchases, or enterprises, then we shall know how far the dispositions of the enemy are implacable and obstinate; we shall have to banish all hope from a dangerous lure, and trust without reserve to the goodness of our cause, to the justice of Providence, and to the genius of the emperor."

Corresponding with the tone and temper of those angry ebullitions, the French official gazette at the same time published the speech of the King of England to his parliament, with a comment upon each paragraph, indicative of the same sentiments as had pervaded the orations. The whole of these manifestoes already alluded to, (for they can be considered in no other light than as such,) concluded with general denunciations of vengeance against the shores of Britain, which were threatened with immediate and irresistible invasion; and against its government, whose very existence was menaced by the exhaustion which

BOOK VI. the country must endure from a continuance of the present formidable posture of France, for ten years to come!

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But whatever were the views of the French emperor, in having thus extended the olive-branch, and his holding out to Europe that it was possible it might yet be accepted, it is certain, that no means were left unattempted by him, which could increase and consolidate his power, or annoy that enemy who could alone check his career and put bounds to his ambition. His flotilla, destined for the invasion of England, was hourly augmenting, and becoming more concentrated at Boulogne, the common place of rendezvous. Powerful batteries were erected for the protection of this flotilla, the numbers of which were truly formidable. The army destined for the same purpose, and encamped on the heights commanding the town and harbour of Boulogne, had now increased to upwards of 100,000 men, perfectly disciplined, under the command of the best officers of France, and constantly exercised in embarking and re-landing in and from the flotilla, with a view of perfecting them in the great object of their destination.

Although the French ruler had assumed the title of Emperor of the Gauls, respect for the form of government he had so recently established in the northern and middle provinces of Italy, induced him to forego, at the moment of his advancement to the imperial diadem, the personal sovereignty of that country, and which still therefore retained the name of "republic," of which Bonaparte was the nominal head.

The entire success, however, of the experiment which the emperor had tried upon the feelings of the French nation, and the acquiescence of the greater part of the European courts to the assumption of his new dignity, emboldened him, in the course of the present year, to extend his views of family aggrandizement, and the iron crown of Charlemagne was destined to circle the brows of Bonaparte. Policy, and the lust of conquest, had, no doubt, an equal share with ambition, in exciting him to seek this honor. The southern provinces, and fertile island of Sicily, operated upon the mind of the French emperor, who disguised his real intentions.

In affected compliance with the addresses sent from the various constituted authorities of the Italian republic, Bonaparte, accompanied by his empress, set off for Milan, where he arrived early in the month of May. Meetings were immediately convened, and the whole republic, at the feet of Bonaparte, humbly besought him to relieve them from the burden of governing themselves, and to take upon himself, and his heirs, the Italian diadem. To this flattering request the French emperor was not found inexorable;

and, on the 26th day of May, he added to his other titles that of "King of Italy." The coronation took place at Milan, with the utmost splendour, solemnity, pomp, and the most imposing magnificence. The emperor, seated on a superb throne, having on his right the honors of the empire, on the left the honors of Italy, and before him the honors of Charlemagne, was invested with the usual insignia of royalty by the cardinal archbishop, and finally ascending the altar, seized upon the celebrated iron crown there deposited, and placed it upon his head, saying, at the same time, with a loud voice, and in a tone of defiance, (it being a part of the ancient ceremonial on the enthroning of the Lombard kings) the remarkable words—" *Dieu me la donne; gare à qui la touche!*" (God gives it to me; beware those who touch it!)

After the ceremony, than which nothing could be more magnificent, a constitutional code, being the third which this country had received from France, was communicated to the states, and eagerly accepted by them. The most remarkable of its provisions were, the placing the regal authority solely in the person of Bonaparte, with the privilege of naming his successor; after which, however, the crown, with certain limitations, was to be hereditary. It was decreed that, hereafter, the monarch must constantly reside within the Italian States; but that, while the present king retained the crown of Italy, he might cause himself to be represented by a viceroy, who must, however, reside within the boundaries of the kingdom. After the death of Bonaparte, the kingdom of Italy must never again be vested in the same person with that of the French empire, but be entirely disparted and separated from it; and ample means were allowed and provided for the maintenance of the regal dignity, the endowment of the queen, and every other expense incident to the high station the country had placed in the hands of Napoleon, the first of that name, King of Italy.

Immediately after the promulgation of this body of laws, Prince Eugene, (Beauharnois) son-in-law to the new monarch, was appointed viceroy:—a new order of knighthood was instituted, that of "the iron crown," with considerable revenues attached to it; and the organization of the new kingdom was entirely arranged and completed.

By causing himself to be crowned King of Italy, the French emperor meant to strengthen his frontiers, and guard against his inveterate enemy, the King, or rather the Queen of Naples. He had now resolved to unite Genoa to his own territory; this also took place at Milan; on the 4th of June, the Doge of Genoa, in a full meeting of the great officers of state, intreated the French

emperor to grant the Genoese the happiness of being his subjects. He returned the following answer:—

“ I will realize your wish ; I will unite you to my great people. It will be to me a new means for rendering more efficacious the protection I have always loved to grant you. My people will receive you with pleasure. They know that, in all circumstances, you have assisted their arms with friendship, and have supported them with all your means. They find besides, with your ports, an increase of maritime power, which is necessary to them to sustain their lawful rights against the oppressors of the seas. You will find, in your union with my people, a continent. You have only ports and a marine. You will find a flag, which, whatever may be the pretensions of my enemies, I will maintain, on all the seas of the universe, constantly free from insult, and from search, and exempt from the right of blockade, which I will never recognize but for places really blockaded, as well by sea as by land. You will find yourselves sheltered under it from this shameful slavery, the existence of which I reluctantly suffer with respect to weaker nations, but from which I will always guarantee my subjects.”

Having arranged all his weighty affairs, he left Italy, and arrived at Paris on the 12th of August, from whence he repaired without delay to Boulogne, to organise his army and flotilla for the invasion of England. The *Moniteur* gave a long account of the splendour of his reception, from which the following is an extract:—

“ Seated on the throne of one of the kings of the first race, the emperor had on his right Prince Joseph, behind him the great officers of the crown; the ministers, marshals of the empire, and colonels-general, on each side; in front and on the steps were his majesty's aid-de-camps; and on benches at the foot of the throne were the counsellors of state, the generals from the interior on the right; and on the left the civil and religious functionaries; the space in the middle was occupied by the imperial guard, and the musicians on one side, and 2,000 drummers on the other; at its extremities were the grand staff of the army, and the general staff-officers of the camp. The emperor saw on his right the two camps and the batteries, the entrance of the port, and part of the roads; and on his left the port of Vimereux, and the coasts of England. In front of him advanced sixty battalions formed in twenty columns; still nearer the throne were platoons of legionaries of all ranks; the heights were occupied by twenty squadrons in battle array, and covered with an immense crowd of spectators, and the tents appointed for the ladies.

“ At noon the emperor left his hut, and a salute from all the batteries of the coast announced his arrival; on his appearance the drums began to

beat, and shouts of joy from the army and spectators marked his presence; the drums then beat a charge, and the different columns instantly closed their ranks.

“ All in their turn received the reward of honor from the hands of Bonaparte; the decorations were held up by several officers in the helmets and bucklers of the armour of Dugueselin and Bayard.

“ The emperor passed the evening in his hut, and all the legionaries were entertained at the tables of Prince Joseph; the minister at war, the minister of marine, Marshal Soult, and Admiral Bruix, in tents decorated in a military style, and the health of the emperor was drunk with enthusiasm amidst the report of all the artillery of the batteries on the coast.”

Such were the daily aggressions and increasing pretensions of the chief of the French, that laudable exertions were at length made to assert the independence of Europe, and set bounds to his ambition. On the 11th of April, a treaty of concert between the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Russia was signed at St. Petersburg, whereby, after observing that the state of suffering in which Europe was placed demanded speedy remedy, the contracting parties mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for further encroachments on the part of the French government. In this view, they agreed to employ the most prompt and efficacious means to form a general league of the states of Europe; and, in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by his Britannic majesty, might amount to 500,000 effective men, and to employ the same with energy, in order either to induce or to compel the French government to consent to the re-establishment of peace, and of the balance of Europe.

The objects proposed to be effected by this league were, the evacuation of the Hanoverian territory and the north of Germany; the establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland; the re-establishment of the King of Sardinia, in Piedmont, with as large an augmentation of territory as circumstances would permit; the future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces; the establishment of an order of things in Europe, which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.

His Britannic majesty engaged to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces, both by sea and land, as well as vessels for transporting troops in the general plan of operations,

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BOOK VI. and to assist the different powers by subsidies, which should correspond with the amount of their respective forces so employed.

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It was mutually agreed that, in the event of this league being formed, they would not make peace with France, but with the common consent of all the powers who should become parties to it.

Sweden and Austria had already entered into these views; however, no intention was manifested on the part of these powers to proceed to hostilities, until an attempt to attain, by negotiation, the objects of the concerted alliance had proved abortive; on the contrary, a Russian envoy (Baron Novosiltzoff) was nominated to negotiate with France, and had actually proceeded to Berlin, on his way to Paris, when the intelligence arrived of the annexation of Genoa to the French empire. Under this change of circumstances, he applied to his court for fresh instructions: the result was his immediate recal. But, before his departure, he addressed a note, dated the 10th of July, to Baron Hardenberg, the Prussian minister, which was communicated by him to M. la Forêt, the French resident at Berlin, explaining the cause of the interruption of his mission.

This was a signal to Austria formally to become a member of the league, and accordingly a treaty to that effect was signed on the 9th of August, by her plenipotentiary at St. Petersburg.

About the same period, a note was addressed, by the Austrian ambassador at Paris, to the French minister for foreign affairs, expressive of the anxious desire of his court to concur with the courts of London and St. Petersburg, in their endeavours to promote a general pacification, when the overtures to be made to the French government, by M. Novosiltzoff, were suddenly broken off, by the changes recently made in the condition of the republics of Genoa and Lucca. That these events still further urged the court of Vienna to recommend the renewal of measures of conciliation, in which she was willing to lend her most earnest assistance.

In reply to this note, it was observed, by M. Talleyrand, that, from the conduct of England and Russia, little hopes could be entertained of the sincerity of their pacific intentions; that Austria had it in her power to compel them to have recourse to what they professed; for neither of those powers could act with effect against France, without the co-operations of Austria or Prussia, and that the latter was the steady ally of France. It was asked, what reliance could be placed in these professions of Austria, when she continued to maintain an army of 72,000 men in Italy, whilst France had only 50,000 in that country, 15,000 of whom were stationed at the extremity of the kingdom of Naples? He then adverted

to the military preparations on foot in Poland, and in Italy, the evident result of combined operations. In this state of things, what other course had the Emperor of the French to adopt, than to anticipate his enemies? But if Austria would issue a declaration similar to that made by Prussia, and reduce her army in Italy and the Tyrol, and reduce her military force to the peace establishment, peace with England must ensue; the crowns of France and Italy should be separated for ever, and Europe would be indebted to the wisdom of Austria for her tranquillity and security; but a contrary conduct would precipitate Europe into a situation which could not be foreseen or calculated.

This was followed by another note from the French minister for foreign affairs, to the Austrian ambassador at Paris, wherein the former topics were repeated, terminating with the demand,

"That the twenty-one regiments which had been sent to the German and Italian Tyrol should be withdrawn, and that those troops only should remain in the said provinces which were there six months before.

"That the camp fortifications should be discontinued, including those at Venice.

"That the troops in Stiria, in Carinthia, in Friuli, and the Venetian territory, be reduced to the numbers at which they stood six months before. And

"That Austria declare to England her unshaken determination to preserve an exact neutrality."

On the 31st of August, a declaration was officially made, by the Russian ambassador at Vienna, the material substance of which was, that in compliance with the Austrian court, his majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, had resolved to accede to the request of renewing the negotiation for peace, which had been broken off, by the recal of M. Novosiltzoff, as soon as the head of the French government should assent thereto. And, as a measure of precaution, to cause two armies of 50,000 men each, to march to the Danube, in order to give weight to the negotiations, solemnly declaring, that it was his imperial majesty's intention to recal those troops as soon as the so much-desired security of all the states of Europe should be obtained.

To this succeeded a second note, from the court of Vienna to the French government, which was transmitted on the 3d of September, declaring, that "that power had no other view than that of maintaining peace and friendship with France, and of securing the general tranquillity of the continent; that the maintenance of peace did not consist solely in a forbearance from any positive attack; that it required the fulfilment of those treaties upon which peace had been founded.

"The peace existing between Austria and France originated with the treaty of Luneville; that treaty guaranteed the independence of the Italian, Helvetic, and Batavian republics; Austria had to complain that these stipulations were violated; that the maintenance of general tranquillity required, that each power should confine itself within its own frontiers, and respect the rights of other nations, whether weak or strong: in fine, France sets herself up as an arbitress to regulate the common interests of nations, and wishes to exclude every other state from taking any part in the maintenance of general tranquillity and the balance of power.

"The emperor had never ceased to demand the execution of the before-mentioned stipulations: however, the Emperor Napoleon, notwithstanding his frequent and solemn assurances, in his character of president of the Italian republic, that he was far from entertaining any plans for further aggrandisement, or of infringement on the independence of the Italian states, thought proper to assume the title of King of Italy, and to accompany this measure with threats and military preparations.

"This did not prevent the court of Austria from concurring in the pacific overtures made by Russia and England, but at the very moment when the requisite passports were transmitted to the negociator for that purpose, fresh attacks were made on the political existence of other independent states in Italy—an encampment of 30,000 men, in the plain of Marengo, was speedily followed by another of 40,000 on the frontiers of the Tyrol and the Austrian Venetian provinces.

"His majesty thus found himself under the necessity of providing, without delay, for his own safety. This was the cause of his present armament. The emperor armed not with hostile views; he armed not to operate a diversion against a landing in England; he armed for the maintenance of the peace existing between him and France, for those stipulations without which this peace would become illusory, and to attain that just equipoise which is calculated to secure the balance and permanent tranquillity of Europe."

This paper concluded with a declaration, that Austria was ready to enter into a negotiation, in conjunction with Russia, for maintaining the peace of the continent on the most moderate terms compatible with the general tranquillity and security; that whatever should be the issue of the negotiations, even should hostilities commence, they pledged themselves to abstain from every interference with the internal concerns of France, or to alter the state of the existing relations in the German empire, and to defend, to the utmost of their power, the integrity of the Ottoman Porte. And, finally, that the sentiments

of England were conformable to those expressed in the above paper.

Bonaparte, who had till now apparently devoted his entire attention to the maturing of his projects for the invasion of Great Britain, immediately, upon the receipt of this note, which was sufficiently explanatory of the intentions of Austria, resolved to march, without delay, his whole military force, in order to disperse and destroy the combination which he perceived was formed against him. Promptitude in his operations he considered the more necessary, inasmuch as the Russian troops, which were intended to co-operate in favor of Austria, had not yet passed their own frontier.

His first step was to reinforce his army in Italy; he then dismantled his flotilla at Boulogne; caused the major part of his troops in Holland and in Hanover, to march, by the most rapid movements and the most direct routes, to meet the Austrians, who were collected on the Danube, and 60,000 men were decreed to be raised, by conscription, to recruit the armies.

These measures were accompanied by a note, presented by the French minister to the diet of Ratisbon, stating, that the conduct of Austria menaced a new war; that that power had extended her territory on the right side of the Pavia, and made acquisitions in Swabia, subsequently to the treaty of Luneville, which had materially altered the relative situation of the neighbouring states of Germany; that the debt of Venice had remained undischarged, contrary to the spirit and the letter of the treaties of Campo Formio and of Luneville, and that the people of Milan and Mantua had, contrary to formal stipulations, been denied justice to their demands; that Austria had recognized the right of blockade arrogated by England; that the French emperor had evacuated Switzerland, and had kept in Italy only a sufficient number of troops to maintain the positions which they occupied at the extremity of the peninsula, in order to protect the commerce of the Levant, and to insure an object of compensation which might determine England and Russia to evacuate Corfu. That his operations had been solely directed to the re-establishment of the equilibrium of commerce, and the equal right of all flags upon the sea. For this purpose, he had collected his forces upon the borders of the ocean, far distant from the Austrian frontiers, and had employed all the resources of his empire to construct fleets, to form his marine and improve his ports; that, at this moment, Austria rose from a state of repose, placed her forces on the war establishment, sent one army into the states of Italy, and another into the Tyrol, made new levies of cavalry, formed magazines, strengthened her fortresses, terrified, by her preparations, the people of Bavaria, Swabia, and of Switzerland, and manifested an intention of making a diversion

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favorable to England, and more injurious to France than would be a direct campaign, and an open declaration of war. Austria professed that she had no hostile intention against France:—against whom then were these preparations directed? Were they against the Swiss? Were they against Bavaria? Or were they directed against the German empire itself? His majesty the Emperor of the French declared, that he would consider as a formal declaration of war against himself, every aggression against the German body, and especially against Bavaria; he would never separate the interests of his empire from those of the princes of Germany who were attached to him.

To this note Austria replied, “that, so far from causing any interruption to a general peace, that she had offered her mediation, which had been refused by France, but that France wished not for peace, for that situation was not peace, but more destructive than actual war, in which a single power, already too formidable by its greatness, continued alone armed, and was prevented by no opposition from occupying with its troops, and oppressing and subjecting one independent state after another.

“To put an end to this state of things was the true object of the arming on the part of Austria and Russia, and that the two courts were ready to prove the disinterestedness of their views, by entering into any negotiation founded on principles of justice and moderation, and that it became the more necessary to take active measures of precaution, as, from certain indications, it was apparent, that several princes of the frontier circles had been encouraged by France to take up arms against their emperor and co-estate, and to this end, that new engagements had been entered into inimical to those existing.”

A rupture now became inevitable, and several powers placed themselves in an attitude to meet hostilities. Bavaria, of whom strong suspicions were entertained, was summoned to incorporate her troops with the Austrian army, and the latter in full force passed the Inn early in the month of September, and endeavoured to enforce this command.

It must be acknowledged, that the Austrians acted with little circumspection towards Bavaria:

heavy exactions were made upon the country, the paper money of Vienna was forced into circulation at its nominal value, whilst it had fallen to a great discount at home. These proceedings were attempted to be justified on the ground of political necessity.

The Elector immediately retired from Munich to Wurtzburgh, and the Bavarian troops effected a retreat into Franconia.

On this intelligence, Bonaparte prepared to place himself at the head of his armies, which were already advanced upon their march; but, prior to his departure, he repaired, on the 23d of September, to the senate-house, and caused to be read to that body, an exposition of the comparative conduct of France and Austria, since the conclusion of the peace of Luneville. His earnest desire to have preserved the peace of the continent was therein expressed; the charges against England and Austria particularly were reiterated; and after observing upon the invasion of the Bavarian territories, it concluded with a solemn declaration, “that the Emperor of the French would never lay down his arms, until he had obtained full and entire satisfaction, and complete security, as well for his own estates as for those of his allies.”

At this sitting, the senate passed a decree for raising 80,000 additional conscripts. Bonaparte then informed the senators “that he was about to place himself at the head of his army, in order to succour his allies; that the war had already commenced, by the invasion of Bavaria, the Elector of which had actually been driven from his territories.” He exhorted the French people to support their Emperor in the present unprovoked war, and concluded his address in the following words:—“Frenchmen, your Emperor will do his duty, my soldiers will do theirs, you will do yours.”

Bonaparte, having appointed his brother Joseph to superintend the government during his absence, set out from Paris on the 24th of September, to place himself at the head of the army, and arrived at Strasburgh on the 26th: he was accompanied by the Empress Josephine, Marshal Berthier, and a numerous suite. On his arrival, he was received by the mayor of that town with the usual compliments.

CHAPTER VIII.

Route of the different French Corps to the Scene of Action.—Passage of the Rhine by the French Artillery.—Bonaparte's Proclamation and Address.—Strength of the Austrian Force.—The Austrian Army deceived by the French, and their adopted Measures consequently unavailing.—Success of the latter at Wertingen and Augsburg.—The Austrians defeated, and driven from Aicha.—Action at Guntzburgh.—The Archduke Ferdinand's Gallantry and ill Success.—His Retreat to Ulm.—Pursued by the French.—Memmingen surrounded and taken, by Marshal Soult.—Brave Conduct of Ferdinand.—His severe Loss.—Critical Situation of General Mack.—His great Error.—The City of Ulm completely invested by the French.—The Austrian Army surrender to Bonaparte's Summons.—Misconduct of General Mack.—Insolent Triumph of Bonaparte.—His judicious Decree.—The Austrian Prisoners sent to France, and the Fortifications of Ulm and Memmingen demolished.—Bonaparte proceeds to Munich.—Disposition of the French Army.—Passage of the Inn.—Brannau taken.—Progress of the French.—They cross the Ens.—Obstinate Action at Neustadt.—A Deputation from Vienna sue for Mercy.—Vienna taken without Opposition.—General Murat's Artifice.—Bonaparte enters Vienna.—Battles between the Russians and French.—Brunn taken, where Bonaparte receives a Deputation from Moravia.

THE French army, estimated at about 140,000 men, moved in six divisions to the scene of action: the first corps, under Marshal Bernadotte, commenced its march from Hanover, about the same time that the army set out from Boulogne, and reached Wurtzburgh, in Franconia, on the 23d of September, by the route of Gottingen and Frankfort. General Marmont proceeded from Holland to Mentz, at the head of the second corps, passed the Rhine at Cassel, and the third corps, commanded by Marshal Davoust, passed the Rhine, on the 26th, at Mannheim, and advanced by Heidelberg and Neckar-Eltz, on the Neckar. The fourth corps, under Marshal Soult, passed the Rhine on the same day, by a bridge thrown over it at Spire, and advanced towards Heilbrun, on the Neckar. Marshal Ney, with the fifth division, likewise crossed that river on the 26th, by a flying bridge opposite Durlach, and marched towards Stutgardt. The sixth corps, commanded by Marshal Lasnes, passed the Rhine on the 25th, at Kehl, and advanced towards Louisburgh.

Prince Murat, with the reserve of cavalry, likewise passed the Rhine at Kehl, and took a position in which he remained, during several days, before the defiles of the Black Forest, as it were to make the Austrians believe the French army meant to take that route.

On the 30th, the great park of artillery passed the Rhine, at the same place, and advanced upon Heilbrun.

The main body of this army being now on the German side of the Rhine, Bonaparte issued a

proclamation to his troops, wherein he stated, "that the third coalition had commenced; the Austrian army had passed the Inn; and, in violation of all treaties, had attacked and driven his ally from his capital. We will not stop," continued he, "until we have secured the independence of the Germanic body, relieved our allies, and confounded the pride of unjust assailants.—Our politics shall not again suffer by our generosity; for we will not make peace, without a guarantee for its execution. Soldiers! your emperor is in the midst of you. You are but the vanguard of the great nation; if it be necessary, it will in a moment rise, at my voice, to dissolve this new league, which British gold and hatred have woven. We have to expect privations and hardships of every description, but we will conquer every obstacle, and we will not rest, until we have planted our eagles on the territories of our enemies." Having left his court, accompanied by his staff, and a part of his guards, he crossed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 29th, to join the army. That night he passed at Ettlingen, where he received the compliments of the Elector and Princess of Baden; and the next day, he proceeded to Louisburgh, and took up his abode in the palace of the Elector of Wirtemberg.

On the same day the divisions of Marshal Bernadotte and General Marmont formed a junction with the Bavarians at Wurtzburgh, and commenced their march to the Danube. Marshal Davoust's corps marched from Neckar-Eltz, and pursued the route by Engelfinghen, Dunkels-

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buhl, Attingen, and Donawert. Marshal Soult, with his corps, took the route from Ochringen, Absegmund, Aalen, and Nordlingen. Marshal Ney, with his corps, marched from Stutgardt, and proceeded by Eppingen, Wissenstein, and Nahum; and Marshal Lasnes' corps broke up from Louisbourgh, and took the route by Plutershausen, Aalen, and Oodlingen. The position of the French army on the 4th of October, was as follows:—Marshal Bernadotte and the Bavarians were at Weisenburg; Marshal Davoust at Attingen, on the river Reinitz, Marshal Soult at Donawert, Marshal Ney at Kessingen, Marshal Lasnes at Neresheim, and Murat, with his cavalry, on the borders of the Danube.

On the other hand, the Austrian army, consisting of between eighty and ninety thousand men, under the command of General Mack, had advanced to the defiles of the Black Forest, apparently with the intention of preventing the French army from penetrating. They had thrown up fortifications on the river Iller, and were strengthening Memmingen and Ulm; but all these measures of precaution were of little avail, as the French army had taken a rout not suspected by their adversaries, and were already in the rear of the Austrians.

A division of Marshal Soult's corps had, by a forced march, made themselves master of a bridge at Donawert, which was defended by the regiment of Coloreds, after the loss of a few men.

The next morning, at day-break, Murat arrived there with his dragoons, passed the bridge, which he had caused to be repaired, and, in conjunction with the cavalry commanded by General Walther, advanced towards the Lech, where he forced the enemy, who were there posted, to retreat with some loss; Murat remained that night at Rain.

On the 6th, Marshal Soult, with the two divisions of Vandamme and Le Grand, marched towards Augsburg, while General St. Hilaire, with his division, advanced to the same point, by the left bank of the Danube. On the same morning, Prince Murat, at the head of the divisions of cavalry commanded by the Generals Beaumont, Klein, and Bensouty, in the view of cutting off the communication between Ulm and Augsburg, on his arrival at Wertingen, encountered a considerable body of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Albert's cuirassiers. Marshal Lasnes, who, with the division of Oudinot, followed these corps of cavalry, succeeded in defeating and making the greatest part of this portion of the Austrian army prisoners, together with their artillery and baggage. The loss of the Austrians, upon this occasion, was eight standards, the whole of their cannon, two lieutenant-colonels, six majors, sixty officers of inferior rank, and four thousand rank and file.

On the same day, Marshal Davoust arrived at Neuburg, and likewise General Marmont with his

corps, and Bernadotte and the Bavarians had advanced to Aichstettin.

Marshal Soult, after having put to flight a body of Austrians, which had retreated to Aicha, entered Augsburg on the 7th, with the divisions of Vandamme, St. Hilaire, and Le Grand.

Davoust, who had passed the Danube at Neuburg, arrived on the evening of the 7th at Aicha with his three divisions. Marmont, with the divisions of Boudet, Gruchy, and the Batavians under General Dumonceau, had taken a position between Aicha and Augsburg.

Bernadotte, with the Bavarian army under Generals de Roy and Verden, had taken possession of Ingolstadt; and the imperial guard, commanded by Marshal Bessieres, together with the division of cuirassiers, under General Hautpoul, arrived at Augsburg.

By this time Murat, with Klein's, Beaumont's, and Bensouty's divisions of cavalry, had occupied the village of Zusmarshausen, to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburg. Lasnes, with the divisions of Oudinot and Suchet, took post at the same village on the same day. Here Bonaparte reviewed the troops, and testified his satisfaction at their conduct at the battle of Wertingen, and distributed marks of honor to two dragoons, who had particularly distinguished themselves on that occasion.

The action of Wertingen was shortly after followed by one at Guntzburgh. Marshal Ney, who with the divisions of Malher, Dupont, and Loison, the dismounted dragoons of Baraguay d'Hilliers, and the division of Gazen, having re-ascended the Danube, attacked the enemy in their position at Grünberg, succeeded in passing the river at Guntzburgh, notwithstanding a gallant resistance on the part of the Austrians, who had advanced from Ulm to that place, with the view of collecting a sufficient force to act offensively. This force occupied Guntzburgh, rested with its right on the village of Limpach, and its left on Keisersburgh, and was in possession of the bridges on the Danube as far as Leipheim. A small corps which had passed the river, had, as already stated, been driven back with loss. The French pursued their advantages, and attacked the bridges, which were defended with some obstinacy. The division under General Malher at length overcame the principal obstacle, by making themselves master of the bridge and causeway leading to Guntzburgh. The Archduke Ferdinand made a brave attempt to defend this post, but was finally forced to abandon it; and he retreated to Ulm, with the loss of nearly 3,000 men, and the greatest part of his cannon. The assailants suffered considerably from the grape-shot of the Austrians; however, they were amply recompensed by the possession of a fine military position.

During these transactions, the centre of the French army passed the Danube at Donawert, Neuburg, and the left wing still lower down at Ingolstadt. This latter portion of the army, under the orders of Bernadotte, took post at Pfufferhausen, on the road to Munich, whilst the main body proceeded across the Lech, by Zimmershausen to Augsburg, which place became the French head-quarters.

At the passage of the Lech, Bonaparte harangued his troops, informing them of the critical situation of the enemy, and that they were shortly to expect a general engagement. By this succession of bold and rapid movements, the whole of the French army was now placed between Vienna and the Austrian forces under General Mack. The corps under Bernadotte, in conjunction with the Bavarians, forming together a body of about 40,000 men, were ordered to advance towards the Inn, in order to make head against the Austrian and Russian reinforcements, whilst, with the remainder of the army, Bonaparte marched against Mack.

Bernadotte entered Munich on the 12th, when he made about 800 prisoners, having captured on his march the baggage of the Austrian guards. He lost no time in crossing the Inn at that town, and continued his march on the high road to Brannau, where the first Russian column had arrived, and joined the troops under General Kienmeyer, which had evacuated Bavaria, and had fallen back upon that fortress. On the 15th he fell in with some Austrian detachments at Wasserburg and Haag, took a few hundred prisoners, and several pieces of cannon. He then took up a strong position near the Inn, from which he could observe the combined army, and attack to advantage, should they attempt to pass that river. By this manœuvre, Bonaparte was enabled to direct his main force against Mack.

On the 10th, Marshal Soult was detached from the left with his corps to occupy Landsberg; they fell in with a corps of Austrian cuirassiers, who, after a short conflict, were compelled to retreat to Ulm, with the loss of some prisoners and two pieces of cannon. By this event the French gained possession of a pass of considerable importance, as forming a communication between Ulm and the Tyrol.

The army under General Mack was now confined to narrow limits; it occupied a line from Memmingen to Ulm, in which latter place, and the adjacent outworks, that general and the principal part of his force were collected, and which contained magazines abundantly supplied.

In this posture of affairs, Bonaparte determined upon surrounding the whole of the army. With this view he caused the left wing of his troops under Marshal Soult to advance upon Memmingen, a place of some importance, which had now

become the station of the Austrian right, and which was likewise a considerable *depôt* for military stores, whilst he proceeded in person, with a most formidable force, to the neighbourhood of Ulm. On the 11th, the advanced corps under Marshal Ney made an attack on a body of Austrians strongly posted before Ulm: they were received with great firmness, and obstinately resisted, until the arrival of Bonaparte with strong reinforcements. The attack was renewed, and the French, after a desperate opposition, succeeded in carrying all the entrenchments without the town, by some of which it was completely commanded. Soult had arrived before Memmingen on the 13th, and immediately surrounded the place, which surrendered on the day following. The most striking articles in the capitulation were, that the garrison, to the amount of many thousands, should be prisoners of war, and the officers released upon their parole, to be suffered to retain their property, for the conveyance of which the French stipulated to provide carriages.

On the 15th, Soult advanced in pursuit of the Archduke Ferdinand, who had retreated to Biberech; but finding that the prince had retired from that place towards Ulm, he directed his course towards Bregentz, in order to intercept that pass into the Tyrol. The army, concentrated at and about Ulm was, by these operations, completely cut off from all communication with the Austrian states, and the whole of the French army in Germany, (with the exception of the corps under Bernadotte, which had advanced into Bavaria,) surrounded that place.

The Archduke Ferdinand had now no alternative left, but either to share the fate of the army at Ulm, or endeavour to force his way to Bohemia through Franconia. He boldly attempted the latter measure, crossed the Danube, and advanced by Nordlingen and Nuremberg, pursued by Murat and Lasnes. He was overtaken near Nordlingen, when one whole division, under Lieutenant-general Werneck, amounting to about 12,000 men, were obliged to lay down their arms. The French pursued their advantage, and again fell in with the remains of the Archduke's corps, between Traun and Nuremberg, on which occasion he took several prisoners, and the greater part of the Austrian artillery. The French now desisted from the pursuit, and the Archduke made good his retreat with the remnant of his corps, chiefly cavalry.

In the mean time Bonaparte had so completely invested Ulm, that no possibility of escape was left to Mack and one-third of his original force, but by opening a passage through an army four times superior to his. This determination was not to be attempted with any probability of success, in the then situation of the two armies, whatever might have been done had offensive

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 CHAP. VIII. Mack had thought too highly of the position of
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 (which might have had some weight, had the
 French army penetrated, as it had heretofore done,
 by the Black Forest) that he overlooked the possi-
 bility of what had actually occurred. But the
 great error of the Austrian commander-in-chief
 seems to have been too wide a dispersion of the
 different corps composing his army, so that the
 French were allowed to attack them severally in
 detail, by a force so superior as to render their
 resistance ineffectual; whilst it may be presumed,
 had he pursued a similar plan, and had attacked
 the several divisions of the French army sepa-
 rately, as they advanced, before they had concen-
 trated themselves in force, the event might have
 been as favorable as, under the other circum-
 stances, it had proved disastrous.

Notwithstanding the Austrian commander-in-
 chief had 30,000 men, the city of Ulm was com-
 pletely invested, and the French troops already in
 possession of the neighbouring heights that com-
 manded the fortifications, which were in them-
 selves extremely imperfect, and incapable, under
 more favorable circumstances, of being defended
 for any length of time. Indeed, General Mack
 seems to have abandoned all idea of making such
 an effort.

Bonaparte, eager to avail himself of his present
 advantage, in order to hasten the surrender of the
 place, on the 15th made preparations, as it were,
 to storm the town, and issued an address to his
 army, wherein he informed them, that "the fol-
 lowing day would be an hundred times more cele-
 brated than that of Maringo, for the Austrian
 troops were now placed in a similar situation:
 But," continued he, "merely to conquer the
 enemy would be doing nothing worthy either of
 yourselves or your emperor. Not a man should
 escape, and that government which had violated
 all its engagements, should first learn its catas-
 trophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna."
 This proclamation was immediately followed by
 a summons to Mack, requiring him to capitulate
 without loss of time, and threatening, in case of
 refusal, to storm the town.

These measures had the desired effect, and
 Mack, after a short deliberation, acceded to the
 terms proposed. Accordingly, on the 17th of
 October, he agreed to surrender the city of Ulm,
 with all its artillery and magazines, and that the
 garrison, (consisting of about 30,000 men) after
 marching out, with all the honors of war, should
 lay down their arms; the field-officers to be al-
 lowed to return to Austria, upon their parole, but
 the subalterns and soldiers to be sent prisoners
 into France, there to remain until exchanged. It
 was stipulated, however, that the Austrian com-
 mander-in-chief should not be obliged to carry

this capitulation into effect before twelve o'clock
 at noon on the ensuing 25th; and, further, that if
 an Austrian or Russian army arrived in sufficient
 force to raise the blockade of Ulm before twelve
 o'clock at midnight on the 25th, the garrison
 should, in that event, be entirely released from
 the above capitulation.

Impatient at the delay which these terms would
 have produced, and eager to lose no time in mak-
 ing head against the Austrians and Russians col-
 lecting on the Inn, Bonaparte invited General
 Mack to an interview on the 19th, the result of
 which was, that Mack, on the assurance of the
 French marshal Berthier that no succour could
 possibly arrive before Ulm, signed an additional
 article, by which he agreed to evacuate the place,
 and surrender the army, on the next day, the 20th,
 on the mere condition that the corps commanded
 by Marshal Ney, consisting of twelve regiments
 of infantry and four of cavalry, should not advance
 beyond ten leagues from Ulm and its environs
 before the 25th at midnight, the period when the
 former capitulation was to have expired. Mack's
 conduct, in this latter proceeding, can only be ac-
 counted for either by folly or treachery; but what-
 ever were his motives, the Austrian garrison, in
 compliance with the new capitulation, marched
 out the day following, and, after filing before the
 French emperor, laid down their arms, and sur-
 rendered themselves prisoners of war. Bonaparte,
 who had taken an advantageous station to behold
 this operation, sent for General Mack and the
 other Austrian generals, and, while their troops
 were filing by, addressed them to the following
 effect: "Gentlemen, your master wages an un-
 just war: I tell you plainly I know not for what
 I am fighting; I know not what can be required
 of me; my resources are not confined to my pre-
 sent army. Those prisoners of war, now on their
 way to France, will observe the spirit which
 animates my people, and with what eagerness
 they flock to my standards. At a single word
 200,000 volunteers crowd to my standard, and in
 six weeks become good soldiers; whereas, your
 recruits only march from compulsion, and do not
 become good soldiers till after several years. Let
 me advise my brother, the emperor, to hasten to
 make peace. All states must have an end, and, in
 the present crisis, he must feel serious alarms, lest
 the extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine should
 be at hand." He concluded by saying, "I desire
 nothing further upon the continent; I want ships,
 colonies, and commerce, and it is as much your
 interest as mine that I should have them."

General Mack replied, "that the Emperor of
 Germany had not wished for war, but was com-
 pelled to it by Russia."—"If that be the case,"
 said Bonaparte, "you are no longer a power."

Several of the other Austrian generals expressed
 their dislike to the war. The French emperor

treated these officers with civility, and, by way of consolation, observed to them, "that the chances of war were various, and that the conquerors might be conquered in their turn."

Thus, by gross and unaccountable misconduct, the main Austrian army in Germany was rendered totally useless.

Bonaparte, as a reward to his troops for their very great exertions, and with a view to animate them to further enterprizes, judiciously decreed, on the day after the surrender of Ulm, that the month Vendemaire, year 14, should be reckoned as a campaign to all the individuals composing the French grand army in Germany, and be so charged to the state, in the computation of pay and military services; and, likewise, that the war contributions, as well as such as should be levied in Suabia, and likewise all magazines taken from the enemy, should belong to the army, with the exception of the artillery and provisions. At the same time Bonaparte issued an address to his soldiers, exulting in their having performed a campaign in fifteen days, and chased the Austrians from the territory of his ally, the Elector of Bavaria. He observed, that of an hundred thousand, of which the Austrian army consisted, 60,000 were prisoners, who would replace the French conscripts in the labour of the field. But, said he, "we shall not stop here; you are impatient to commence a second campaign, and we shall make the Russians undergo the same fate. Then shall be decided the question, which indeed has been already proved in Switzerland and Holland, whether the French infantry were the first or second in Europe. But as there were no generals amongst them, opposed to whom he had any glory to acquire, his sole care should be to obtain victory with the least effusion of blood. That his soldiers were his children!"

Bonaparte having ordered the states belonging to the house of Austria, in Suabia, to be taken possession of, directed the march of the Austrian prisoners for France, and the demolition of the fortifications of Ulm and Memmingen, and set out with his army, with the exception of the corps under the command of Marshal Ney, which, by stipulation, was not to leave the vicinity of Ulm until after the 25th, at midnight, on the 21st for Augsburg, on his route to Bavaria. He ordered *têtes de pont* to be constructed on the bridges over the Lech, and magazines to be established beyond them. On the evening of the 24th, he reached Munich, where he was received with great honors. He was joined here by Murat, who had left a division of the troops, with whom he had pursued the Archduke Ferdinand, under the command of Mortier and Beraguay d'Hilliers, on the other side of the Danube, to descend that river, and to observe the movements of the Austrians in Bohemia.

The Elector of Bavaria not having returned to

his capital, Bonaparte dispatched an aid-de-camp to offer him escorts on the road; and receiving intelligence of the opening of the campaign in Italy, the former prepared to rejoin the army, now in full march for the Inn.

The disposition of the French army was thus arranged: Bonaparte, at the head of the main body, advanced towards Vienna, and had in his front a corps of Austrians, which had been reinforced, shortly before, by the first column of the Russian army. Their combined force did not exceed 45,000 men. To protect his flanks and rear, Bonaparte caused the division under Mortier, which was on the left shore of the Danube, to watch the motions of the Austrians in Bohemia, under the Archduke Ferdinand: thus he had nothing to apprehend on his left. His right was protected by Marshal Ney, who mounted the Lech to the confines of the Tyrol, and opposed the corps stationed in that country under the Archduke John. In addition to these corps, the division of Marshal Augereau, which had subsequently passed the Rhine, occupied the parts of Suabia contiguous to the lake of Constance, so as to prevent any attempt which might be made on the rear of the French army, from the Voralberg, and, perhaps, to make head against any Prussian corps which might, since the violation of the territory of Anspach and Bareuth, cross the Danube with a similar intention.

The centre of the French army having reached the Inn, where the Austrians and Russians were posted, on the 28th effected a passage over that river, in the vicinity of Brannau. Marshal Bernadotte, who had advanced by Wasserburgh, proceeded, on the 27th, to Altinmarkt; there he found the bridge broken down, and a strong fort opposed to him; but a corps of French and Bavarians, who had proceeded by Roth to Rotherheim, found the passage of the river more practicable at that place, and succeeded in crossing it. The enemy were obliged to retreat, and, in consequence, both this bridge and that at Altinmarkt were repaired.

Davoust's corps, which took the route by Freyung, after some opposition, passed the bridge at Mulldorf. Murat caused a brigade of cavalry to pass the river at the same time, and as soon as the bridges of Octing and Marchiel were repaired, he crossed the Inn in person with the reserve. The Austrians and Russians, finding their force inadequate to prevent the passage of the river, retreated step by step towards Vienna. In the mean time an effort was made for the defence of that capital. The citizens capable of bearing arms were summoned to embody themselves; and a proclamation was issued, wherein the emperor declared that he would trust in the justice of his cause, and the love and energy of his twenty-five millions of people, aided by the powerful assistance of his Russian auxiliaries.

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The right bank of the Inn being left destitute of defence, the remainder of the French army passed it without opposition; and whilst the Austro-Russians were pursued by the French, who had already passed the river, the corps under Lasnes, on the 29th, took possession of Brannau, a place of considerable strength, containing large magazines of artillery, ammunition, and provisions. The Russians, who had occupied Brannau, left behind them a quantity of powder and other military stores. This was a seasonable supply to the French army. On the 30th, Bonaparte arrived, and placed his head-quarters in that fortress.

Bernadotte was hereupon detached from the left of the army to the right, in order to occupy Salzburg, so as to be in a situation to intercept the communication between the army under the Archduke Charles in the Venetian territory, and the Austro-Russians; a corps of 6,000 Austrians, who were there stationed, retreated before the arrival of Bernadotte, in the direction of Wells. They were pursued by the advanced guard, under Kellerman, and were overtaken near Pasling. Notwithstanding the strength of the position of the Austrians, they were compelled to retire with the loss of some hundreds of prisoners. This operation facilitated the advance of the main body of the army under Bonaparte, which moved rapidly in pursuit of the enemy.

Prince Murat, with his cavalry, was the first to overtake the Austrian rear-guard, about 6,000 strong, posted on the heights of Ried. They were charged with great impetuosity by the French horse, and forced to give way. The enemy, however, rallied to protect their baggage, but, after an obstinate conflict, they were put to flight, leaving 4 or 500 prisoners. The position of Ried was, after this affair, taken possession of by Murat, to which point the main body was in full march.

Murat continued the pursuit, and, on the 31st, again fell in with the enemy's rear, in the vicinity of Lambach. Some show of resistance was made for the purpose of protecting the retreat of the combined army, and the allies lost about 400 men, of whom 100 were Russians, and a few pieces of cannon.

The object of the allies was now to take a position behind the Ens, but they were closely pursued by the French advanced guard, with whom they had some skirmishes. Murat took possession of Wells on the 1st of November, and on the same day his reserve of cavalry, under General Milhaud, entered Lintz, in which town were found considerable magazines. The main body of the army were at the heels of the advanced guard; Marshal Lasnes, with his division, arrived at Lintz on the 3d, and Davoust approached Steyr on the Ens. Bonaparte, whose head-quarters were at Lambach, made his arrangements for

driving the enemy from the banks of the Ens, the last line of defence which remained to them between that river and Vienna. With this view General Marmont was detached with his corps to Leoben, to turn the left of the allies.

On the 4th, Murat proceeded to the town of Ens, and General Walther, with a corps of dragoons, passed the Traun at Ebersberg, where he discomfited a few hundred Austrians, who were stationed to impede the passage of that river, and advanced, without opposition, to the Ens. The allies having observed the dispositions, when made for turning their left flank, and the enemy advancing with such boldness in their front, abandoned the defence of the river, and retired slowly towards Vienna. The French army lost no time in crossing the Ens, and pressed forward with eagerness towards the Austrian capital, which was in a state of great consternation and confusion.

The Russian army made a stand on the heights of Amstettin, in order to retard the progress of the French. They were furiously attacked by Murat's cavalry and Oudinot's grenadiers, and several times they repelled their assailants, but were at length obliged to quit the field, leaving 400 killed and 1,200 prisoners. The French likewise sustained a considerable loss in this affair. The Russians, in their retreat, destroyed the bridges over the Ips, and took the direction of St. Polten, an advantageous post, and only thirty miles distant from Vienna.

On the 7th, at night, Count Giulay arrived at Bonaparte's head-quarters, at Lintz, with proposals, in the name of the Emperor of Germany and his allies, to conclude an armistice of a few weeks, as a preliminary step towards a negotiation for a general peace. Bonaparte expressed his readiness to accede to the armistice, on condition that the Austrian monarch would cause the allied troops to return home, the Hungarian levy to be disbanded, and the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol to be occupied by the French army. With this reply Count Giulay returned to his court, and Bonaparte continued his plan of operations.

Murat had already restored the bridges over the Ips, and on the 7th established his head-quarters at the celebrated abbey of Moelk: his advanced posts were pushed to St. Polten. Mortier had contrived, with part of his corps, to keep pace on the left bank of the Danube, with the main army on the opposite side, so as to render it material assistance. Davoust now advanced from Steyr by Naydhoffen, Mariuzel, and Lilienfeldt, with the project of coming upon the left of the allies stationed at St. Polten, whilst Bonaparte, with the centre, consisting of the corps of Lasnes and Soult, together with the imperial guards, moved forward to attack the front.

On the 8th Davoust's division fell in with a corps of Austrians under General Meerfeldt,

marching for Neustadt, to cover Vienna on that side. They attacked them with great impetuosity, at a few leagues from Meninzel. The action was obstinate and bloody. The French, however, succeeded, after an engagement of some hours, in routing their opponents. They took three standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and 3,000 prisoners. The remainder, in great disorder, took the direction of Hungary. Davoust pursued his march, the day following, along the great road leading to Vienna. Bernadotte and Marmont remained on the right, to observe the archduke Charles, who was now retiring before Mas-sena.

The Russians, who were posted at St. Polten, thinking their situation too critical to attempt to maintain it, and fearful lest their retreat should be cut off, formed the resolution of passing the Danube, and on the 9th they crossed that river at Krems, and destroyed the bridge.

Bonaparte's head-quarters were at the abbey of Moelk, and the road to the Austrian capital was open to the French army. At this place he was waited upon by a deputation from the magistracy of Vienna, imploring him "to treat their city with lenity, as the unfortunate inhabitants were not the cause of the war." He returned for answer, "that the inhabitants of Vienna must take care not to open their gates to the Austrians or Russians, but only to the French army."

On the 7th, the Emperor Francis, finding all the means in his power insufficient to defend his capital against a superior and victorious army, retired with his court to Brunn, in Moravia, and at the same time the greater part of the nobility fled from Vienna into Hungary.—The bulk of the inhabitants waited patiently the arrival of the French, and indeed they were prepared to look forward to that event from the period of the disastrous capitulation of Ulm. The people of the Austrian states had been long weary of the war. The supplies which they were called upon to contribute, pressed hardly upon them, whilst the depreciation of the currency had amounted to a most serious evil. In addition to these causes of dissatisfaction, the complaints of the peasantry against the conduct of the Russian troops were eagerly listened to, so that little exertion was necessary to induce the inhabitants to submit to the commands of the conqueror. A national guard was hereupon appointed, in aid of the police, so that the peace of the city was scarcely disturbed.

On the 11th, the advanced guard of the French army appeared before Vienna, and took up their quarters in the suburbs of the city. On the following day the main body arrived, and were lodged in the suburbs, where they conducted themselves in an orderly and quiet manner. Bonaparte fixed his head-quarters at Rukersdroff, two German miles distant from Vienna.

The French did not enter the city until the 13th, when they found it totally evacuated by the Austrian troops, and the military duty performed by the inhabitants.

Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, marched through the city without halting, and passed the bridge over the Danube without resistance. There was indeed a corps of Austrians stationed, under Prince Auerssberg, at the bridge, for the purpose of destroying it in case of necessity, and their preparations were made for so doing. Murat, aware of this circumstance, rode up in full speed to this officer, assured him, on his word of honor, that an armistice had been concluded, and, by this artifice, he prevailed upon his credulity so far as to prevent the destruction of the bridge, which might have considerably retarded the advance of the French army into Moravia.

On the 14th, the divisions of Marshal Soult and Davoust passed the river, treading in the footsteps of Murat; part of the latter corps, however, was detached down the Danube, towards Presburgh, in Hungary. On this day, likewise, Bonaparte made his entry into Vienna, and he employed a great portion of the ensuing night in visiting his outposts, beyond the Danube. Bonaparte then retired to the Imperial palace of Shoenbrun, which he had chosen for his residence.

The French found, at Vienna, an immense quantity of military stores of all kinds, ammunition in great abundance, and a vast number of pieces of artillery, of various sorts. The number of muskets, found in the arsenal, was likewise very considerable, 15,000 of which Bonaparte presented to the Elector of Bavaria, and he likewise caused to be restored to that prince the artillery taken, on former occasions, from the electorate; great requisitions of cloth, and wine, were also made for the supply of the army. On this day Bonaparte received a deputation of the citizens, and told them, that they might assure the people of Vienna of his protection.

On the 25th the French Emperor, having appointed General Clarke Governor of Upper and Lower Austria, passed through Vienna, to join the army, which was now advancing into Moravia, to meet the Russians. It has been already mentioned, that the Russians who had been driven back from Brannau to St. Polten, crossed the Danube at Krems; on the 9th, they were met on the left bank of the river by Mortier's corps, consisting of about 6,000 men; on the 10th, in the vicinity of Diernstein, the Russians were attacked, and forced to retire from Weiskirchen to Stein. The Russians, in their turn, attacked the French the next morning early. They were much superior in force to their opponents, being about 20,000 strong. They met, however, a firm

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opposition from the French, who repulsed them, after repeated attempts. But the Russian general had calculated on another manœuvre, and had detached two columns, by a difficult pass, to turn the enemy. This plan partly succeeded; Mortier was obliged to cut his way through the Russian lines, which was accomplished with great difficulty and considerable loss; besides a great number of killed and wounded, 2,000 were made prisoners. In this affair, General Mortier was severely wounded. The loss on the side of the Russians was not unimportant, but none more to be regretted than the death of Lieutenant-general Smidt, an officer of great repute, in the Austrian service, who acted as quarter-master-general to the Russian army. General Smidt possessed the confidence of the Archduke Charles to an eminent degree. After this event, the Russians judged it advisable to fall back upon Brunn, where they expected reinforcements under General Buxhovden.

The French army advanced so rapidly into Moravia, that the imperial court, from motives of precaution, removed from Brunn to Olmutz. Previously to his quitting Brunn, the Emperor issued a proclamation (on the 13th) in which he communicated his late proposal for an armistice, together with the inadmissible demands of the French emperor. That, under such circumstances, nothing remained for him to do, but to trust to resources to be found in the fidelity and strength of his people, united to the undiminished forces of his high allies, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and to persist in this determination until the French emperor should consent to conditions of peace, consistent with the honor and independence of a great state.

On the evening of the 14th, Marshal Lasnes reached Stokeran, and found there an immense quantity of clothing. Eight thousand pairs of shoes and half-boots, and cloth sufficient to make great coats for the whole army. General Milhaud, who commanded the advanced guard of Marshal Davoust's corps, captured, about the same time, many pieces of artillery, with their ammunition, together with 400 men. Almost the whole of the Austrian artillery was now in possession of the enemy.

By this time Bernadotte, who had made a circuit to the right of the French army, by Salzburg and the confines of Hungary, passed the Danube to join the main army.

On the 15th, Murat and Lasnes came up with the Russian army at Holbrun. The French cavalry charged the enemy, who abandoned their ground, leaving some of their baggage behind. The Russian general finding himself hard pressed, and desirous to gain a little time, had recourse to a device, in which he was authorized by the stratagem used by the French in passing the

bridge at Vienna. A flag of truce presented himself at the French advanced posts, and the Baron Winsingerode, aid-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, demanded leave for the Russian army to capitulate, and separate from the Austrians. This appeared too specious not to be listened to, and Murat, who was himself the author of the above-mentioned deception, communicated the information to Bonaparte. It soon became suspected, and Bonaparte refused to agree to the proposed terms, on the grounds that the Russian was not duly authorized to treat, but he declared that if the Emperor of Russia would ratify the convention, he would likewise do it. Hereupon the French army advanced. The Russians, during this parley, were making their preparations to retreat, but were attacked, the next day, near Guntersdorff. The Russians behaved with great bravery, and repulsed the enemy at the point of the bayonet. Marshal Lasnes attacked them in front; General Dupas, with a brigade of grenadiers, turned their left; whilst Marshal Soult was on their right, so that they were compelled to give way. Night put an end to the pursuit.

The loss on both sides was considerable; that on the part of the Russians was 2,000 prisoners, and nearly as many in killed and wounded, together with twelve pieces of cannon, and many baggage-waggons. On the part of the French many were killed and wounded, above 3,000 men; amongst the latter were General Oudinot and his two aid-de-camps. General Duroc was ordered to replace Oudinot during his confinement.

On the 17th Bonaparte's head-quarters were removed to Znaim: here were found the sick of the Russian army, which they had been obliged to abandon, and likewise a quantity of flour and oats.

On the 18th General Sebastiani succeeded in cutting off part of the Russian rear-guard, and made nearly 2,000 prisoners; and on the same day Murat entered Brunn, which had been evacuated by the Russians. Brunn is a regular fortress, and capable of sustaining a siege. Sixty pieces of ordnance were found in this place, with 3,000 cwt. of gunpowder, magazines well supplied with grain, and a considerable quantity of clothing.

On the 20th Bonaparte removed to Brunn, and received a deputation from the states of Moravia, with the bishop at their head. He caused the citadel to be taken possession of, in which were found 6,000 stand of arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition. The Russians made an attempt to defend the road leading from Brunn to Olmutz, and for this purpose collected all their cavalry, amounting to about 6,000 men. They were attacked by the French Generals, Walther, Hautpoult, and Bessieres, with a selected corps of the French cavalry. The Russians main-

tained their ground the whole day, but towards night they retired. Two or three hundred men on each side were killed and wounded.

The main body of the French army did not move forward for some days; in the mean time Bonaparte caused Brunn to be put in a state of

defence. They then advanced and took a position near Wishau, in face of the Austro-Russian army, who were posted between that place and Olmutz. The Russians here received reinforcements, and a general and decisive action seemed to be the determination of both armies.

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CHAPTER IX.

Position of the hostile Armies.—General Massena passes the Adige.—The Austrians make a gallant but unavailing Resistance.—Battle of Caldiero.—Defeat of the Austrians.—The French capture Vicenza.—Affairs of the Tyrol.—Innsbruck taken by the French.—The Archduke John effects a Junction with Prince Charles.—Ineffectual Attempt to negotiate for the Neutrality of Hungary.—State of the opposed Armies.—The Emperor of Russia joins his Army.—Bonaparte's Chicanery.—Battle of Austerlitz.—Disastrous to the Allied Army.—Advance of the French.—The Austrians solicit an Armistice.—Humiliating Terms granted.—The Emperor of Russia refuses to be a Party thereto.—State of the Austrian Armies, &c.

THE command of the French army in Italy, which had been strongly reinforced, had been given to Marshal Massena; while the Austrian army, which was equally powerful, was commanded by their favorite Archduke Charles.

The fortified passes in the Tyrol were strengthened, and a considerable body of troops stationed under the command of the Archduke John, to defend that country, and to maintain the communications between the armies in Germany and the Venetian territory.

At the same time a combined force of Russians and British were collected at Corfu and Malta, for the purpose of making a descent in Italy, while another army of Russians, Swedes, and English, were prepared, in the north of Germany, to invade Hanover, and for further enterprize, when occasion should serve.

The Archduke Charles and General Massena being in face of each other, on the opposite sides of the Adige, waited only for the signal of attack, which appears to have been calculated by the French from the time that their army in Germany should have come in contact with the Austrians in that quarter. Accordingly, on the 17th of October, Massena prepared to force the passage of the Adige. His army amounted to about 90,000 men, while that of the Archduke Charles did not exceed 75,000.

Early on the morning of the 18th, the French general caused two false attacks to be made, one on their right, the other on their left, while, with the centre of his army, he attempted the passage of the river, at the bridge at Verona. This bridge was barricadoed, and some of the arches cut. These impediments the French overcame with

great fortitude, and twenty-four companies of light troops, selected from the divisions of Gardanne and Dubesme, pushed forward across the river, and were soon followed by the whole division of General Gardanne, and shortly after by the remainder of the army. The Austrians made a gallant resistance, but were obliged to retire to the heights, at some distance, where they had entrenchments. The attack was renewed here, and the French gained some advantage, but so inconsiderable, that they judged it expedient to recross the Adige, and occupy their former ground. The loss sustained by the Austrians was seven pieces of cannon, eighteen waggons, and about 1,200 prisoners. There were many killed and wounded on both sides.

On the 20th, the French renewed the attack. After passing the Adige, they mounted and took possession of the heights of Val Pantena, surrounded the castle of San Felici, and obliged the Austrians to evacuate Venoretto. They still advanced on the road of St. Michael, where they met with serious opposition from the Austrian troops. The French however succeeded in driving the Austrians from St. Michael, taking 1,500 prisoners, and two pieces of cannon. This advantage was not obtained without much bloodshed.

Hitherto Massena was rather confined in his operations, being cautious not to advance too far until he had received information of the state of the campaign in Germany. After the action of the 20th, he took a position within a few miles of Caldiero, near which place the archduke was strongly posted. Nothing material occurred between the two armies for several days. In the

mean time intelligence of the surrender of General Mack's army reached him, and of Bonaparte's intention to proceed, without loss of time, to meet the combined Russian and Austrian forces.

Under these circumstances it became a matter of great importance that he should give full occupation to the archduke, and press forward with the utmost diligence, in order to execute the plans of co-operation assigned to him.

Accordingly he commenced, on the 30th, a very vigorous attack upon the whole line of the army opposed to him. The division of Molitor formed the left, the centre was commanded by General Gardanne, and the right by General Dubesme. The action began upon the left, and the three successive attacks were bravely resisted by the Austrians, who were, however, at length forced to retire to the adjacent heights. The battle was renewed on the part of the Austrians. Twenty-four battalions of grenadiers, and some other regiments, were ordered, by the archduke, to advance against the enemy. Both armies fought with great fury. The French cavalry at length made some impression, and being well supported by several battalions of grenadiers who fought with the bayonet, the Austrians, after a desperate resistance, in which they were assisted by the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, were finally driven from the field, with the loss of above 3,000 prisoners. In so obstinate an engagement the carnage must have been very great, so much so indeed as to induce the archduke to demand a suspension of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead. This was not the only loss sustained by the Austrians in this affair. A column of 5,000 men, which it should appear was detached from the corps of Rosenburgh, with the view of falling upon the rear of the French army, was, by the issue of the battle, completely cut off. General Hillinger, who commanded it, at first manifested an intention to defend himself, and even compelled a regiment of light infantry, sent against him, to take shelter under the walls of the castle of San Felici. Massena then repaired in person to the spot, and ordered four battalions of grenadiers to surround the column. General Hillinger, perceiving no chance of escape, entered into a capitulation, and laid down his arms.

Although the army under Massena had been successful, it had not made any very considerable progress. The archduke, however, for a variety of reasons, came to the determination of making a positive retreat. He seems to have been principally actuated by the desire of relieving the Austrian capital, now imminently in danger, while he could have little hopes of contending successfully against the army of Massena, which was reinforced by 25,000 additional troops, under General St. Cyr, which had evacuated the kingdom

of Naples, in conformity with the terms of a convention entered into with his Sicilian majesty. The archduke began his march on the night of the 1st of November, with great caution, so that it was not discovered by the enemy before the next morning. He was then pursued by the French light troops, and harassed during the day. The Austrians had about 500 men made prisoners.

On the 2d, the main body of the French army advanced in pursuit of the Austrians. After halting a short time at Monte Bello, it marched to Vicenza. Massena summoned the city to surrender, but received a refusal. On preparations being made, the next morning, for assaulting it, the gates were thrown open, and the army entered. In Vicenza were found 1,000 wounded Austrians, and the remains of some magazines.

On the archduke's arrival at Bassano, he had the option either of attempting his retreat by Trent, into the Tyrol, or by Treviso, through Carinthia, or Carniola. The disposition of the French German army appears to have determined him to adopt the latter course. He would, in his progress towards Vienna, by the former route, have had to oppose the corps of General Marmont and Marshal Bernadotte, whilst Ney was in force on the confines of the Tyrol on one side, and Augereau on the other, who were stationed to intercept him, and a superior force under Massena was close upon his rear. By taking the latter route he might, if necessary, reach Hungary, without meeting any opposition in front, and there he would find the means of recruiting his army. In either way his retreat was difficult, being continually galled by the enemy's light troops.

The French advanced guard arrived at the Brenta immediately after the Austrians had passed that river, and were endeavouring to destroy the bridge. This brought on a cannonade from the opposite banks, and the French were prevented from crossing till the next morning. Early on the evening of that day, Massena entered Castel-Franco, and the chasseurs of the army were in possession of Salvaternada and Albando. Here the French army was allowed some repose, being much exhausted from their incessant exertions. In their advance from Monte Bello 1,500 prisoners fell into their hands. They also levied heavy contributions upon the great towns through which they passed.

Massena met with no opposition worth mentioning between the Brenta and the Tagliamento. Behind the latter river Prince Charles made a show of resistance, and posted his troops as if determined to oppose the passage of the river. Massena was somewhat imposed upon by this appearance, so that he did not seriously attempt to pass the river until his main force was arrived. On the 12th the division of chasseurs commanded

by General d'Espagne, together with the cuirassiers and dragoons under Generals Marmont and Pulley, were posted in front of the Austrians, while the divisions of Duhesme and Suas were stationed at St. Vito, and those of Molitor and Gardanne at Valoasonna. Nothing occurred on that day but some skirmishes between a squadron of French, which had crossed the river, and a party of Austrian cavalry, except a heavy cannonade, which continued the whole day. The attack was to have taken place on the next morning; but the archduke retreated during the night, and directed his march to Laybach in Carniola, without attempting to defend Palma Nova, though a place of some strength; his object being to effect his retreat with as little delay as possible, in order to succour the hereditary states.

On the 15th the French army advanced, in two columns, to the Isonza. The advanced guard, under General d'Espagne, after a feeble opposition from the Austrians, entered Gradiska early on that evening. The French continued the pursuit towards Goritzia, with the intention of passing the river below that town, but their pontoons not having arrived, they were unable to execute their project.

The Austrians had now retired under the walls of Goritzia, when Massena made his dispositions for a general attack upon them on the morning of the 17th. But the archduke had retired on the night towards Laybach, harassed without intermission by the French light troops. The magazines formed at Udina and Palma fell into the hands of the French army, who now took up a position beyond the Isonza.

Here the French general judged it advisable to arrest his progress, until he should be informed of the state of things in his rear. On commencing the pursuit of the archduke's army, he left the Tyrol occupied by a considerable corps of Austrians: under these circumstances, his advancing further might be attended with great risk. Whatever apprehensions he might entertain on this score were not of any long continuance, for the Austrian corps in the Tyrol, commanded by the Archduke John, were closely pressed from the sides of Suabia and Bavaria.

Augereau, early in November, had made himself master of Lindau and Bregentz, on the high road to Hungary.

There remained in the Tyrol a corps of Austrians, consisting of about 7,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, commanded by the Prince of Rohan, which were placed in a most critical situation by the late events. The only possibility of escape seemed to be to reach Venice, by passing behind the army of Massena. Accordingly, they proceeded across the mountains, between the Tyrol and Italy, and actually arrived, on the 24th, at Bassano, and took the road to Castel-Franco. In the

neighbourhood of this place, they were opposed by detachments from the army of St. Cyr, who was stationed at Padua, (to observe Venice, which was threatened by a descent from a Russian and British force) while Massena marched to attack them on the other side. On the 25th, the Austrians attacked a corps of French, under General Regnier, which was posted at Piombino, to cut off the road to Venice, with such fury, as to compel them to retire from the field. At this moment General St. Cyr came up and fell upon the Austrian rear. Resistance could now avail but little, so that the greater part of this corps, together with the Prince of Rohan, and several other officers of distinction, were made prisoners.

By these operations Italy and the Feldkirch were completely evacuated by the Austrians, and the division under Augereau compelled the corps of Generals Jellachich and Wolfskehl to capitulate, with the condition not to serve against France during a year. Augereau, however, did not advance out of Suabia, but remained in the neighbourhood of Ulm, as it were to protect the rear of Bonaparte's army, and to make head against a corps of Russians, assembled in Franconia apparently with a hostile intention.

In the mean time Marshal Ney, supported by a corps of Bavarians, under their General Deroi, entered the Tyrol at Fuessen, and having turned, by passes of extreme difficulty, and little known, the forts of Scharnitz and Newstark, carried both places by assault, taking one standard, sixteen field-pieces, and about 1,700 prisoners. On the 16th he entered Inspruck, where he found an arsenal and magazines, well supplied with stores. Ney pursued his advantage, and on the 20th fixed his head-quarters at Bolzano, having his out-posts advanced as far as Trent.

The Archduke John, finding his force insufficient to maintain himself in the Tyrol, nearly surrounded on all sides, planned and effected, with much boldness, a junction with the Archduke Charles in Carniola. This attempt, however, was not accomplished without considerable loss. The two brothers then hastened their march towards Vienna.

The Tyrol being completely cleared of the Austrian troops, Massena advanced to Laybach, which had been evacuated by the Archduke Charles, whilst his left formed a communication with Ney's division, which extended itself from Saltzburgh to Carinthia.

The detached corps of the French army having executed the operations consigned to them, Bonaparte had at his immediate disposal almost the whole of his army, to face the united forces, composed of the remnant of the Austrian-German army, and of the Russians, who had received great reinforcements. Upon the reduction of the Tyrol, the corps of Ney and Marmont ap-

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proached the Danube, to support the main body of the French army, whilst Massena took up positions with the intention of occupying the attention of the Archduke Charles. Marshal Davoust, upon the capture of Vienna, had marched to Presburgh, and attempted a negociation with the Archduke Palatine, for the neutrality of Hungary. But in hearkening to these overtures, the Hungarians seem to have had no other object in view than to amuse the French, for the purpose of delay. No conditions were concluded, and Davoust with his corps joined the main army, preparatory to a general action, which was daily expected to take place.

The state of the opposed armies appears to have been nearly equal in point of numbers. The Russians amounted to about 50,000 men, the Austrians to about 25,000, the latter chiefly new levies. The French force, after the junction of Bernadotte and Davoust, consisted of between 70 and 80,000 men, but they were flushed with victory, and out of all measure superior to their antagonists in military skill, confidence, and discipline.

The two armies were now in presence of each other, both determined to make a stand. However, on the 29th of November, Counts Stadion and Ginlay were commissioned, on the part of the Emperor of Germany, to open a negotiation for peace with Bonaparte, and at the same time Count Haugwitz arrived at Vienna to offer the mediation of the King of Prussia, who, it was supposed, was strongly inclined to take a part in the war against France. Bonaparte seemed to listen to the proposition, but, as the event proved, merely with the view of putting the allies off their guard; for having so many advantages on his side, his object was to draw the enemy to a decisive action; and, under the semblance of diffidence and moderation, he redoubled his vigilance, and made his preparations to meet such an event.

On the morning of the 28th the Russians, who were no parties to the proposed accommodation, attacked the advanced posts of the French army at Wishau, forced them to fall back, and made some prisoners. The Emperor Alexander, who had lately joined his army, advanced to that place, followed by the main body of his troops, who took up a position in the rear of the town.

Bonaparte, on hearing of the Emperor of Russia's arrival, dispatched General Savary, one of his aids-de-camp, avowedly to compliment that sovereign. This officer remained a day or two within the Russian lines, during which time he had an opportunity of observing the state and disposition of that army. On his return to the French head-quarters, he reported that a great degree of confidence and presumption prevailed on the part of the Russian officers, which he at-

tributed to the influence which several young men had over the Emperor Alexander.

To encourage this delusion, and to lull them into still greater security, Bonaparte ordered his army to retreat in the night, and to take a favorable situation three leagues in the rear, which he manifested much eagerness in fortifying, by throwing up works and placing batteries. In this position he proposed an interview with the Emperor of Russia, who sent, on his part, his aid-de-camp, Prince Dogorucki. Bonaparte, to impress him, as it were, with an idea that he was unwilling to permit him to witness the apprehensions of the French troops, went to meet him at the outposts. This circumstance, accompanied by the preceding retreat of the French army, induced him to believe what Bonaparte wished, namely, that the French army was under great alarm. Prince Dogorucki, actuated by these sentiments, had the boldness to insist upon the whole of the demands with which he was charged. He peremptorily required that Bonaparte should renounce the possession of Belgium, and likewise the crown of Italy. Bonaparte returned no definitive answer, and left the Russians to indulge the notion that he and his army were intimidated.

Circumstances induced the allies to risk a general action at a time when procrastination was far more politic. It was said, that the whole of the Russian reinforcements had arrived, and that the allied forces, from the loss of the magazines at Brunn and other places, were extremely straitened for provisions, owing partly to the neglect of the Austrian commissariat, and partly to the detension of the horses of the country, in the rear of the army, by the Russians. Relaxation in discipline and licentiousness began to manifest themselves, so that it was resolved to abandon the position in front of Olmutz, for the purpose of attacking the enemy.

The grand French army, which had passed the Danube, and advanced into Moravia, consisted of the corps under Prince Murat, Marshals Soult, Lasnes, and Bernadotte. The last of these corps had been opposed to the Archduke Ferdinand, and joined the main army only the day before the battle of Austerlitz. Marshal Davoust, who, as already mentioned, had proceeded with his corps to Presburgh, joined the main army about the same time. This force was composed of eight divisions, each of which was about 7000 strong. In addition to this was a corps de reserve, composed of the imperial guards, under Marshal Bessieres, and a body of grenadiers under General Duroc, making together 15,000 men.

The combined forces immediately opposed to them consisted of 104 battalions, 20 of which

were Austrians, and 159 squadrons, 54 of which were Austrians, and 40 of Cossacks, which might be computed at about 72,000 men. The Russians were commanded by General Kutusoff; the Austrians by Prince John of Lichtenstein. The infantry of the latter were chiefly raw recruits, who had not been embodied above a month. Such was nearly the state of the two armies immediately before the battle of Austerlitz.

As the allies had determined upon resuming offensive operations and of immediately giving battle, the following were the dispositions made by them for the attack. On the 1st of December, there was a good deal of firing, during the morning, along the whole chain of advanced troops; the Austrian General Kienmeyer's out-posts on the left were at Sitchen, and near Menitz, a village which had been abandoned by the French. He was reinforced towards the evening by five battalions of frontier troops, under Major-general Cameville; the left of the combined army, commanded by General Buxhoevden, and the centre by the General-in-chief Koutousoff, after having dined, moved forward in five columns. The first, under Lieutenant-general Docktorow, composed of 24 battalions of Russians, took up a position in two lines on the heights near a village called Hortieradeck, and a regiment of chasseurs was posted at Aujut, between the foot of the mountain and the lake of Menitz. The second column, commanded by Lieutenant-general Langeron, consisting of 18 battalions of Russians, took up a position on the heights of Pratzen, also in two lines, on the right of the first column. The third, commanded by Lieutenant-general Przybyszewsky, composed of 18 battalions of Russians, took up a position on the heights to the right of the village of Pratzen. The fourth, commanded by the Austrian General Kollowrath, was composed of 12 battalions of Russians, under Lieutenant-general Miloradowitsch, and of fifteen of Austrians, who were in the rear of this column. This corps intersected the road from Austerlitz to Brunn, and took post in two lines behind the third column. The fifth, composed of cavalry under Prince John of Lichtenstein, consisting of eighty-two squadrons, took post under the heights in the rear of the third column.

The corps of reserve under the Archduke Constantine, composed of ten battalions and eighteen squadrons of guards, posted itself on the heights in front of Austerlitz, with its left towards Krzenowitz, and its right towards the high road from Austerlitz to Brunn. The advanced corps, under Prince Bagration, extended beyond Holubitz and Blasowitz, in order to facilitate the march of the third and fourth columns, upon their points of formation.

General Kienmeyer, as soon as the columns in front of Austerlitz and Krzenowitz had taken

their position, placed himself, having marched by Pratzen, in front of Aujut, where he arrived at nine o'clock at night: his corps was then composed of twenty-two squadrons of Austrians, ten of Cossacks, and five battalions of Croats. The head-quarters were at Krzenowitz.

This offensive movement was made by the army in open day, and in sight of the enemy, who did not offer to interrupt it; on the contrary, some of the French out-posts were withdrawn, and, what seemed extraordinary, during the night, there was no chain of out-posts established in front of the position occupied by the allies. The two armies were separated by the defiles of Tellnitz, Sokolnitz, and Schlapanitz, and had the allies wished to remain upon the defensive, they were advantageously posted for the purpose, and ready, at the same time, to act offensively; but they were determined on giving battle the next day.

Bonaparte, who had distinctly observed these operations of the combined army, is said to have exclaimed to those around him, "before to-morrow night, that army will be in my power." He kept his troops concentrated in massive columns, ready to act according to circumstances.

Marshal Bernadotte, who had joined the army a day or two before, and who remained a little in the rear, in order to rest his men, was ordered to take post near the village of Girschikowitz. This corps was composed of the divisions of Rivaux and Drouet, and formed the centre of the French army. Prince Murat's cavalry was in the rear of Bernadotte and on his left; Marshal Lasnes formed the left wing, with the divisions of Souchet and Caffarelli; this last was connected with the left of Murat. The right of the army, commanded by Marshal Soult, was placed between Kobelnitz and Sokolnitz. The division of Le Grand, forming the extreme right, was posted between Kolnitz and Tellnitz, and occupied these villages with strong detachments of infantry. The division of Vandamme was on the left, and that of St. Hilaire in the centre of Marshal Soult's corps.

The reserve of the army, composed of ten battalions of the imperial guard, and ten battalions of grenadiers, under General Oudinot, the whole commanded by General Duroc, was near Turas. The division of Friant, belonging to the corps under Marshal Davoust, which had just arrived from Presbourg, was sent to the convent of Reygorn, on the river Schwartz, to observe and keep the enemy in check, should he approach by the route of Auspitz. The division of General Gudia, with some dragoons, likewise belonging to Davoust's corps, advanced from Nicholsburg, on the right of the French army, to keep in check the corps of General Count Merveldt, who had penetrated through Hungary to Lundenburgh.

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This general had with him his own regiment of hulans and the emperor's hussars, and six battalions of infantry, all very much weakened by a difficult retreat, and little exceeding 4,000 men. The French army had also opposed to it a detachment of O'Rielly's light cavalry, and some Cossacks, which were sent to Gros-Niemschitz, to observe that point.

Bonaparte, after having discovered the intention of the allies, issued an address to his troops, to the following effect: "that the Russian army, which they had beaten at Hollabrunn, and who had been flying before them, were now before them to avenge the defeat of the Austrians at Ulm; that the French army occupied a formidable position, and that while the enemy marched to attack his right, they would expose their flank; that he should himself direct all the battalions, and if victory became for a moment doubtful, that he should put himself in front of the battle; that this victory would finish the campaign, and that a peace would follow worthy of his people, of his army, and himself."

In the course of the night, he visited, incognito, the out-posts. He was soon recognized by the soldiers, who manifested their enthusiasm by loud acclamations.

The disposition for the attack of the French army was delivered to the general officers of the Austro-Russian army soon after midnight on the morning of the 2d of December. But the imperfect knowledge which was possessed of the enemy's position, although scarcely out of the range of the musketry, rendered the suppositions upon which the plan of the attack was founded very indefinite. It was imagined, that the French army was weakened in its centre to reinforce its left. The combined army out-flanked the right of the French. It was supposed, that, by passing the defiles of Sokolnitz and of Kobelnitz, their right would be turned, and that the attack might afterwards be continued in the plain between Schlapanitz and the wood of Turas, thus avoiding the defiles of Schlapanitz and Bellowitz, which it was believed covered the front of the enemy's position. The French army was then to be attacked by its right, which was to be done with great celerity and vigor. The valley between Tellnitz and Sokolnitz was to be passed with rapidity. The right of the allies (on which were the cavalry of Prince John of Lichtenstein and the advanced corps under Prince Bagration,) was to cover this movement. The first of these generals was on the plain between Krug and Schlapanitz, on each side of the causeway, occupying the heights situated between Dwaroschna and the Inn of Lesch, with his artillery. With this view the five columns, as already mentioned, received orders to advance, and accordingly, at seven o'clock the next morning, they

put themselves in motion, from the heights of Pratzen.

At the dawn of day Bonaparte collected his generals on a commanding height: he waited until the sun had appeared above the horizon before he issued his last orders: they then rode off, at full gallop, to join their respective corps. He himself passed, with great rapidity, along the whole line, and was received with great enthusiasm by the troops.

The movements of the allies were perfectly discernable to the French, who could not but perceive considerable intervals between the columns, in proportion as they approached the valleys of Tellnitz, Sokolnitz, and Kobelnitz. The action began on the left wing of the allies.

The corps of General Kienmeyer, posted in front of Aujut, was nearest the enemy, and destined to force the defile of Tellnitz, and to carry the village of that name as soon as possible, in order to open a passage for the first column, which had a great circuit to make before it could arrive at the point which would bring it in a line with the second column.

The French had some infantry posted on a hill in front of the village: General Kienmeyer attacked them. His troops were twice repulsed, but, receiving reinforcements, he at length succeeded in gaining possession of it with two battalions, under General Stutterheim. The Austrian cavalry suffered considerably from the French sharpshooters, who were placed in the vineyards and other inclosures round the village. The French still defended the village. The action had lasted above an hour before the first Russian column made its appearance: at length General Buxhoevden arrived, who detached a force to their support, by which means the French were dislodged. The French, reinforced by 4000 men, from the corps of General Davoust, which was stationed at the convent of Reygan, availing themselves of a sudden fog, again obtained possession of the village and the hill beyond it. As soon as the fog dispersed, the allied troops again moved forwards, and the French abandoned the village. This being accomplished, the defile was passed without difficulty, and the plain occupied between Tellnitz and Turas. Here they wished to form a communication with the second column; but this, and likewise the third column, had met with some opposition from a part of the division of Le Grand, which occupied Sokolnitz, and, in passing that village, they were further delayed by some confusion in their movements.

The French troops had hitherto remained upon the defensive; but Bonaparte had not failed to remark the want of concert and consistency in the movements of the Austro-Russian army; and perceiving that by the circuitous route their left

was obliged to take, it became more distant from the centre in proportion as it advanced, immediately put in motion the massive columns, which he had kept together, with a view of marching against the centre, and by that manoeuvre cutting off the left wing, which still continued to advance for the purpose of turning the French army in a position which he did not occupy. During this operation, the reserve of the French army remained upon the heights between Schlapanitz and Kobelnitz, and had not occasion to fire a shot.

Marshal Soult, with the two divisions of St. Hilaire and Vandamme, traversed the villages of Kobelnitz and Puntswitz, to attack the heights and the village of Pratzen. At the same time Marshal Bernadotte, after having crossed the rivulet at the village of Girschicowitz, with the division of Rivaud on his left, and that of Drouet on his right, took his direction on the heights of Blasowitz. The cavalry, under Prince Murat, formed several lines on the left of Bernadotte, and marched between Girschicowitz and Krug. Marshal Lasnes, having on his right the division of Caffarelli, and on his left that of General Suchet, moved forward on the left of Murat. From that time the centre and right of the allies became engaged in all quarters.

The grand Duke Constantine was destined, with the corps of Russian guards, to form the reserve of the right, and quitted the heights in front of Austerlitz, at the appointed hour, to occupy those of Blasowitz and Krug. He had scarcely arrived at this point, before he found himself engaged with the sharpshooters of Rivaud's division, and Murat's light cavalry, commanded by General Kellermann. The grand duke hastened to occupy the village of Blasowitz, with the light infantry battalion of the guards, at the same time Prince John of Lichtenstein arrived with his cavalry, and detached ten squadrons to protect Prince Bagration's left flank, which was opposed to part of Murat's cavalry. Prince John of Lichtenstein found the grand duke in presence of the cavalry under Kellermann, supported by the infantry of Bernadotte's left, and Lasnes' right. It was determined to charge the enemy: and the Archduke's regiment was the first that pushed forward. This was executed with intrepidity, but with too great precipitancy, for the French cavalry, retiring through the intervals of their infantry, the Russian cavalry pursued, but being thus placed, between the fires of Caffarelli's division, on their right, and that of Rivaud on their left, the hulans lost above 400 men, and the Archduke's regiment was put completely to the route. In this state, it reached the corps under Bagration. This last general had now moved forward from Pororsitz, to oppose the left of Marshal Lasnes, which rested on Kovalow-

witz. The villages of Krug and Holubitz were occupied by three battalions of Russian infantry.

It will appear that the centre of the combined army had been very much weakened by the strong force which was detached to so great a distance on their left, with the view of turning the enemy's right, while the division on the right was not sufficiently strong to divide the French forces. Bonaparte, whose intention was to take advantage of this circumstance from the moment he discovered the plan of the allies, brought a very superior force to act against their centre. It is computed that, in this point, the Austro-Russians did not exceed 12,000 men, while the troops destined to attack them were at least double that number. The centre of the allies was thus perfectly insulated. However, according to the original plan, they prepared to advance about eight o'clock, the Emperor Alexander having arrived at the head of the fourth column, which was commanded by the Austrian General Kollowrath. The action therefore near Tellnitz had already begun, and the left was in motion, when the centre formed, and broke into platoons from the left. These measures had hardly been taken, when a massive column of French infantry was discovered in a bottom, in front of Pratzen. This column was composed of the divisions of Vandamme and St. Hilaire.

The Russian commander-in-chief, General Koutousoff, whom this movement of the French had taken by surprise, (thinking himself the assailant, and seeing himself attacked in the midst of his combinations) felt all the importance of maintaining the heights of Pratzen, against which the enemy were moving. It was the summit of these heights which decided the fate of the day. It was the key to the position, which the allied army had just quitted, and, from the confined state of the different columns, their fate depended upon whoever was master of this height. Koutousoff, on being informed that the enemy was so near him, gave orders for shewing him a front, and for occupying the height; at the same time, he sent for some cavalry, from the column under Prince John of Lichtenstein, who sent him four Russian regiments.

Besides the corps of Vandamme, and St. Hilaire, another body of French made its appearance on the right of Pratzen, and threatened to pass through the interval, between the fourth column and the cavalry under Prince John of Lichtenstein. This column was part of the corps under Marshal Bernadotte. The Russian infantry, belonging to the fourth column, now marched to the right of Pratzen, and sent a reinforcement to the advanced guard, which occupied a hill in front of that village. But this advanced guard, being attacked by superior numbers, was compelled to abandon the position.

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The Russians then made an attack, but they opened their fire at too great a distance, while the French continued to advance without firing a shot, until they came within a hundred paces of the enemy: hereupon they opened a very destructive fire of musketry, and forming in several lines, marched rapidly towards the height, resting their left on the church of the village, and their right on the elevated points of the heights. Having reached them, they formed in an angular direction, for the purpose of opposing the rear of the third column. This was composed of the brigade under General Kaminskoy, which had separated from the column, and shewed a front upon the heights, menacing the right flank of Marshal Soult's corps.

The allies, sensible that the fate of the battle depended upon the possession of the heights, made several efforts to dislodge the enemy. The Emperor Alexander, who had constantly remained with the infantry of the fourth column during this desperate conflict, ordered his battalions to advance, and try to take the enemy in flank: General Kollowrath received orders to check him on the left; and two regiments of Russians, who had been left in reserve, upon the ground occupied during the night by the second column, to which they belonged, were ordered to reinforce the brigades under General Kaminskoy.

On this occasion the French generals manœuvred their troops with their usual ability, the result of a military eye and of experience, taking advantage of the inequalities of ground, to cover their men from fire and to conceal their movements.

The only chance that now remained to the allies of turning the fate of the day, was by a general and desperate attack at the point of the bayonet. The Austrian brigades, with that under General Kamenskoy, accordingly charged, but they were received by the French with steadiness and a well-supported fire, which made a dreadful carnage in the compact ranks of the Russians. General Miloradowitch advanced upon the right, but the Generals Berg and Repninsky being wounded, their troops lost that confidence in themselves, without which nothing is to be done in war. The ardour of this attack soon evaporated; nevertheless, the example of some of their officers had, at one moment, the effect to induce the left wing again to advance with intrepidity, and for an instant the right wing of the French began to give way.

The French, in their turn, attacked the allies, who were without any support, and absolutely abandoned by the left wing of their army. Resistance became of no avail, and the fourth column of the combined army lost the heights of Pratzen beyond the possibility of recovery, together with

the greatest part of their artillery, which was entangled in the deep clay that prevails in that part of the country. The French advanced their artillery, and vigorously cannonaded the retreating army, by which it was put into great confusion. This action on the heights of Pratzen lasted two hours, and the issue of it was decisive of the battle.

The fourth column retired to the position of Hodiégitz and Herspitz, where it collected its battalions, the French remaining in possession of the heights of Pratzen.

Whilst the action took this turn in the centre, the cavalry, under Prince John of Lichtenstein, attempted to make head both to the right and left against the French infantry and a part of Murat's cavalry, in order to check, or at least retard, their success. This general succeeded in rallying some Austrian battalions, which, like the Russian infantry, were retreating in disorder. His horse was killed under him by a grape-shot. The cavalry continued to occupy the foot of the heights of Pratzen, between the village of that name and Kozenovitz, until night. The grand Duke Constantine also found himself in an obstinate contest. The village of Blasowitz, which he had caused to be occupied, was attacked by the corps under Bernadotte. The grand duke wishing to stop the enemy's progress, left the commanding heights on which he was posted, and advanced in line upon the French columns; a sharp fire of musketry ensued. The French sharpshooters, who covered their columns, were driven in by a charge with the bayonet, which was ordered by the grand duke. A sharp cannonade, attended with much execution, then took place on this point. The grape-shot made a dreadful carnage; but, at the moment when the prince approached the enemy, the cavalry of the French guards, which had been posted in the intervals of the infantry, made a charge upon the Russian line, which being without support, was driven back, after a brave resistance. In order to disengage the infantry, the grand duke's regiment of horse-guards made a charge on the enemy's flank, checked and routed their cavalry, and afterwards attacked the infantry, which had advanced to their support. On this occasion the French lost a standard belonging to the fourth regiment. The Russian guards were, however, obliged to retire; but they succeeded, after considerable loss, in rallying and forming on the heights which they had quitted, whence they continued their movements upon Austerlitz, marching towards Krzenowitz. The French cavalry renewed the attack, but they were checked by the Russian horse-guards and some squadrons of hussars, who charged them at the very moment when they were about to assail the infantry during its

retreat. The Russian cavalry was likewise closely engaged with the French horse grenadier-guards, who had come up, under General Rapp, to reinforce the French cavalry.

From that moment the Russian guards effected their retreat upon Austerlitz, without further molestation from the French, who remained on the heights in front of Blasowitz. Prince Repnin, colonel of the horse-guards, was wounded, and made prisoner, with some officers of the same corps, which suffered severely.

On the right of the allies was Prince Bagration, in front of Posornitz. General Uwarow, with the cavalry under his command, was upon that prince's left near Holubitz; but Marshal Lasnes arriving with his troops in columns between these two corps, put a stop to the march of the right of the allies, and Lasnes, to secure the retreat of the left wing of the French army, in case of disaster, posted eighteen pieces of cannon, protected by a regiment of infantry, on a commanding height to the left of the road leading to Brunn. This height was to have been occupied by Prince Bagration.

This prince maintained himself for some time in his position; but the enemy continuing to advance in column, supported by part of the cavalry under Murat, and having driven the Russians from the villages of Krug and Holubitz, he retired upon the right of Rauswitz, and in the evening marched to Austerlitz. General Ulanus, who commanded the Russian cavalry, by great intelligence and bravery retarded the rapid progress which the French would otherwise have made, while General Uwarow, with a corps of cavalry, protected the retreat. Prince Bagration took post in the rear of Austerlitz, while the cavalry under Prince John of Lichtenstein occupied the heights in front of that place.

The road to Wischau, under these circumstances, being left totally uncovered, the chief part of the baggage of the allied army was afterwards captured.

It is necessary now to revert to what was passing on the left of the combined army at Tellnitz and Sokolnitz. The first, second, and third columns continued to march upon the points fixed in the original plan of attack, without advert- ing to the enemy's movements, and without having discrimination enough to take that direction, which the nature of the ground, and the position of the enemy, ought to have suggested to them. These three columns were composed of fifty-five battalions, exclusive of the brigade of Kamen- skoy, which remained behind to oppose General Le Grand, and a part of Marshal Davoust's corps. Had the left of the allied army taken advantage of the ground, and seized the means which it presented for again concentrating itself, the defeat might at least have been rendered less

decisive. The offensive movement on the part of the French disconcerted the attack of the allies, from which they never recovered.

The French being in possession of the heights of Pratzen, beyond the left of the allies, so that the Russians, who were at Sokolnitz, were surrounded, General Przibischewsky, who had the command of this corps, was made prisoner, together with 6,000 men, and the whole of their artillery. The relics of the second column retreated upon Aujut in disorder, and what continued embodied fell back upon the first column. This latter, informed, when too late, of the attack made by the French upon the centre, intended to move to its support, but took a wrong direction to be capable of making a diversion in its favor.

The Austrian cavalry, which had been left beyond Tellnitz, retired through that village, leaving some battalions of infantry, and a few cavalry, on the hill fronting it, to secure the march of General Buxhoevden, who was retiring upon Aujut, by the route he had advanced. To protect the flank of the Russian infantry, the Szeckler hussars, under Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein, and O'Reilly's light cavalry, with two regiments of cossacks, under General Stutterheim, were advanced upon the plain, between the foot of the hills and the villages of Tellnitz and Sokolnitz. General Norlitz, with the hussars of Hesse Hombourg, marched with the column.

The French, after their success in the centre, had already brought forward their reserve, consisting of twenty battalions, and had extended along the brow of the heights that were occupied in the morning by the allies, from Pratzen to the chapel above Aujut, but as yet they were not in force, and had no cannon above that village.

As soon as this column of the allies arrived in Aujut, the division of Vandamme rushed like a torrent down upon the village, of which, after a short resistance, they took possession. Four thousand men were made prisoners, and lost their artillery. But General Buxhoevden, with a few battalions, succeeded in rejoining the army near Austerlitz. Many fugitives perished in the lake, which was not sufficiently frozen to support them.

After the French had occupied Aujut, the centre and rear of the first column fell back, under the orders of General Docktorow, upon the plain between Tellnitz and the lake. The only retreat left them was over a narrow dyke between two lakes, on which two men only could pass abreast. General Kienmeyer, with a body of hussars, was sent over in advance, in order to observe the enemy, who, it was feared, might attempt to cut off the retreat by coming round the lake. The Russian infantry was likewise protected by the cavalry under Prince Maurice and General Stutterheim.

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The conclusion of this battle is very remarkable, since the troops of the right wing of the French army turned their backs upon Austerlitz, to attack the left of the allies, to do which they quitted the same heights whence the allies had marched to attack them. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon: the action was decided along the rest of the line, when the division of Vandamme advanced to complete it. The Russian infantry, in proportion as it passed the dyke, retired to an eminence in the rear of Tellnitz. That village, as affording some means of defence, was likewise occupied by a regiment of infantry, in order to give time to the rest of the column to file off. General Doctorow continued the retreat. Tellnitz was attacked and taken, wherein were found many Russian stragglers.

During this scene of confusion, the Austrian cavalry behaved with the greatest courage, and they suffered prodigiously from the enemy's artillery; yet nothing could prevent them from continuing to cover the retreat of the Russians, which was long protracted, owing to the fatigue and exhaustion of the infantry. The Russian column, when it reached Newhoff, formed still a corps of at least 8,000 men. It was then four o'clock, and already began to grow dark; the Russian battalions, after being restored to some order, continued to retreat by Boscowitz, and marched the whole night under a heavy fall of rain, which completed the destruction of the roads, so that the remaining artillery was abandoned. The Austrian cavalry formed the rear-guard, without being pursued by the French.

The victorious army took up the position occupied by the allied army on the preceding night. The latter retired completely behind Austerlitz, into the position of Holiegitz. But the very considerable loss sustained in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, more especially of the first, second, third, and fourth columns, placed this army in a very feeble state, with respect to its disposable force. The Austrian cavalry, which had been commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, had alone some detachments in front of Austerlitz, and formed the rear-guard of the army. Thus closed this ever memorable day.

The loss sustained on both sides was immense. By killed, wounded, and prisoners, the allied army was diminished more than a fourth part. Forty standards and the greatest part of their artillery and baggage were taken, and such was the number of wounded left upon the field, that they could not all be dressed until two days after the battle.

On the day following (the 3d of December) the French army advanced. The cavalry, under Murat, which on the preceding evening had pushed forward detachments upon Rausnitz and

Wischau, advanced beyond Prosnitz, and sent out strong parties to Kremsin. Marshal Lasnes marched to gain the right of the allies by Butshovitz and Stanitz. Marshal Soult and Bernadotte, with the imperial guards, and the grenadiers of the reserve, were posted on the route towards Hungary. Marshal Davoust marched upon the left flank of the Austro-Russian army, by the routes of Nicholsburg and of Auspitz.

A trifling affair took place in the course of the day: Prince Bagration was attacked in the neighbourhood of Urschutz: he maintained his post. He retired, however, in the evening, towards Czeitsch.

On the 4th the allied army crossed the river March, and arrived at Hollitsch. The Emperor Alexander took up his quarters in the castle of Hollitsch, whilst the Emperor of Germany remained at Czeitsch.

Prince John of Lichtenstein had been sent, on the night of the 2d of December, to the French emperor, to propose an armistice on the part of the Emperor Francis; and it was agreed, that a suspension of hostilities should take place, to commence on the 4th, at day-break. The prince arrived at head-quarters the evening before, but it appeared that the French was not apprised of this transaction in sufficient time to prevent the hostile movements made on the 4th.

In consequence of this agreement, an interview took place between the Emperors of Germany and France, in the open air, at a small distance from the village of Nasedlowitz, near a mill, by the road side. This conference lasted a considerable time, when the Emperor Francis returned to Czeitsch, which place he reached in the evening, and immediately dispatched an Austrian general to communicate the result to the Emperor Alexander. General Savary was appointed by Bonaparte to attend the Austrian general to the Russian head-quarters. The Emperor of Russia received them with politeness, and, at the same time, made no positive objection to the armistice, though he did not formally concur in it.

In conformity with the terms of this agreement, the French army was to remain in possession of its conquests, namely, part of Moravia and Hungary, all Upper and Lower Austria, the Tyrol, the state of Vienna, Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, the country of Goritz and Istria; and lastly, in Bohemia, the circle of Montabar, with the whole space to the eastward, from Tabor to Lintz. The French army was to hold this immense tract until the conclusion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of the negotiations; in the latter of which case it was stipulated, that hostilities should not re-commence within fourteen days, and that the cessation of the armistice should then be announced to the plenipotentiaries

of both powers, at the head of their respective armies. It was further agreed, that the Russian army should evacuate the Austrian states, Moravia, and Hungary, within the period of fifteen days, and Galicia within a month; the routes to be prescribed to the Russian army; that there should be no levy or insurrection in Hungary, nor any extraordinary raising of troops in Bohemia, nor that any foreign army should be permitted to enter the territory of the house of Austria; and, finally, it was conditioned, that negociators from both powers should meet at Nicholsburg, for the commencement of a treaty, in order to effect, without delay, the re-establishment of peace between the two emperors.

To these humiliating conditions, derogatory to the dignity of his throne and the interests of his allies, the Emperor Alexander, with that magnanimity which had distinguished his majesty on all occasions, refused to become a party, and accordingly caused his army, although under very distressing circumstances, to commence its retreat, on the 6th of December, from the Austrian states.

Prince John of Lichtenstein, on the part of Austria, and M. de Talleyrand, on the part of France, were deputed to conclude the definitive treaty.

Although the allies suffered so signal a defeat on the 2d of December, their army was far from being annihilated, so that, by prudence and fortitude, they could still, at least, have engaged a great proportion of the French army. The Archduke Ferdinand, who commanded a corps of about 20,000 Austrians in Bohemia, before intelligence could reach him of the conclusion of the

armistice, attacked and defeated, with considerable loss, a corps of Bavarians under General Wrede, and was rapidly advancing in the rear of the French army; and, almost at the same time, the Archduke Charles made his appearance from Hungary, within a day's march of Vienna, on the right bank of the Danube, with his army in excellent order, and consisting of about 80,000 men. Under these circumstances, it is to be presumed, that, had the Emperor Francis not been so precipitate in concluding a treaty with Bonaparte, that the fortune of war might have taken a very different turn, at least Austria might, doubtless, have obtained conditions infinitely more favorable; for, in case of defeat, or even a severe check, at the distance at which the French army was from its frontier, it risked being totally destroyed. Indeed, it was said, that the Archduke Charles, impressed with this notion, was mortified, in the highest degree, on receiving intelligence, when he summoned the city of Vienna to surrender, of this pusillanimous transaction, which incapacitated him from making further efforts for the honor and advantage of the house of Austria and his country.

Pending the negotiation for peace, the French grand army occupied the following positions. Marshal Bernadotte resumed his station in Bohemia; Marshal Mortier remained in Moravia; Marshal Davoust returned to Presburg, the capital of Hungary; Marshal Soult occupied Vienna; Marshal Ney, Carinthia; General Marmont, Styria; and Marshal Massena, Carniola; whilst Marshal Augereau, with the reserve, continued in Suabia.

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CHAPTER X.

Naval Affairs.—Charges against Viscount Melville.—Votes of the House of Commons thereon.—Sir Charles Middleton succeeds Lord Melville.—Declining State of Mr. Pitt.—Spanish War popular in the Navy.—Gallant Action in the East Indies.—Admiral Linois beaten by an inferior Force.—Gallant Exploit of two Vessels in the Mediterranean.—Situation of the Navy much improved.—Project for making the Harbour of Falmouth a naval Arsenal abandoned.—Extraordinary Efforts of the combined French and Spanish Fleets.—Their Escape from the British blockading Squadrons.—Capture of the Ville de Milan Frigate.—Heroic Conduct of Sir Robert Laxie.—Generosity of Captain Talbot.—Attack of the Island of Dominica by the French.—Their Rapacity.—Cowardice and Flight before Lord Nelson's inferior Force.—Action with the British Squadron under Sir Robert Calder.—The French lose two Ships of the Line, but succeed in retreating to Cadiz.—Glorious Victory of Trafalgar, achieved by Lord Nelson.—Success of Sir Richard Strahan.—Death and Anecdotes of Lord Nelson.—Difficult Situation of Admiral Collingwood and his Fleet.

On the 12th of January, Mr. Addington was raised to the peerage by the style and title of

Viscount Sidmouth, and two days afterwards he succeeded the Duke of Portland as lord-president

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of the council. The return of the Addingtons to a share in the administration, did not cause much surprise either to the friends or enemies of that party;—but that the minister should again ally himself to the man, whose conduct in office he had arraigned, in terms of the bitterest sarcasm and severest invective, with reference to his general conduct of the public interests, both at home and abroad; whom he had repeatedly held up to view as ignorant and inefficient, and whom he had so recently exposed with all the bitterness of the most reproachful scorn, indeed excited universal astonishment.

On April 6, Mr. Whitbread brought under the consideration of the House of Commons the subject of the tenth report of the commissioners of naval enquiry. He began by describing the origin of the commission, praised the integrity and perseverance of the commissioners themselves, and complimented the late board of admiralty, by which they were appointed; after which he passed on to the nature of the charge he had to bring against Lord Viscount Melville, and in which were implicated the conduct of Mr. Trotter, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Mark Sprot. He then referred to the act, of which Lord Melville was the supporter, in 1785, for regulating the department of treasurer of the navy, and the order of council by which his salary was advanced from 2,000*l.* to 4,000*l.* a year, in lieu of all profits, fees, or emoluments he might before have derived from allowances of the public money in his hands. Lord Melville was, himself, at that time treasurer of the navy, and though the act was passed in July, it was not till the subsequent January that the balances were paid into the bank, pursuant to the terms of the act, and this delay in the transfer could only be accounted for on the score of private emolument. He then stated his three heads of charges against the noble lord,—first, his having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, in express contempt of an act of parliament, and in gross violation of his duty.—Secondly, this conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, for whose conduct, in the use of the public money, he was deeply responsible, and for this connivance he denounced him as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor.—Thirdly, his having, himself, been a participator in that system of peculation; but as this only rested on suspicion, at present, he would not then much insist upon it; but, if the inquiry should be instituted, he pledged himself to follow it up, with moderation, on his own part, but with firmness and steadiness for the country.

After having exhorted gentlemen of all descriptions in that house to join with him in bringing such enormous delinquency to punishment, he concluded with reading thirteen resolutions,

founded on the subject-matter of his speech, but added, that for the present he should only press the first eleven of them.

The utmost efforts of administration failed in screening Lord Melville from the effect of these resolutions; the mode of procedure against his lordship, as a delinquent, having been warmly contested. The friends of the accused, who were, at first, adverse to the measure of impeachment, and had pledged the house to a prosecution in the courts of law, thought, afterwards, that it would be more to the advantage of Lord Melville to be tried by his peers, and suddenly veering round, moved, that he should be impeached, which measure, though with great difficulty, they carried. During the whole of these proceedings, the new president of the council and his adherents separated from the minister, and took an eager and an active part in bringing Lord Melville to the bar of public justice:—conduct which must have been considered as a defection from the government, of which they formed a part, and, as such, must have been deeply resented by the minister.

Other causes of disagreement, it was rumoured, existed between Mr. Pitt and Lord Sidmouth at this period; for, on the 10th of July the Viscount Sidmouth and the Earl of Buckinghamshire resigned their respective offices, and were succeeded in them by Earl Camden and Lord Harrowby.

The success of Mr. Whitbread's motion against Lord Melville having driven his lordship from the councils of his majesty, he was also soon removed from his high station of first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, in which he was succeeded by Sir Charles Middleton, newly created a baron of the realm, by the title of Lord Barham.

Immediately after the tidings of the surrender of General Mack at Ulm had reached England, Mr. Pitt was observed to droop. His health, already much impaired, became daily worse, and he was compelled, however reluctantly, to quit all public business, and repair to Bath for the benefit of the waters.

The declaration of war against Spain, which opened a new scene of adventure to the British seamen and officers, may well be supposed to have been a popular measure with the navy. The increase of the French fleets, by the junction of those of Spain, rendered them more enterprising than they had of late been, and afforded an opportunity to the English of asserting their superiority in a nobler field than had lately been attempted in the warfare of the catamaran system.

On the 18th of September of the preceding year, Captain Lind, at that time commanding the *Centurion*, of fifty guns, was, while refitting in Vizagapatam roads, in the East Indies, attacked by the French admiral, Linois, in the *Marengo*,

of eighty guns, with two heavy frigates, forty and thirty-six guns each.—After a close and severe action of two hours, the *Centurion* succeeded in obliging this formidable squadron to sheer off, with very considerable damage in rigging, and in loss of men. An action, deservedly named, by Admiral Rainier, commanding in chief in those seas, as “ranking with the most famous of the defensive kind ever recorded in the annals of the British navy!” From events of a more recent date, it seems this predatory French naval hero was destined to be foiled and disgraced only when encountered by an inferior British force!

In the Mediterranean also, an action of inferior note, but not less distinguished by skill and intrepidity, occurred in the course of this year, well worthy the historic page. The *Arrow* sloop, and *Acheron* bomb-vessel, having convoy, were attacked by two of the largest-sized French frigates, to which their commanders were obliged to surrender, after a desperate action, but not until they had the satisfaction of seeing the merchantmen they were in charge of in safety, and their own vessels sunk!

But if the greatest advantages were to be looked to, by the enterprising British seamen and officers, from the declaration of war against Spain, as holding forth new and great prospects of attaining individual wealth and national glory, the effect of the union of the Spanish fleets with theirs, seemed still more to animate the French nation. Their public orators, boastful of this accumulated strength, took every opportunity of exaggerating its power, and of threatening England with its irresistible effects. Their official gazettes teemed with matter of the same sort, but couched in a strain of mysterious warning, calculated, as they supposed, to terrify and distract the British councils. “Years,” they said, “it was true, had elapsed, but they had not been passed inactively. Arms, ships, and men, had been secretly in preparation, and fleets were now to be poured forth from all her harbours. The ocean was no longer to belong to England; she was bade to tremble in every quarter of the globe, for in every quarter of the globe would her possessions be assailed!”

Nor were the proceedings of the French naval force confined only to empty boasting; a squadron of six sail of the line, and two frigates, in Rochefort, which had remained strictly blockaded for more than two years, found means to elude the British force off that port, and put to sea. On the 15th of the same month, the Toulon fleet, of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, which had been long in a state of complete equipment, also pushed out of the harbour, without being perceived by the squadron under Lord Nelson, then cruising at some distance agreeably to the system of that great man, who, more than

a twelvemonth in those seas, never strictly blockaded the port, but gave the French fleet every fair opportunity of putting to sea.

It may easily be supposed that much alarm prevailed at home when it was known that two such formidable fleets of the enemy were actually at sea, and which was aggravated by reports of strong detachments of the Brest fleet having also escaped, with a view to some grand combined exertion of the enemy. Where the blow was to fall, occupied the public mind. Malta, Brazil, the British West Indies—a general junction of the whole of the combined force of the enemy, in order to cover a descent upon Ireland. In short, every possible point of annoyance or attack was warmly agitated in the public mind. At length intelligence was received, upon the 6th of May, from the British commander-in-chief of the forces in the windward and leeward islands, that Dominica had been attacked on the 22d of the February preceding, by a French armament of one three-decker and four other line-of-battle ships, three frigates, two brigs of war, and a schooner, with about 4000 landmen on board. Brigadier-general Prevost, the governor of the island, immediately made the best dispositions for its defence, and opposed, with the small force under his command, the landing of the French, inch by inch. At length the whole of the enemy's force, consisting of 4000 men, under cover of the tremendous fire of the *Majestueux* of 120 guns, four seventy-fours, and the frigates, having landed, and having made such a disposition as threatened to cut off the retreat of the governor, and his few remaining troops, from the town and fort of Prince Rupert, and thereby reduce the whole island; General Prevost, with the utmost promptitude and presence of mind, directed the regular force, under Captain O'Connel, to make a forced march across the island, and join him at Prince Rupert's; to which place he himself, attended only by his staff, repaired, and arrived in twenty-four hours: the troops also arriving there with their wounded, after four days continued march through the most difficult country existing. The governor immediately took the necessary precautions to place the fort in the best state of defence, and his appearance was so formidable, that the French commander-in-chief, after having in vain summoned him to surrender, thought proper, after levying a contribution upon the inhabitants of Roseau, which town had been set on fire in the moment of attack, and had suffered severely by the conflagration, on the 27th, to reembark his whole force, and, after hovering a day or two in the bay, and about the port of Prince Rupert, made easy sail towards Guadaloupe. Throughout the whole of this transaction the highest praise was due to the conduct of the governor,

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and the British troops under his command. At one period, 200. of the latter were opposed to more than 2000 of the enemy, and under the command of the gallant Major Nunn, who unfortunately received a mortal wound in the action, and subsequently under Captain O'Connell, succeeded in withstanding them for more than two hours, and then effected their retreat, after having made much slaughter of the invaders. Nor were the militia of the island without their due share of praise, for their exemplary bravery and steadiness. Upon the whole, it may be stated, with perfect propriety, in the words of General Myers, that in this affair, "had not the town of Roseau been accidentally destroyed by fire, we should have little to regret, and much in which to exult."

In pursuit of the predatory system of warfare the French seemed to have adopted in this expedition, their squadron, on the 5th of March, appeared in Basseterre roads, in the island of St. Kitt's, where he landed and levied a contribution of 18,000*l.* sterling, and burnt some merchantment, richly laden, lying there, and then quickly re embarked, without attempting Brimstone-hill, where the small British force under Major Foster were ready to receive him. The island of Nevis was also laid under some slight contribution by this marauding armament, and here ended its exploits in the West Indies. The arrival of Admiral Cochrane in those seas, who had been dispatched from England as soon as the sailing of the Rochefort squadron was known, with a force of six sail of the line, quickly determined its conduct, the French squadron precipitately sailing for France, where it arrived in safety, having been fortunate enough to escape the different English fleets then at sea, and some detachments cruising expressly for its interception.

Having thus accounted for the smaller division of the enemy's force, which had occasioned no small share of alarm, we must return to the much more formidable one under Admiral Villeneuve, which had evaded Lord Nelson, and had put to sea from Toulon with impunity. That great man, who, although at the time out of sight of the port whence the enemy had sailed, was not so remote as not to be speedily informed of the event, doubtless rejoiced in a circumstance which would terminate the tedious inactivity he had endured for more than a twelvemonth, and lost not a moment in shaping his course towards the most likely point to overtake or encounter with the adversary. At this period the opinion universally prevailed, that it was the object of the French ruler again to establish a footing in Egypt, and that the armament which had been so long equipping at Toulon, was destined for an attempt upon Alexandria. Thither, therefore, Lord Nelson deter-

mined to proceed—but his pursuit was in vain. He traversed the Mediterranean with the utmost celerity, having a force of ten sail of the line with him, but no enemy was to be heard of. In fact, Admiral Villeneuve, whose views were far otherwise than those attributed to him, having, a few days after his sailing from Toulon, encountered a violent storm, in which his fleet suffered considerably, he deemed it prudent to return to that port to refit, nor was it till the 30th of March that he again ventured to sea.

During this anxious period, Lord Nelson, with unwearying activity, cruized in every likely direction in the Mediterranean, agreeably to his own surmises of the course of the enemy, or as he was led by the various intelligence he collected from every quarter, and finally took his station in the Sicilian seas, where he eagerly waited the approach of the enemy.

The new board, if it may be so termed, pursued, without any deviation, those wholesome measures begun by the one preceding, and in consequence of the restored, and indeed increased, energy of the dock-yards, now replenished, and full of naval stores, were enabled to fit out forty-six sail of the line in a comparatively short period, although at a very considerable rate of enlarged expenditure, the necessary consequence of the unfortunate measures of a former economic administration, and which brought home conviction to the most incredulous, of the truth of the different charges which had been adduced against it, both within and without the walls of parliament. These ships, so supplied in this critical moment, enabled the government to reinforce the British squadrons in every part of the world, and thus rendered them equal to the achievement of the glorious victories which followed.

Other regulations of this new board were also attended with the best effects. Supplies of timber and stores began to pour into the exhausted arsenals of the royal dock-yards, and the usual order and methodical arrangement, in the different civil departments of the navy, which had been superseded by a tyrannical, arbitrary, and capricious contempt of all former usage and system, again took the lead. In no respect did the abilities of Lord Barham appear more conspicuous, than in the steady official regularity he introduced. A new board was also appointed to survey and report upon the state of the coasts, and to examine the sea-fencible establishment, a sort of defence which had been most ostentatiously boasted of by Lord Castlereagh, and others of the former administration, as a most efficient strength, but which, when explored by the accurate eye, and brought to the test of the great professional experience of the gallant admiral who was appointed to this duty, was found

to be useless and expensive in the extreme; and so far from answering the vaunted ends for which it was raised, that it was proved, in his masterly and comprehensive reports upon the subject, to be highly detrimental to the navy and militia of the country, by screening the most active and able men from the impress and ballot; a new code, which went to the entire correction of these abuses, was suggested by this excellent officer, Admiral Berkeley, which met with the most unqualified approbation of the minister.

About this time, the project of converting the harbour of Falmouth into a royal arsenal, for refitting the ships of the channel fleet, was adopted, and endeavoured to be carried into execution, as being farther to the westward than Plymouth, and approximating more to the ports of the enemy. In the prosecution of this wild and visionary scheme, much expence was incurred, and many buildings were erected for different offices. But a very short trial verified the predictions of some of the most intelligent of the old officers of the navy, who had early asserted, that its diminutive size and the narrowness of its entrance, would preclude line-of-battle ships from getting readily to sea; and after nearly risking the loss of two three-deckers, and a seventy-four, this plan, perhaps originating in interested motives, was at length abandoned.

It was, however, to be regretted, during this period, in other respects honorable to the naval administration of the country, that a total want of intelligence of the enemy's designs, state of preparation, or movements, prevailed in an unaccountable degree.

Not only the frigates and single ships of the enemy, but even their entire fleets, escaped from their ports, which were supposed to be in a state of strict blockade, and it was only by the accounts of their depredations, or the news of their return to Europe, that even their having sailed came to be known!

An action took place, arising out of a circumstance of this kind, so honorable to the parties concerned, that it is worthy of particular mention. The *Cleopatra*, a small 32-gun British frigate, commanded by Sir Robert Laurie, after sustaining a very long but unequal contest with the *Ville de Milan*, one of the enemy's largest frigates, was compelled to surrender, but not until he had so completely disabled his huge opponent as to render both vessels, (now French,) an easy capture to the *Leander*, Captain Talbot, one of the most promising young officers in the service, who, by this means, and scarcely firing a gun, had the option of commanding one of the very finest and most desirable frigates in the French navy. But with that generosity of spirit, which ever characterises the British officer, Captain Talbot referred this material object to

Sir Robert Laurie, to whose spirit, bravery, and perseverance alone, he generously ascribed the double capture of the *Ville de Milan*, and her prize the *Cleopatra*, as if the Frenchman had not been so beaten, she certainly would not have proved so easy a prize.

Before we proceed to the account of the ever-memorable transactions of Lord Nelson, whom we left waiting the arrival of the Toulon squadron in the Sicilian seas, it may not be deemed uninteresting to state another proof of the genuine nobleness of character of the British seaman, which was perhaps never more fully conspicuous, than as exemplified in an attack upon some vessels in Muros Bay, on the coast of Spain, by the *Loire* frigate, Captain Maitland, who not only captured the ships, the object of the enterprise, but stormed and took the fort which protected them; at the same time, he manifested so much humanity towards the inhabitants, as to call forth the personal thanks of the bishop of the diocese:—conduct, which must have impressed the Spaniards with the most exalted ideas of British humanity and heroism!

The alarm existing in the public mind, respecting the proceedings of the Rochfort squadron in the West-Indies, had scarcely been calmed, before it was again, and in a much more serious manner, excited, by the certain information, received about this period, that Admiral Villeneuve had again put to sea. This officer, who returned to Toulon to refit, having been much shattered upon his first cruise, once more tried his fortune upon the ocean, and under more auspicious circumstances. He, on the 30th of March, sailed to Carthegena, with the intention of strengthening himself by the Spanish ships of the line equipping in that port, but not finding them in a state of sufficient readiness, he continued his way unmolested to Cadiz; whence, having been joined there by one French and six Spanish sail of the line, he directly proceeded to the West-Indies, with an accumulated force of eighteen sail of the line, carrying, beside their full complement of seamen, and in a perfect state of equipment, ten thousand veteran soldiers! On the approach of Villeneuve to Cadiz, Admiral Sir John Orde, who blockaded that port with five British sail, of the line, thought it prudent to retire, which he did without molestation or notice, on the part of the enemy, and succeeded in joining the English fleet off Brest under Lord Gardner.

It may easily be conceived, how great must have been the apprehension and uneasiness throughout the British empire, when the sailing of so considerable an armament became known; but the consternation was at its height, when it was certainly announced, that it had proceeded for the West-Indies, intelligence of which was

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received about the beginning of May, but none whatever of the movements of Lord Nelson.

During this anxious period, that great man, after having traversed the Mediterranean, with his squadron of ten sail of the line, and visited Alexandria, whither he had conceived Villeneuve to have proceeded in the first instance, and had taken in provisions and water at Palermo, again put to sea, and cruised in those latitudes, in eager expectation of the arrival of the enemy. It was not until the middle of April, that he received indubitable information of Villeneuve having quitted the Mediterranean. His lordship immediately proceeded for the Straits of Gibraltar, and anchored in the Bay of Tetuan, on the Barbary coast, early in May. From the various accounts which he received here, as well of their number as strength, he no longer doubted of the West-Indies being the place of the destination of the combined squadrons of the enemy. The dangerous situation in which their arrival there would place the British colonies, with all the train of evils which would attach to the mother-country upon their capture; rose at once upon his mind, and he instantly took the heroic determination of pursuing the enemy thither, with a force of little more than one half their strength! His lordship having hastily taken in, at Tetuan, such articles of the first necessity as the wants of his fleet immediately required, next proceeded to Lagos Bay, where he was fortunate enough to find some transports and store-ships belonging to Sir John Orde's squadron, when that officer had retired before the French fleet. From these vessels he received still farther supplies of stores and provisions, and being more and more confirmed in the course which the enemy had steered, on the 11th day of May he sailed in pursuit of them.

To appreciate, as it deserves, all the merit of this extraordinary man, (in this part of his glorious career of public duty, perhaps the most glorious) many circumstances should be taken into consideration. Let it be remembered, that, with ten sail of the line, foul, and after a cruize of more than two years, he undertook to pursue, across the Atlantic, or to whatever part of the globe they might have shaped their course, the enemies' combined squadrons of eighteen sail of the line, in a state of the most complete equipment, fresh from their ports, with their full complement of sailors on board, carrying 10,000 land-troops, commanded by some of the best officers of France and Spain, and under the positive commands of the French ruler to strike a grand and decisive blow against the British power and empire in the West Indies, and destroy her commerce upon the western ocean!

Considerations of the purest patriotism, acting upon the most heroic mind, and combined with the utmost professional science and judgment, de-

termined this energetic character; who, therefore, despising the superior force of the enemy, and setting at nought the vast responsibility he incurred, by thus acting without orders, in a case of the utmost risk and emergency; superior to every personal consideration, he hazarded his great name and reputation upon the issue. That Providence, to whose watchful care he had so often piously and wisely ascribed the glory of his greatest and most splendid actions, did not now desert him, and Lord Nelson was once more to be hailed as its instrument in saving his country.

Before we proceed to the further particulars connected with the pursuit of the combined squadrons by Lord Nelson, it may be necessary to mention a movement, at this period, of the enemy's Brest fleet, evidently calculated to divide and distract the attention of the British government, keep its naval force divided, and spread a wider alarm in the minds of the English nation. Having been sometime in the bustle of preparation, about the middle of May the French fleet put to sea from Brest, apparently with a design to fight the English squadron blockading that port, commanded by Lord Gardner: the former consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, the latter but of seventeen. Notwithstanding this great disproportion of strength, the French fleet returned into harbour, satisfied with the bravado of having ventured once out of it in so many years, and left the English admiral to pursue his system of blockade, without any attempt at its further interruption.

The expedition of Lord Nelson had been such, that, on the 15th of May, he was twenty leagues to the eastward of Madeira, and on the 4th of June he came to anchor in Carlisle bay, off Barbadoes, after a fortunate passage, where he received intelligence that the combined fleet, under Admiral Villeneuve, had arrived at Martinique on the 14th of May, nearly three weeks before; but that, most providentially, this powerful armament had hitherto remained inactive, with the exception of its having attacked and carried the Diamond Rock, by a force detached for that purpose. The most sanguine hope or expectation of Lord Nelson could hardly have suggested this extraordinary inactivity to have resulted from such great preparation and such real strength; he, accordingly, having been joined by Admiral Cochrane, and two ships of the line, prepared to sail in quest of the enemy, to attack them wherever they might be found.

The joy and exultation which prevailed in the British islands, at this period, may easily be conceived. Abandoned of all hope, they had seen their successive and entire destruction, in the arrival of one of the most formidable fleets that had ever been witnessed in that quarter of the globe, without any force adequate to even the

chance of effectual resistance. From this gloom of despair, they were roused by the appearance, on a day auspicious to the prospect of their deliverance from the surrounding peril of the British fleet, on the anniversary of the birth of his Britannic majesty; and that fleet commanded by Lord Nelson. From that moment not a doubt remained of relief: the inferiority of force, great as it was, was never once taken into consideration; for Nelson and victory were inseparable, even in idea; nothing was looked for but the discomfiture and disgrace of the arrogant invader.

To what the strange inactivity of the enemy's force was owing, was not clearly understood: by some it was attributed to the mortality among the troops, of whom it was asserted, not less than 3,000 perished in Martinico, from the disorders incident to those climates, while the remaining force was sickly in the highest degree. By others, it was as confidently stated, that the best understanding did not exist between the French and the Spanish commanders, as to the objects of the enterprise. Probably their inertness might have proceeded from both causes, for the first alleged fact was certain; and, without any apparent motive, it was ascertained, that the Spanish squadron under Admiral Gravina had, about this period, separated from that of the French, and was supposed to have sailed upon some secret expedition.

As the recovery of the island of Trinidad, the ancient possession of Spain, would, probably, be the object of Admiral Gravina, and concurring reports strengthening this conjecture, Lord Nelson having employed only twenty-four hours in taking in water for the whole fleet, and in embarking 2,000 troops under Sir William Myers; on the 5th of June steered to the southward, and arrived off Trinidad on the 7th. Here, however, he found, that the enemy had not made his appearance; and, much disappointed, he quitted the island on the following day, and reached Granada on the ninth, where he had the mortification to learn, that the enemy's squadrons, again acting in conjunction, and consisting of seventeen sail of the line, had, that very morning, sailed from Martinique, and had taken a course to the northward. Immediately conceiving that Antigua must now be the object of the enemy; to prevent that island from falling a prey to such a formidable force, he lost no time in proceeding thither; but here again disappointment awaited him, and he was clearly ascertained in a fact he scarcely could give credit to, that this superior fleet, terrified by the news of his arrival, and profiting of the delay which his ill information had occasioned, betook himself to a precipitate and shameful flight, and was actually on his return to Europe! A transaction, which, while it stamped the highest reputation upon the British name and arms, covered with indelible disgrace the naval character of the enemy.

When assured that Admirals Villeneuve and Gravina had declined the contest in those seas, the unceasing activity of Lord Nelson impelled him to, what even his modesty could not refuse the term of, a pursuit, and the novel scene presented itself to an admiring world, of seventeen sail of French and Spanish ships of the line flying before a force of eleven of the same class, bearing the British ensigns, the Spartiate ship of the line Lord Nelson having taken with him from the West Indies, as an addition to his original force. Lord Nelson, accordingly, having debarked the troops at Antigua, once more set sail, in the hope of overtaking the fugitives before they reached a friendly port in Europe. In taking this resolution, his lordship, however, was not so occupied by the hurry and bustle necessarily attendant upon its being carried into effect, as to neglect those means which his unerring judgment suggested, of apprizing the different British squadrons at sea, as well as the government at home, of the proceedings of both fleets, in order that every means should be taken to intercept the enemy on his return, should he not be fortunate enough to overtake him. Accordingly, his lordship dispatched the *Curieux* sloop of war to England, on the 13th of June, and on the 15th the *Decade* frigate to Lisbon, the latter with instructions to cause any light vessels he might find there or on his passage, to spread the intelligence of the return of the enemy in every direction, and then proceed herself upon the same service. The *Marten* sloop was sent off to Gibraltar for a similar purpose: measures of precaution equally wise and efficacious, and which, subsequently, were greatly instrumental to the glorious events which took place, as, by this timely information, the different British squadrons were reinforced, and collected in the most probable situations of meeting with the enemy on his return to Europe.

The safety of the West Indian colonies being now ascertained at home, the mind of the British public was at its greatest stretch of hope and expectation. It was not unreasonable to expect, that the combined squadrons, baffled and disgraced, might fall in either with Admirals Calder or Collingwood, who were cruising in different directions, with strong divisions of the British fleet on the watch, to prevent his return to port, either in France or Spain. Many imagined it possible that Lord Nelson might overtake his prey, and contemplated, with hope, alloyed by some slight reflection on the disproportion of strength, the tremendous conflict which must have ensued. Nor were there wanting some sanguine enough to see the possibility, if not the probability, of his lordship coming up with Villeneuve when he should be engaged with one of the British squadrons already adverted to, and thus place him between two fires, to his inevitable destruction.

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These expectations, however, were but partially realized. Lord Nelson reached the straits on the 19th of June, without having seen the enemy, after having, in seventy-eight days from the time he quitted Tetuan bay to his return to Gibraltar, twice traversed, with his whole fleet, the Atlantic ocean; and visited all the Leeward West India islands, without calculating the time necessarily employed in taking in provisions and stores, and the embarking and re-embarking troops, together with the delay induced by collecting information of the enemy: a scene of activity unparalleled, and within a space of time inconceivably limited. Having ascertained that the enemy had not entered the Mediterranean, Lord Nelson found himself constrained, from the absolute want of water and provisions, to steer for the bay of Tetuan, where he anchored on the 22d. Having here procured some supplies, he made sail again, on the 26th, and re-passed the Straits, in hopes of encountering the fugitive fleet of the enemy, which, in fact, he had outstripped, off the Capes of St. Vincent, or, by taking a northward direction, fall in with him in a higher latitude.

It should seem, however, as if fate had decreed, that Nelson should have the immortal honor of saving his country, upon this occasion, merely by the terror of his name, and without his firing a gun; circumstances which, at the time, were doubtless of extreme mortification to this great man; but which, in point of fact, redound more to his fame, and place it higher than even his most splendid victories.

His lordship neared Cadiz on the 27th of July, but finding the enemy had not entered that port, he sailed for Cape St. Vincent, and subsequently traversed the Bay of Biscay without seeing or hearing any thing of him. With unabated perseverance and zeal, this indefatigable man next pursued his course, as a last hope, to the north-west coast of Ireland, where being still disappointed, and being worn out with an activity, which seemed only fated to meet with mortification, he resolved on returning to England; his last measure being, with his usual sagacity and foresight, to dispatch nine ships of the line to reinforce the channel fleet under Lord Gardner, lest the enemy, by making for Brest, should, with the co-operation of the French fleet in that port, place his lordship in a dangerous situation, by their great superiority of force.

On the 18th of August Lord Nelson, in the *Victory*, accompanied by the *Superb*, arrived at Portsmouth, and on the 20th reached London, where the reception he received, from the crown to the meanest citizen, was such as to console him for the fatigues and disappointments he had endured, and must have been the more gratifying to him, as he saw that his want of success

in the main object of his late cruize, was attributed to its true cause; and that a reflecting and a grateful people saw in his conduct, upon that occasion, a public service as useful as any, though, perhaps, generally speaking, less splendid than some of his former brilliant achievements. Scenes of activity, however, yet awaited the hero, and the year was not to pass over without witnessing a further, though fatal, proof of his energy and prowess!

We must now return to Admiral Villeneuve, who had nearly accomplished the object of his precipitate flight from the West Indies, and had almost reached a friendly port in Europe, without the so-much dreaded encounter with a British force: but it was decreed that that event should not take place before he suffered yet additional disgrace and shame. His fleet, now increased to twenty sail of the line, French and Spanish, three large ships armed *en flûte*, five frigates, and three brigs, fell in with the English squadron under the command of Admiral Sir Robert Calder, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger, and which was cruising off Cape Finisterre, in the hope of intercepting the enemy. This event took place on the 22d of July, three days after Lord Nelson had reached Gibraltar, on his return from the West Indies.

An action immediately took place, which was begun by the English admiral with skill, intrepidity, and judgment, and lasted four hours, the enemy fighting the whole time with the most determined resolution. At the end of that period, two of the enemy's ships of the line, the *St. Raphael* of 84 guns, and the *El Firme* of 74, having been captured, Sir Robert Calder deemed it necessary to bring to the squadron, to cover them; a measure rendered still more necessary by the state of the weather, which was so foggy as to prevent the English ships seeing the vessels a-head or a-stern of them; of course it was impossible to manœuvre with any effect, and all the advantage which could be derived from superiority of naval tactics, was no longer to be looked for. The wind and weather were, during the whole of the day, highly favorable to the enemy. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and the following morning the combined squadrons seemed disposed to renew the action, which it was completely in their power to have done, having the advantage of the wind; but they never approached nearer the British line than four leagues, the English admiral constantly keeping such a course as would best protect the captured ships, and the *Windsor Castle*, one of his own, which had been so much crippled in the action, as obliged it to be taken in tow by a line-of-battle ship. Repeatedly, in the course of the day, the enemy bore up in order of battle,

and as often hauled their wind upon perceiving no disposition in the English admiral to avoid him. At night the fleets were about six leagues asunder, and when day broke on the 24th, the enemy were seen steering away about south-east, under easy sail, and kept this course till six in the evening, when they could no longer be distinguished.

Thus terminated an affair in which British valour and skill were eminently conspicuous, and which, considered abstractedly, may certainly be deemed as matter of pride and triumph to the country. That fifteen sail of the line should not only withstand twenty of those of the enemy, and three large 50-gun ships, but also capture two of their largest vessels, was an event certainly well calculated to maintain the character of superiority which the navy of England so justly challenges. At the same time, it must be confessed that all was not done, upon this occasion, that the public thought it had a right to expect. It had happened, unfortunately, that the admiral's dispatches, as well as the verbal report of the officer who brought them home, gave the strongest foundation for the belief that the action would be renewed upon the following day; the result of which, to an enemy already beaten, must be deemed almost total destruction. The disappointment therefore was extreme, when intelligence arrived which put an end to all hopes of the kind, and led to the belief that the shattered squadrons of the enemy had gained, without further molestation, a Spanish port. The murmurs of disapprobation at the conduct of the British admiral became indeed so frequent, and so little restrained, that Sir Robert Calder returned to England for the purpose of demanding an investigation of his proceedings; to which government having acceded, he was tried by a court-martial in Portsmouth harbour, on the 22d of December; when, upon a full examination of the circumstances which took place posterior to the action of the 22d of July, the court decided that the admiral had not done his utmost to take or destroy every ship of the enemy which it was his duty to engage; but, at the same time, ascribed such conduct to error in judgment, acquitting him absolutely of any imputation of fear or cowardice, and therefore only sentencing him to be severely reprimanded.

The desultory attempts which took place during the summer, to impede the assemblage of the enemy's flotilla at Boulogne, or to destroy them in that harbour, although frequent, were attended with too little success to merit particular mention, were they not, on every occasion, conducted with the utmost skill and gallantry by the naval officers entrusted with the service. The shallowness of the water, and the strong defences of the harbour, prevented any thing serious from

being achieved; little good resulted from the attempt, save that the British sailors were kept in constant action, and accustomed to contemn a force with which they were hourly becoming more familiar.

It became now certainly known, that the combined squadrons, after the encounter off Cape Finisterre, having reached the port of Ferrol in safety, had there received a very considerable augmentation of strength, and were seen on the 13th of August at sea, to the number of twenty-seven sail of the line, and eight vessels of war of a lower order; which event was speedily followed up by news arriving of its having entered Cadiz on the 21st of the same month, the small force under Admiral Collingwood in that station not offering it any opposition, which it would have been equally rash and ineffectual to have attempted; and, indeed, it seems to have been the result of the utmost prudence and judgment, which enabled that officer to maintain his footing there until reinforced from England.

It is little to be doubted, but that the French emperor severely felt the mortification arising out of the complete failure of the vast armament he had sent out to the West Indies, its shameful flight home before the small squadron of Lord Nelson, and the event of the action with Sir Robert Calder, each and all of them disgraceful in themselves, and totally subversive of his boasted project of striking a fatal blow to the colonies and commerce of Great Britain. Great resources, however, yet remained to him: the accession of ships of the line which Admiral Villeneuve had received at Ferrol, together with those which he found at Cadiz, amounted in the whole to a very formidable force, and with which much might still be done. It was also essential to the views of Bonaparte, as war was now inevitable on the continent, to have as large an armament on foot as possible, in order to divert the attention of the English to whatever quarter it might be directed, and to act in the Mediterranean as circumstances might require. Fortunately this design could not immediately be put in execution; the disabled state of the ships engaged with Sir Robert Calder was such as to require some time for their re-equipment in port, nor could they be got ready for sea till the British fleet in that quarter became again respectable.

As the designs of the enemy were become sufficiently manifest, and they were also known to be in a state of the most active refitment at Cadiz, scarcely had Lord Nelson arrived in London, when he was, in the month of August, offered the command of an armament, to be prepared immediately, of sufficient force to cope with that of France, in any quarter of the world to which it should be destined to act. His lordship, without a moment's hesitation, embraced the opportunity

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of again bearing his country's flag triumphant over all opposition. To this situation the public suffrage universally called him, and, on him all eyes were turned with hope, in a moment when every other circumstance around appeared gloomy and unpromising. The successes of the French upon the continent were no longer equivocal, and serious apprehensions were entertained of the fate of the allied powers. It was in this crisis that Lord Nelson once more hoisted his flag on-board the *Victory*, which had been completely refitted on the 14th of September at Portsmouth, and put to sea on the following day. There were then at that port five ships of the line and a frigate, which were under orders to sail with him; but not finding them in sufficient readiness, so anxious was he to repair to that spot, the scene of his future glory, where his duty called him, that he sailed with the *Euryalus* frigate only in company. Off Plymouth he was joined by two ships of the line, the *Ajax* and *Thunderer*, and thence proceeded directly for the coast of Spain.

On the arrival of Lord Nelson off Cadiz, he received the command of the British fleet from Admiral Collingwood, which, having had reinforcements poured into it from every quarter, had become equal to the task of coping with the enemy, and of punishing his temerity, should he venture out of port. As far as it could be ascertained, the combined fleet was nearly ready for sea, and its probable destination was the Mediterranean, where, if it collected to itself the ships of war yet remaining in the different French and Spanish ports in that sea, it would have formed together an accretion of force, which might eventually have overpowered all opposition in that quarter, for a time at least, to the great detriment of the British interests. Ever averse, however, from the system of blockade, as leading ultimately to the ruin of the navy, Lord Nelson determined to give the enemy an opportunity of putting to sea, and even employed stratagem to induce him to take that step; one which his confidence in his officers, his sailors, and himself, led him to hope would end in the total destruction of the adversary. At this period, a frigate was constantly stationed off the harbour of Cadiz, for the purpose of communicating any movement of the enemy to a detachment of ships of the line who were stationed barely within sight of the port, and whose object it was to prevent single ships, or small divisions of the combined fleet, from pushing out to sea. Between this detachment and the main body of the fleet, was stationed a line of frigates, sufficiently close to it and to each other to communicate by signal; and thus Lord Nelson, who cruized off Cape St. Mary's with the rest of the fleet, became instantly acquainted with the least stir made by the enemy, while, by this judicious and masterly distribution of his force, the numbers

and manœuvres of the British fleet were totally concealed from the adversary.

At length, about the middle of October, Lord Nelson having received certain information that he would be joined in a day or two by a reinforcement of seven sail of the line, from England, hesitated not, as a means to induce the combined fleet to put to sea, to detach Admiral Louis and six ships of the line, being a fourth of his then force, upon a particular service, and that in so open a manner, and so undisguisedly, that it became immediately known to the enemy, and decided his conduct.

Admiral Villeneuve, deceived by this bold manœuvre, and believing that the English fleet was now reduced to twenty-one sail of the line, whilst that of France and Spain, thoroughly equipped and refitted, consisted of thirty-three, resolved to take advantage of this great superiority of strength, and make one vast effort to humble the naval force of Great Britain. There were also, it is said, personal motives, which led the French admiral to this resolution. Since his return from the West Indies, the French official paper, the *Moniteur*, had severely glanced at his conduct in that transaction! Bonaparte had also spoken sarcastically of him. He was upbraided by the Spaniards for his not having supported them better in the action off Cape Finisterre, where the brunt of the fight was borne by them; and, finally, it was generally understood that his command was about to be taken from him, and conferred on Admiral Rosily, then actually on his road from Paris for that purpose. Stung and mortified by all these circumstances united, he determined, contrary, it is said, to the wish of the Spaniards, to give battle to Lord Nelson. A victory over the greatest naval character of the age would redeem his character, and cover him with glory, while a defeat could add but little additional disgrace to his present state of humiliation.

Accordingly, on the 19th day of October, the French and Spanish combined fleet, to the number of thirty-three sail of the line, eighteen of which were French and fifteen Spanish, sailed from Cadiz, with light winds, westerly; which being communicated to Lord Nelson, his lordship with the British fleet, having received the expected reinforcement, and therefore consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, three of which were of sixty-four guns, conceiving the Mediterranean to be the course of the enemy, immediately made all sail for the Straits, where he was informed, by the frigate stationed there, that the enemy had not yet passed them.

On Monday, at day-break, the 21st of October, 1805, a day which will be for ever memorable in the British annals, the combined fleet was descried about six or seven miles to the eastward, Cape Trafalgar bearing E. by S. about seven leagues,

there being very little wind, and that westerly. The commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they formed in the order of sailing, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner, a mode of attack his lordship had previously communicated to his officers, as alone calculated "to make the business decisive."

Lord Nelson, in the *Victory*, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, Admiral Collingwood, the lea.

It had originally been the intention of Admiral Villeneuve, in the belief that the English fleet consisted only of twenty-one sail of the line, to have attacked them in the usual line of battle, with an equal number of vessels, whilst twelve of his select ships, forming a body of reserve to windward, were to bear down and double on the British line after the action had commenced, and thus place a great portion of it between two fires:—every other precaution had been taken by him to ensure success: nearly 5,000 land-troops were distributed throughout his fleet; and his ships were furnished with every species of combustibles and fire-balls, in order to set the adversary on fire, or facilitate their boarding when opportunity should offer. On perceiving, however, the real strength of the English, the French admiral abandoned his first plan, and formed his ships into one line, with great closeness and correctness: but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of his line was new, forming a crescent, convexing to leeward.—Admiral Villeneuve was in the *Bucentaure*, of eighty guns, in the centre; and the *Prince of Asturias*, of 112 guns, bore the flag of the Spanish Admiral Gravina, in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were intermingled without any regard to order of national squadron. The combined fleet, thus situated, waited the attack with equal firmness and intrepidity.

Previously to the commencement of the battle, Lord Nelson went over the different decks of the *Victory*, saw and spoke to the different classes of seamen, encouraged them with his usual affability, and was much pleased at the manner in which the seamen had barricaded the hawse-holes of the ship. All was perfect death-like silence, till just before the action began. Three cheers were given his lordship as he ascended the quarter-deck ladder, when he thus emphatically addressed the seamen—"England expects every man will do his duty." He had been particular in recommending cool, steady firing, in preference to a hurrying fire, without aim or precision, and the event justified his lordship's advice, as the masts of his opponents came tumbling down on their decks, and over their sides.

Lord Nelson was advised not to appear so conspicuously, in full uniform, to the mark of the

topmen of the enemy. His lordship, however, said, "Whatever may be the consequence, the insignia of the honors I now wear I gained by the exertions of British seamen, under my command, in various parts of the world; and in the hour of danger, I am proud to show them and the enemies of old England, I will never part with them; if it please God I am to fall, I will expire with these trophies entwined round my heart."

About noon the dreadful contest began, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; which was first effected by Admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, in so gallant a manner as to excite the admiration of both fleets, about the twelfth ship from the rear of the enemy, leaving his van unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. At twenty minutes past twelve the action became general.—It had been the intention of Lord Nelson to have penetrated the adversary's line, between the tenth and eleventh of his ships in the van; but finding it so close, that there was not room to pass, he ordered the *Victory*, which bore his flag, to be run on board the ship opposed to him, and the *Téméraire*, his second, also ran on board of the next ship in the enemy's line, so that these four ships formed one mass, and were so close, that every gun fired from the *Victory* set the *Redoubtable*, to which she was opposed, on fire; whilst the British sailors were employed, at intervals, in the midst of the hottest action, in pouring buckets of water on the flames in the enemy's vessels, lest their spreading should involve both ships in destruction! An instance of cool and deliberate bravery not to be paralleled in ancient or modern history.

The action was equally severe around the Royal Sovereign, and in several other quarters; the enemy's ships being fought with the greatest gallantry; but the attack upon them was irresistible, and a great and glorious victory was its reward. About three in the afternoon, Admiral Gravina, with ten sail of the line, joining the enemy's frigates to leeward, bore away to Cadiz; five more of their headmost ships in the van, under Admiral Dumanoir, about ten minutes after, tacked and stood to the southward, to windward of the British line; they were engaged, and the sternmost taken; the four others got off, leaving a noble prey to the British fleet of NINETEEN SHIPS OF THE LINE, of which two were first-rates, and none under seventy-four guns, with three flag-officers, namely, Admiral Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, and the Spanish Admirals d'Aliva and Cisneros. General Contamin, who commanded the land-forces, was also taken on board the *Bucentaure*.

About a quarter before two a fatal bullet struck

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Lord Nelson above the star on the left side. By the first accounts his lordship's fall was understood to have been occasioned by a shot from the main-round-top of the *Santissima Trinidad*. The shot was afterwards said to have proceeded from the *Bucentaure*; but it was afterwards believed, that it was fired from the mizen-top of the French ship *Redoubtable*.

A few minutes before Lord Nelson was wounded, Mr. Bourke, the purser of the *Victory*, was near him; he looked steadfastly at him, and said, "Bourke, I expect every man to be upon his station." Mr. Bourke took the hint, and went to his proper situation in the cockpit. At this time his lordship's secretary, Mr. Scott, who was communicating some orders to an officer at a distant part of the quarter-deck, was cut almost in two by a cannon-shot: he expired on the instant, and was thrown over-board. Lord Nelson observed the act of throwing his secretary over-board, and said, as if doubtful, to a midshipman who was near him, "was that Scott?" The midshipman replied, he believed it was. He exclaimed, "poor fellow!"

He was now walking the quarter-deck, and about three yards from the stern, the space he generally walked before he turned back. His lordship was in the act of turning on the quarter-deck, with his face towards the enemy, when he was mortally wounded by a musket-ball. He instantly fell; but was not, as at first reported, picked up by Captain Hardy. In the hurry of the battle, which was then raging in its greatest violence, even the fall of their beloved commander did not interrupt the business of the quarter-deck. Two sailors, however, who were near his lordship, raised him in their arms, and carried him to the cock-pit. He was immediately laid upon a bed, and the following was the substance of the conversation between his lordship, Captain Hardy, Mr. Bourke, and Mr. Beatty, the surgeon:—Upon seeing him brought down, Mr. Bourke immediately ran to him; "I fear," he said, "your lordship is wounded."—"Mortally, mortally."—"I hope not, my dear lord; let Mr. Beatty examine your wounds."—"It is of no use," exclaimed the dying Nelson; "he had better attend to others."

Mr. Beatty now approached to examine the wound. His lordship was raised up; and Beatty, whose attention was anxiously fixed upon the eyes of his patient, as an indication the most certain when a wound is mortal, after a few moments glanced his eye on Bourke, and expressed his opinion in his countenance. Lord Nelson now turned to Bourke, and said, "tell Hardy to come to me." Bourke left the cock-pit. Beatty now said, "suffer me, my lord, to probe the wound with my finger; I will give you no pain." Lord Nelson permitted him, and, passing his left

hand round his waist, he probed it with the fore-finger of his right.

When Bourke returned into the cock-pit with Captain Hardy, Lord Nelson told the latter to come near him. "Kiss me, Hardy," he exclaimed. Captain Hardy kissed his cheek. "I hope your lordship," he said, "will still live to enjoy your triumph."—"Never, Hardy," he exclaimed, "I am dying—I am a dead man all over—Beatty will tell you so—bring the fleet to anchor—you have all done your duty—God bless you." Captain Hardy now said, "I suppose Collingwood, my dear lord, is to command the fleet?"—"Never," exclaimed he, "whilst I live;" meaning, doubtless, that, so long as his gallant spirit survived, he would never desert his duty.

What passed after this was merely casual: his lordship's last words were to Mr. Beatty, whilst he was expiring in his arms, "I could have wished to have lived to enjoy this; but God's will be done."—"My lord," exclaimed Hardy, "you die in the midst of triumph."—"Do I, Hardy?"—He smiled faintly—"God be praised!" These were his last words before he expired.

The ball struck the fore part of his lordship's epaulette, and entered the left shoulder immediately before the processus acromium scapulae, which it slightly fractured; it then descended obliquely into the thorax, fracturing the second and third ribs; and after penetrating the left lobe of the lungs, and dividing in its passage a large branch of the pulmonary artery, it entered the left side of the spine between the sixth and seventh dorsal vertebra, fractured the left transverse process of the sixth vertebra, wounded the medulla spinalis, and fracturing the right transverse process of the seventh vertebra, it made its way from the right side of the spine, directing its course through the muscles of the back, and lodged therein, about two inches below the inferior angle of the right scapula.

The enemy had evinced uncommon resolution and firmness throughout the action: indeed, the shattered condition of the captured ships, and their dreadful loss in killed and wounded, sufficiently manifest this fact. The obstinate resistance of the Spanish vessels, the *Argonauta* and *Bahama*, as well as that of the *San Juan Nepomuceno*, raised the character of that nation very high: they were not surrendered till the last extremity, the former two having lost 400 men each, in killed and wounded, the latter 350 nearly!

Such a victory could not be gained without a serious loss in men and officers, yet not, upon the whole, so great as might have been expected in so severe an action. Captains Cook, of the *Bellevue*, and Duff, of the *Mars*, were among the killed.

It is remarkable that the city of Ulm was

entered by the French in triumph on the 20th of October, the day on which the English fleet was seeking that of France and Spain, and but the one before the battle of Trafalgar. In the dismay and consternation produced by the misfortunes of Austria, in the mind of the British public, it may easily be conceived how timely the intelligence of the glorious victory obtained over the enemy by Lord Nelson's fleet must have been, and its value can only be appreciated by its being put in opposition with the former calamitous event. It at once made the scale of war even, and put England on a level in point of successes with her boastful antagonist, brilliant as his conquests had been.

The action of Trafalgar had scarcely terminated before a tremendous gale of wind arose, which not only placed the captured ships but also the captors in a most dangerous situation. Both had suffered severely, and were in no condition to combat the extremity of weather, to which they were now to be exposed. In fact, the wind increased to such a degree, that the whole fleet were most perilously circumstanced: many dismasted, all shattered, and in thirteen fathoms water, off the shoals of Cape Trafalgar. In this dangerous state, the skill and experience of Admiral Collingwood, now commanding, and whose conduct during the action was supereminently conspicuous, were put to the utmost test, but to which, under very difficult circumstances, he was found fully equal. On the 22d the weather was still unfavorable, but not such as prevented the possibility of securing the prizes, which were towed off to the westward, and rendezvoused round the Royal Sovereign, herself in tow by the Neptune: but on the following day the gale increased, and the sea run so high, that many of the captured ships broke from the tow-ropes and drifted in shore. Towards the afternoon the remnant of the combined fleet, ten sail of the line, who had not been much engaged, pushed out from Cadiz, in the hope of attacking with advantage the damaged and scattered English ships. In this attempt, however, he was completely frustrated by the determined countenance of Admiral Collingwood, who, collecting a force of the least injured of his fleet, not only protected his own disabled vessels, but was enabled to take possession of one of the enemy's, the *El Rayo*. Admiral Gravina's own ship, the *Prince of Asturias*, being dismasted by the violence of the gale, he returned to port ineffectually.

On the 24th and 25th the gale still continued at so tremendous a rate, that Admiral Collingwood, despairing of being able to carry them into a British port, issued his orders that the captured French and Spanish ships should be destroyed. This difficult and dangerous service was executed with the same zeal and perseverance as had been

shewn in the day of battle, although it must have been a severe mortification to the gallant captors, to see thus wrested from them the trophies of their victory. Accordingly, five of the enemy's ships were sunk and burnt by the victors, amongst which was the *Santissima Trinidad*, of 140 guns, the largest and finest ship of war ever built: nine were entirely wrecked, on different parts of the adjacent coast, by the violence of the gale, many with their whole crews on board. *L'Achille*, a French seventy-four, blew up during the action; and four (three Spanish and one French seventy-four-gun ships) were, by the almost incredible efforts of activity and skill of the British officers and seamen, carried safe into Gibraltar. The *Santa Anna*, and nine more of the enemy's vessels, got into Cadiz, some of which had struck, but were abandoned from the violence of the weather, but in the most wretched state, three only being considered serviceable, the other seven mere wrecks!

It will be recollected that Admiral Dumanoir, with four sail of the line, escaped towards the southward, towards the close of the action; their respite from sharing the fate of their companions was, however, but of short duration. On the night of the 2d of November, cruising off Ferrol with four ships of the line and three frigates, Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan fell in with what he thought the Rochefort squadron, but which in fact were the fugitives, to whom he immediately gave chase, and which he pursued that night, and the whole of the next day. At day-light, on the morning of the 4th, the *Santa Margarita* and *Phoenix* frigates, who had outsailed the ships of the line, most gallantly begun the action, by firing upon the enemy's rear, and considerably retarded their flight. A little before noon, the English line-of-battle ships being well up, and the French admiral finding an action unavoidable, it soon after became close and general, and continued nearly three hours and a half, the enemy fighting with the greatest resolution and obstinacy, when their four ships struck, but not until they were quite unmanageable. They proved to be the formidable, of eighty guns, Admiral Dumanoir, and the *Duguai Trouin*, *Mont Blanc*, and *Scipion*, of seventy-four guns each, on board of all of which the slaughter had been very great, their admiral wounded, and one of their captains killed: the loss on board the English ships was comparatively trifling.

Although the result of this last action was such as might be expected from the force under the English admiral, and his well-known skill and gallantry; he having, besides an exact parity of strength in line-of-battle ships with the enemy, four frigates in company, still it was a very grateful, as well as an advantageous capture, to the British public; for those four fine ships of the line

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were carried safe into port, and, with the other four, carried into Gibraltar, after the action off Trafalgar, to which may be added the two taken by Sir Robert Calder; which, in the aggregate, made an important addition of ten sail of line-of-battle ships, none under seventy-four guns, to the navy of Great Britain; besides the falling of those vessels (which had fled, having sustained but slight injury in the battle of Trafalgar) into the hands of the English, accounted, most satisfactorily, for the whole of that vast armament, of which three alone remained to the enemy, that could be considered serviceable, and the destruction of which was achieved without the loss of a single ship on the part of the British navy, a success unparalleled, and which must always be ascribed to the special intervention of Providence.

The remains of Lord Nelson were publicly interred in the cathedral church of St. Paul. The covering of his lordship's exterior coffin, which was considered as the most elegant and superb ever seen in Europe, was of fine black velvet, with treble rows of double gilt nails, the whole finely enriched with gold matt, enclosed and chased. The head-piece represented a monument supported by eagles, the emblem of victory, with the portrait of the deceased hero, in bass relief, surmounted by an urn, containing his ashes, over which reclined the figure of Grief. At the base were seen the British lion, with one of his paws laid on the Gallic cock, sphinxes, and other trophies, intended to commemorate the glorious victory which the gallant admiral obtained on the shores of Egypt, and to indicate that he might fairly claim the sovereignty of the ocean. Next was a viscount's coronet, the reward of his lordship's services to his king and country. The breast-plate of gold, thirteen inches by nine, with the following inscription:—

DEPOSITUM

The Most Noble Lord HORATIO NELSON,
Viscount and Baron NELSON of the Nile,
and of

Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk.
Baron NELSON of the Nile, and of Hilborough, in
the said County.

Knight of the Most Honorable Order of the
Bath;

Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of the Fleet;
and

Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and
Vessels in the Mediterranean.

Also,

Duke of BRONTE, in Sicily;

Knight Grand Cross of the Sicilian Order of St.
Ferdinand, and of Merit;

Member of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent;
and

Knight Grand Commander of the Order of St.
Joachim. Born September 29, 1758.

After a series of transcendent and heroic services, this gallant Admiral fell gloriously, in the moment of a brilliant and decisive Victory over the combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October, 1805.

Lower down was the first crest which his majesty granted him after the battle of Cape St. Vincent, where Lord Nelson boarded and took the San Josef, the motto "*Faith and Works.*" The last ornament on the lid was an Egyptian weeping figure (a cast from the antique) wrapped up in drapery, with the face hidden, emblematical of grief. On the left side of the coffin, next to the head, was the British lion with the union flag, the supporter of England, as also that of Lord Nelson's arms. Lower down, about the shoulder, on the same side, was a display of the *insignia* of the most honorable military Order of the Bath, with the motto "*Tria juncta in uno.*" Directly in the centre, on the same side, was a beautiful composition of Britannia and Neptune riding triumphant on the ocean, drawn by sea-horses, and led by Fame; while Neptune was pointing to a shield, which bore this motto, "*Viro immortal.*" Next was the Order of St. Ferdinand, which Lord Nelson received of the King of Naples, with the motto, "*Fide a merito.*" The last ornament, towards the feet, on this side, was a crocodile, allusive to the battle of the Nile.

The first device, on the right side of the coffin, at the head, was the sphynx, the emblem of Egypt. Corresponding with the Order of the Bath, on the opposite side, was the Order of the Great Crescent, which was transmitted to the noble admiral by the Grand Seignior, after the glorious battle of the Nile. In the centre, on the right hand, were again Britannia and Neptune riding triumphant on the ocean, drawn by sea-horses, &c., as on the opposite side. Lower down, corresponding with the Order of St. Ferdinand, on the opposite side, was the Order of St. Joachim, transmitted to Lord Nelson by the Emperor Paul, as Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, with the motto, "*Junxit Amicos Amor.*" The last ornament on the right-hand side, towards the foot, was a dolphin, the noblest fish of the sea, and formerly claimed by the heir of France. The device, at the head end of the coffin, was composed of naval and military trophies, with Lord Nelson's arms on a shield. That at the foot end was also a composition of naval and military trophies.

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CHAPTER I.

State of Europe at this Period.—Animosity of Bonaparte against England.—Death and Biography of Mr. Pitt.—New Administration.

AT the commencement of the year 1806, the situation of Europe was unexampled in history. Two rival nations had acquired, not merely a decided preponderance, but an absolute and uncontrolled dominion, the one over the seas, the other over the land. If the battle of Austerlitz had confirmed the military superiority of France over other nations, and left her without a rival on the continent, the victory of Trafalgar had no less decisively established the naval superiority of England, and crowned all her former victories on the ocean. The accumulated fruits of four years persevering labour and painful industry, on the part of France and her dependencies, to form and collect a navy fit to cope with the maritime forces of England, had been swept away and annihilated in a single action. The importance of such a victory, at such a crisis, to England, cannot be easily exaggerated, or over-rated. For, it was not merely that the high-formed expectations of France from her newly-repaired marine, in which she had so weakly indulged and prematurely exulted, at the beginning of the campaign, were thus abruptly and thoroughly frustrated; or that her projects of invading the British islands, under the protection of a powerful fleet, were again defeated: nor was it even that the most splendid victory had, on this occasion, been won by England, that was ever gained at sea; or, that the greatest number of vessels, of first-rate magnitude, had, in this action, been taken and destroyed, that ever rewarded a conqueror in any naval combat. But, the great and incalculable advantage to England, was the universal conviction arising from this victory, that, in the skill, bravery, and discipline of her naval forces, she was so incomparably superior to her enemies, that all their future efforts to contend with her for the empire of the seas, must be as unavailing as their past endeavours had been fruitless. It was clear, that if the contest for pre-eminence between the rival nations were to be decided solely on the ocean, England

had nothing to fear from the conflict. It was manifest, that if England could not be invaded without her enemies obtaining a temporary superiority, at least, at sea, the period of her invasion was still distant. If the trident of Neptune be really the sceptre of the world, England was now its undoubted mistress. The maritime trade of all nations was at her mercy, and subject, in many respects, to her controul.

That Bonaparte, after the renewal of hostilities, was animated by the most implacable hatred against England, and that he thenceforward considered her government as the eternal enemy of his peace and repose, cannot well be doubted; but why he chose to begin the war with such ostentatious threats of invasion, such insolent denunciations of vengeance, is a point not easy to decide. It might have been merely to give vent to his own spleen, or to spirit up his people to a new war, that he used such impolitic, such unbecoming language towards his enemy. He might have acted from a deeper, though mistaken calculation, and supposed, that if he could terrify the English nation with the sound of his preparations, their government would yield to his terms; and, indeed, the publicity which he affected to give, at this time, to all his plans and operations, seemed to countenance such a conjecture. He might, possibly, have under-rated the difficulties of invasion, and seriously intended, at first, to carry his menaces into effect. But, if his object in these measures was to obtain peace by intimidation, never was his sagacity more in fault. The English were exasperated, not intimidated by his threats, and the little confidence which they reposed, at that time, in the vigour of their own government, served only to call forth, in brighter colours, their zeal and ardour in defence of their country.

At this critical period there was no efficient government in England. It has been mentioned, in the last chapter of the preceding book, that

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Mr. Pitt was in a declining state of health. He had left Bath, January 10, and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of London, he took up his residence at his own house on Putney-heath; he sunk rapidly under the violence of a fever, and early on the 23d he died, in the 47th year of his age.

Mr. Pitt was the second son of the truly illustrious statesman and celebrated minister William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, by Lady Hester Grenville. He was born at Hayes, in Kent, May 28, 1759; the year in which his father's triumphant and successful administration was at its zenith. From six years old he was wholly under the tuition of Mr. Wilson, and was entered at Pembroke college, Cambridge, when not quite *fourteen*, at which early period he was well acquainted with mathematics and the branches of natural philosophy, besides being a superior classic. When at the university, Mr. Pitt of course came under the then tutors of his college, Dr. Turner, (Dean of Norwich,) and Dr. Prettyman, (Bishop of Lincoln.)

From the earliest expansion of his hopeful talents, he stood forth as ordained by destiny as well as birth-right, to fill the station and emulate the talents of Chatham. If he was not born an orator, he was earlier trained to oratory than any statesman of the age. In watching over the bright progress of his studies, and anticipating his future fame, his father was not deceived by parental partiality. Even when a boy, his talents for declamation were so prompt and ambitious, that when Lord Chatham one day heard of his tutor's intention to take him along with his elder brother to hear the debates in the house of lords, he forbade him, saying to the tutor, "You may take the eldest, but I will not allow William to go; for I am sure that he would rise up and speak if he heard any thing that did not agree with his opinion."

After the usual course of study in the University of Cambridge, he was entered a student of Lincoln's-inn, and made so rapid a progress in his legal studies, as to be soon called to the bar with every prospect of success. It is said, that he once or twice went upon the western circuit, and appeared as junior counsel in several causes. He was, however, destined to fill a more important station in the government of his country, than is usually obtained through the channel of the law. At the general election, 1780, he was nominated by some of the most respectable persons in Cambridge, as a candidate to represent that university; but, notwithstanding the high character he had obtained there, he found very few to second his pretensions. In the following year, however, he was returned for the borough of Appleby, by the interest of Sir J. Lowther. On taking his seat in the house of commons, he en-

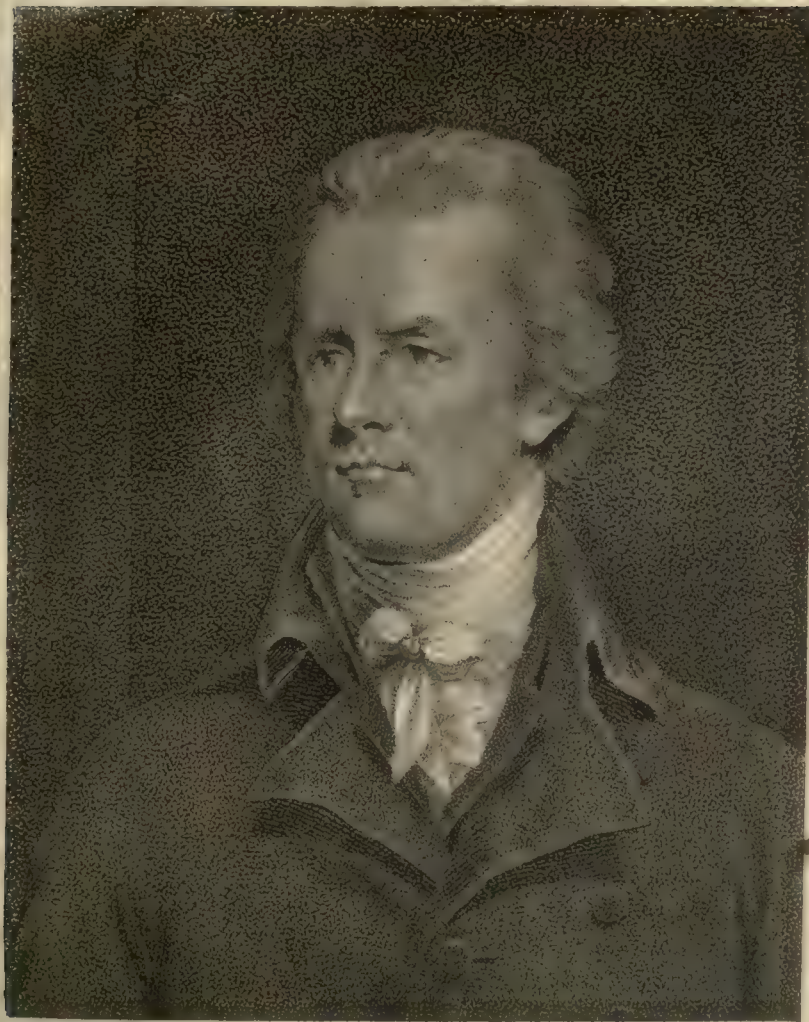
listed himself on the side of the party which had constantly opposed the minister, Lord North, and the American war, and which regarded him with a degree of veneration; recognizing in his person the genius of his illustrious father revived, and acting, as it were, in him. His first speech was in favor of Mr. Burke's bill; and one of the first acts in which he took the lead in that house was extremely well calculated to increase his popularity. This was his motion for a committee, to consult upon the most effectual means to accomplish a more equal representation of the people in parliament. His propositions were, indeed, rejected; but he continued to repeat and renew them from time to time; and thus kept up the public attention to this great object, which was consequently more generally canvassed than it ever had been before.

On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the old whig party fell into a state of disunion, nearly bordering upon dissolution. Lord Shelburne became the first lord of the treasury, assisted by Mr. Pitt, who astonished the country, and indeed all Europe, by the phenomenon of a chancellor of the exchequer at the age of twenty-three. He began his career with a prematurity of talent which has no example, and, in a time of difficulty which required the most determined resolution, the utmost vigour of exertion, and a mind of the most potent grasp and unbounded comprehension; he not only possessed them all, but applied them, with incomparable energy and effect, to the advantage of his country.

His popularity, at this period, effectually screened him from every charge which his youth and inexperience might justly have warranted, and which were strongly urged against him by the adverse party. The situation of the country was extremely critical. The American war had become generally odious; and all hearts panted for a cessation of hostilities. This object was, therefore, the first consideration with the new ministry.

The combined powers had recently experienced great humiliations, and consequently the opportunity was not to be lost. A general peace accordingly took place; but the terms of it were reprobated by a considerable part of the nation. On this occasion Mr. Pitt delivered a most masterly defence of himself and his colleagues, which produced a corresponding, though not successful effect. The administration, of which he was one of the most distinguished members, was, therefore, short-lived. On its dissolution, the young statesman withdrew into retirement, and afterwards went abroad for some time, visiting Italy and several of the German courts.

On the coalition-ministry coming into place, Mr. Mansfield's seat for the university became vacant, by accepting the office of solicitor-gene-



The Right Hon^{ble}
WILLIAM PITT

Esq^r of the House of Commons
and Secretary of State

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ral, and Mr. Pitt determined to oppose him: with this view he went down to Cambridge; but he was not supported by the heads and senior members; one almost threw the door in his face, and wondered at the impudence of the young man, thus to come down and disturb the peace of the university; though the assurance of support from several independent masters of arts kept alive the scanty hopes of future success. A few months, however, changed the scene; the coalition-ministry was thrown out; he repaired, in triumph, to the university, was received with open arms, carried his election by means of a considerable majority, and was able also, by his influence, to make Lord Euston his colleague.

An occasion suddenly offered for bringing Mr. Pitt forward once more on the great theatre of politics, as a candidate for fame and power. The British dominions in India had long been in an alarming situation, and it was generally admitted that an immediate remedy was indispensably necessary to preserve them. With this view, Mr. Fox, then secretary of state, formed, digested, and brought forward his famous India bill, which he carried through its several stages with a high hand.

The coalition-ministry, composed of such an heterogeneous mixture, notwithstanding their majority in the house of commons, were generally obnoxious to the nation; and this measure was particularly offensive to the great body whom it immediately affected. Lord North and his new allies were accordingly dismissed; and Mr. Pitt, the new premier, was assisted by the advice of Lord Thurlow, as keeper of the great seal, arrangements which, at that time, were however only considered as temporary.

He now astonished the commercial and political world, by his own India Bill! He had the mortification to find the majority of the house of commons against him; and he was placed in the peculiar situation of a minister acting with a minority, and that too in opposition to the strongest confux of talents ever combined against any administration. He, however, remained firm in his seat amidst a general confusion; and though the house had petitioned his majesty to dismiss him and his coadjutors, the young premier ventured to inform the representatives of the nation, that their petition could not be complied with!

This struggle between the commons and the crown was of the greatest importance; but the people at large were of opinion, that the former encroached upon the regal prerogative; on the question being, in a manner, thrown into their hands, by a dissolution of parliament, a new one was returned, which changed the majority and preserved the premier in his office.

The commercial treaty with France was a

bold scheme, and evinced deep political and mercantile knowledge.

The union also of the two sister kingdoms, Great Britain and Ireland, formed one of the most important epochs in Mr. Pitt's administration. They who consider this union as beneficial to the empire, venerate the author of so grand a scheme; and even they who disapprove of the measure, must admire the talents and perseverance displayed in its execution. The Irish union is still farther memorable, as connected with Mr. Pitt's resignation.

One of the most critical circumstances in the annals of Mr. Pitt's administration, was the period when the regal powers were, in a manner, unhappily suspended, and all the wisdom of the legislature was required to form a regency. It was a crisis not only novel, but of extreme magnitude, as likely to become the precedent for future times; no such incident having, till then, occurred in the annals of English history. Some statesmen would have worshipped the rising sun; Mr. Pitt, however, pursued a different course, and, without seeking popularity, deservedly acquired it.

When the revolution took place in France, the situation of the prime minister of this kingdom became once more extremely critical. A new mode of action, a new scheme of politics, was to be devised, and adapted to the circumstances of the day. If any merit be due to boldness of invention, to vigour of execution, to wide extension of plans, and to firmness and perseverance of conduct, certainly the administration of that day had an undoubted claim to public gratitude, however unsuccessful their councils and plans proved.

Mr. Pitt's eloquence, if it possessed not all the vehemence of Mr. Fox's, nor all the splendour of Mr. Burke's, was more perfect in its kind than the eloquence of either of those orators. Upon great occasions it was lofty, powerful, and commanding; it was equally calculated to animate the heart and delight the ear. Many of his speeches upon the revolution are models of reasoning, as well as of eloquence. It was at times astonishing, instantaneous, and electric—the hearer seemed transported—the applause was often tumultuous. A more perfect command of language, a more judicious selection of phrases and epithets, no man ever possessed. It appeared sometimes as if his language had too much of elegance—yet it was always unstudied—there was not to be perceived, as in other orators, any painful effort or artifice; his language was perfectly natural to him, and whether in opening a subject or in reply, his diction was equally elegant. The arrangement of his matter was another admirable quality he possessed; nothing was involved; nothing confused; nothing crowded in

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the structure; all was clear and perspicuous, harmony and proportion pervaded the whole. His manner was dignified and commanding.

It has been often, but erroneously supposed, that Mr. Pitt was harsh, haughty, and repulsive, in private life. The contrary is the fact; no man was ever more fondly beloved by his relatives; and the deep grief of all who were connected with him by ties of blood or friendship, is the best proof of the manner in which he attached every one to him who was honored with his intimacy. In private life his manners were remarkably mild; the early associates of his infancy and youth were always remembered by him with the greatest affection. He delighted in patronizing and protecting them; he studied their interests and promoted their fortunes.

Mr. Pitt had, however, his errors: he seemed to have adopted as his main principle of action, that inconstancy was more fatal than error; and that more was to be gained by persevering even in a wrong road, removing obstacles as they appeared, and moving steadily, though obliquely, to his end, than by changing his course as he discovered his errors. This was doubtless erroneous, but it was the error of a manly mind and lofty character. Mr. Pitt may indeed be said to have found it an inheritance from his father. It was this foible in his character which at times gave his adversaries advantage over him. As to himself, he wholly disregarded a partial failure; it was part of his system to expect such failures, and, deeming them indifferent, he had no anxiety to defend them.—Many measures of his administration might here be instanced, which he never attempted to defend, or, if he entered on his defence, it was with a kind of conscious pride, which still farther irritated his opponents.

Another characteristic foible of Mr. Pitt was an insurmountable jealousy of place and honor; which led him, in his avarice for exclusive reputation, to prefer instruments to associates, and thus commit the execution of his plans to those who were unequal to them. It is but justice, however, to add, that he shewed in every thing a peculiar magnanimity, and a characteristic grandeur, which never deserted him—his schemes, considered in the general, and as separated from their execution, were always great, and, as far as depended upon himself, the means and the execution bore the stamp of the same master. Mr. Pitt never was married.

On Monday, January 27, Mr. H. Lascelles moved in the house of commons, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of the Right Honorable William Pitt be entered at the public expense, and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory

of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his majesty, that this house will make good the expenses attending the same."

This motion was seconded by the Marquis of Titchfield, and supported by Lord Lovaine, Mr. I. H. Browne, Mr. H. Addington, Sir R. Buxton, General Tarleton, Lord Temple, Mr. R. Ryder, Mr. Rose, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Wilberforce. It was opposed by Lord Folkestone, Mr. William Smith, Mr. Pytches, the Marquis of Douglas, Mr. Windham, Mr. G. Ponsoby, and Mr. Fox. The numbers, on a division, were, for Mr. Lascelles' motion 258, against it 89. Majority 169.

The chief arguments for the motion, were the great merits, splendid talents, and important public services of the eminent character to whom it related, and these points were illustrated at considerable length by some of the members who supported the motion.

It was objected, on the other side, that it was not customary to confer public honors, unless where merit had been conjoined with success; and, it was urged, that no example, but one, could be found, where such honors had been conferred on a statesman, and in that instance (that of Lord Chatham) the success as well as the merit was indisputable.

"If I were to divide (said Mr. Windham) the whole of the political life of the distinguished person here spoken of, into two distinct periods, one the period before the breaking out of the French revolution, and the other the period subsequent to that event, and that I were called to declare, that either separately, or both conjointly, were of a sort to call for the honors now proposed, or to justify the character ascribed in the resolution, of 'An excellent Statesman,' I must say 'No.' I have no wish to bring forward my opinion in that respect at the present moment, but when compelled to declare myself, I must say what I think: I cannot consent to pronounce an opinion different from what I think the true one, and thus to contribute to mislead both the present time and posterity, on a period of our history which it is most important for them to judge rightly of. With the fullest acknowledgment, both of the talents and the virtues of the eminent man in question, I do not think, from whatever cause it has proceeded, that his life has been beneficial to his country. For the earlier part of it, including the commencement of his power, I must contradict every principle that I ever maintained, if I said that it was so. For the succeeding period, the greatest in which a statesman was ever called to act, I cannot say that he acted his part greatly. I do not judge merely from the event; though the event, for the present purpose, might be all

that need be considered. The French revolution was, indeed, a storm in which vessels the best formed, and constructed with the greatest skill, might easily founder: but, what I mean to say, is, that in my opinion the vessel was *not* conducted with the greatest skill, and that it is, in all human probability, to the fault of the pilot that we are to ascribe our present fearful situation."

"Public honors," said Mr. Fox, "are matters of the highest importance, because they must more or less influence posterity. They ought not, therefore, to be conferred lightly, but only where merit is clearly seen and acknowledged. Certainly, when I look at Lord Chatham's monument, when I find the inscription bearing upon the face of it the grounds upon which this monument was voted, when I find it there stated, that he had reduced the power of France to a very low ebb, and raised the prosperity of his country to a very high pitch, I must say that this case can never be compared with that of Lord Chatham. I must say, that the country at present is reduced to the most dangerous and alarming situation—a situation which might call for any thing rather than honors to be conferred upon him, who had the direction of the measures that brought it to this state. In deciding upon the present question, I should be unwilling to take any one particular act of the administration of the late minister, I have always thought, and do still think, that an unfortunate system of government has pervaded the whole of the present reign; and I firmly believe that system to have been the cause of all the disasters and disappointments which the country has experienced, almost uniformly, throughout the whole course of it. Being of this opinion, how can I conscientiously say, that he who followed this system was an 'excellent statesman.' Thinking as I do of the disastrous effects of that system, I cannot but accuse the late minister of having, I will not say criminally, (for the expression might sound in some ears too harsh), but, most unfortunately, lent his brilliant talents and his commanding eloquence to the support of it. In having done so, and with the knowledge he must have had of it, I esteem him the more culpable, as without that splendour of mental endowment, which enabled him to throw a veil over the hideous deformity of the system alluded to, I am firmly persuaded, that it could not have resisted the attacks made upon it; and consequently could not have existed, and spread its baneful influence half so long. No man can be more desirous than I am to bury in oblivion the remembrance of those contests in which we were so long engaged. This I shewed plainly enough while he was alive. But I cannot consent to confer public honors, on the ground of his being 'an excellent statesman,' on the man, who, in my opinion, was the sole, cer-

tainly the chief supporter of a system, which I had been early taught to consider as a bad one."

Lord Castlereagh said, in reply to Mr. Fox, "that upon the arguments of that honorable gentleman, in opposition to this motion, it was not his intention to reason. This, in fact, was not a question to be determined by argument, it was quite a question of feeling. The acquiescence of that house and the country, in such a proposition, was more to be looked for from intuitive feeling than from cold reason; and if that feeling did not exist, it was vain to think of arguing men into it. But, although the support of the honorable gentlemen on the other side was not to be calculated upon, he had no doubt that the motion would be adopted. Indeed, he felt confident that it would. The house would act inconsistently with its own opinion, repeatedly expressed, and if it hesitated to recognize the merit—if it declined to distinguish the memory of Mr. Pitt."

Mr. Wilberforce rose "to bear testimony to the great public virtues and splendid talents of Mr. Pitt, in whom he declared the love of country was to be found as sincere and ardent as ever yet existed in any human bosom. With regard to the assertion, that success was a proper criterion by which to appreciate the merit of a great man, the honorable gentleman reprobated the idea, as inconsistent with wisdom and justice. But, if the character of Mr. Pitt were to be tried by that rule, where were we to look among the great men of ancient or modern times, for any who had stronger claims to the gratitude and respect of their country, than those which could be advanced in favor of that illustrious personage. When the revolutionary spirit had convulsed France, and alarmed the whole civilized world, that distinguished statesman completely succeeded, by the vigour and sagacity of his measures, in preventing that dreadful plague from reaching us. This was the main source of his distinction—this was the great pedestal of his fame."

On the 3d of February, Mr. Cartwright moved, that a sum, not exceeding 40,000*l.* should be voted for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts, which motion was carried without opposition.

At a meeting of the common-council of London, on the 6th of February, it was moved, that a monument be erected in Guildhall, to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Pitt; and, after some debate, the question was carried by a majority—Ayes 77, Noes 71—Majority 6.

Mr. Pitt's funeral took place February 23; it was very grand and most respectfully attended, but was too soon after Lord Nelson's (which took place January 8,) to cause that general attention which otherwise would have been paid it.

Mr. Pitt's death opened the way for Mr. Fox's return to office. Lord Grenville was ordered by

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the king to form a new administration, which, after much difficulty, being at length effected, the cabinet was composed of the following members: Lord Erskine, lord high chancellor of England; Earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; Viscount Sidmouth, lord privy seal; Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Lord Howick, first lord of the admiralty; Earl of Moira, master general of the ordnance; Earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, secretaries of state for the home, foreign, and war departments; Lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer; and Lord Ellenborough, lord-chief-justice of England.

The Duke of Bedford went as lord-lieutenant to Ireland, and Mr. Elliot accompanied him as chief-secretary. Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed chancellor and keeper of the seals in Ireland, and Sir John Newport chancellor of the Irish exchequer.

In short, no thorough and complete change in all the departments had not been seen since the year 1784.

Much was expected from this new administration; but though some good-will existed towards them, there was no enthusiasm in their favor.

Little popular feeling, indeed, of any sort was left in the country. The violence engendered by the French revolution had long since spent its fury, and had given place to universal apathy and indifference on all political subjects that did not effect directly the public purse, or concern the safety or naval glory of the kingdom. Hatred of speculation, and aversion to France, were the only springs that moved or even touched the public mind. But, while the new ministers could reckon little on the zealous or ardent support of the country, they had to contend at once with the secret disinclination of the court, and with the active and indefatigable opposition of the persons whom they had recently displaced from office. The friends and adherents of the late ministers, though disunited in every other respect, were agreed in the most cordial hatred of their successors; and though the ex-ministers themselves had little name or popularity to boast of, their followers were numerous and active, and from their past habits and occupations they were particularly fitted to give annoyance to any administration against which they had an interest to combine.

CHAPTER II.

Affairs of Naples.—Bonaparte's Proclamation against the Neapolitan Dynasty.—Evacuation of Naples by the Russians and English.—Flight of their Sicilian Majesties.—Progress of the French Army under Joseph Bonaparte.—Actions and Defeat of the Neapolitans.—Joseph Bonaparte declared King of Naples.—Sir Sidney Smith's Expedition.—Sir John Stuart's ditto.—Battle of Maida.—French expelled from the two Calabrias.—Surrender of Gaeta.—Siege of Ragusa.—Battle of Castelnovo.

AFTER the retreat of the Russians, and conclusion of treaties with Austria and Prussia, the French emperor had no remaining enemy within his reach, except the King of Naples, whose recent conduct had been such as to provoke the utmost fury of his indignation. A treaty of neutrality between France and Naples had been concluded at Paris on the 21st of September, by Talleyrand and the Marquis di Gallo; and ratified at Portici by the King of Naples on the 8th of October. By this treaty, the French agreed to withdraw their troops from the Neapolitan territory, where they had been stationed, without any justifiable pretence, since the commencement of the war with England; and the King of Naples engaged, in return, to remain neutral in the war between France and the allies, and to

repel, by force, every encroachment on his neutrality. He more particularly became bound not to permit the troops of any belligerent power to enter his territories; not to confide the command of his armies or defence of his strong places to any Russian or Austrian officer, or French emigrant, or subject of any belligerent; and not to admit any belligerent squadron into his ports. But hardly had six weeks elapsed after the ratification of this treaty, when every one of its stipulations was violated by the court of Naples. On the 20th of November a squadron of English and Russian ships of war appeared in the bay of Naples, and landed a body of forces in that city and its vicinity. It was doubtful whether this expedition was undertaken by the allies in concert with the Neapolitan government; but, whether

previously consulted or not, by not opposing the landing of the troops, nor even remonstrating against it, the latter made itself a party to the transaction, and forfeited the neutrality secured to it by the treaty recently concluded. Such, at least, was the interpretation of its conduct by the French ambassador at Naples, who instantly took down the arms of France from over the gate of his hotel, and demanded passports, to enable him to leave the kingdom. Had the court of Naples been able to justify itself from a participation in the counsels that led to these proceedings, or been still desirous of maintaining its neutrality in the war between France and the allies, this was the moment for explanation. But, instead of keeping open the door for accommodation, it suffered the French ambassador to depart, without even attempting a vindication of its conduct; and contented itself with issuing a decree, in which, after slightly alluding to the late transactions, but without even condescending to say, that the neutrality of its territory had been violated against its will, it promised to foreign merchants, subjects of the allies of France, and resident in the Neapolitan dominions, who might otherwise be alarmed at the departure of the French ambassador, protection for their property, and permission to pursue their commerce. The appearance of such a decree, at such a juncture, was regarded by France as an unequivocal declaration, that the late proceedings of the allies at Naples, if not undertaken at the request of the Neapolitan government, were agreeable to its wishes; and if any doubts had remained of its intention to disregard the treaty of Portici, and connect itself with the allies, its subsequent conduct would have soon removed them.

The Russians, who were in number about 14,000 men, under General Lassey, landed at Naples, and were quartered in that city and its neighbourhood. The English, amounting to about 10,000, disembarked at Castel-a-mare, and were cantoned at that place, at Torre del Greco and in the vicinity. Sir James Craig was commander-in-chief of the English forces, and Sir John Stuart second in command. No sooner were the troops on shore, than preparations for active hostilities were begun by the government of Naples. Levies of Neapolitans were ordered. Horses and waggons, necessary for the advance of the army, were provided. Magazines were collected, and every demonstration was given by the court of Naples, that, if not consulted before the expedition was undertaken, the plan of operations, whatever it was, had now its hearty approbation and support.

It was not long before the court of Naples was made sensible of the full extent of its imprudence. On the morning after the signature of the peace of Presburgh, Bonaparte issued a proclamation,

from his head-quarters at Vienna, declaring "the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign," and denouncing vengeance against the reigning family, in terms that left no hope of pardon or accommodation. Hardly had this threatening proclamation reached Naples, when the allies, who had brought the Neapolitan government into these difficulties, set the first example of flight, and abandoned to their fate the royal personages whom they had so inexcusably involved in ruin. A courier arrived at Naples, with orders from the Emperor Alexander, for the Russian troops to re-embark and return to Corfu. The retreat of the Russians led necessarily to that of the English. Had the Russians remained, who formed the greater part of the allied army, there is a strong position on the road from Rome to Naples, having the mountains of Abruzzo on the right, and the Ganigliano on the left, which might have been maintained against the French.—But, after the departure of the Russians, the English were too few in number for so extensive a line of defence, and, therefore, Sir James Craig determined on retiring with his troops to Sicily, without waiting for the arrival of the enemy.—This resolution, which seemed, indeed, the only reasonable plan left him to adopt, he carried into execution without delay, and thus secured Sicily from the French, which, had he attempted without success the defence of Naples, must have fallen into their hands without resistance. This hasty retreat of Sir James Craig excited murmurs among his soldiers, who, with the spirit natural to British troops, were indignant at the appearance of flying before an enemy, distant from them many hundred miles. It was still less acceptable to the court of Naples, which was unwilling to abandon its capital, and too weak, without assistance, to attempt its defence.—But, the British general, disregarding the murmurs of the one and remonstrances of the other, persisted in his resolution; and being convinced that Naples could not be defended with the forces under his command, he wisely determined not to expose his troops to the consequences of their ardour and inexperience, nor to sacrifice them to the wild and extravagant projects of the court of Naples.

In the mean time a French army, under the command of Joseph Bonaparte, assisted by Massena, Regnier, and other generals of reputation, was advancing towards Naples; and on the 9th of February its head-quarters were at Ferentino, on the frontiers of that kingdom. From this place a proclamation was issued by Joseph Bonaparte, threatening the court of Naples with the severest vengeance for its breach of faith, and violation of the treaty of Portici, but promising to the people, that if they submitted to the French arms, their religion, laws, and property should be respected. Having passed the frontiers of the kingdom, the

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French advanced in three divisions. The right commanded by Regnier, marched to Gaeta without opposition, and summoned the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthardt, the governor of that place, to surrender, offering him honorable terms of capitulation, and warning him of the inefficacy of resistance. The answer of the Prince of Hesse was a determinate refusal to capitulate; on which the French attacked and carried the redoubt of St. André, defended by ten pieces of cannon, but lost, in the attack, General Gigny, an excellent officer, much lamented by their army. The centre division, under the command of Massena, met with no resistance in its march to Naples. Capua surrendered on the 12th of February; and, on the 15th, Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples, the garrison left in that city and in the neighbouring forts having previously capitulated. Next day, he went publicly to mass, which was celebrated by Cardinal Ruffo, Archbishop of Naples; and to display his devotion in a manner more gratifying to the populace, he presented a diamond necklace, as an offering to Saint Januarius, the tutelary saint of Naples.

The unfortunate King of Naples had left his capital on the 23d of January, to seek refuge, a second time, at Palermo; and the queen had followed his example. Part of the Neapolitan army accompanied the king and queen in their flight, and a number of persons, connected with the court or obnoxious to the French, made their escape along with them. Though the king had been always a favorite with the populace, no effort was made to detain him, nor disposition shewn, as on a former occasion, to arm in his defence. The queen was detested by all ranks of people, and no sentiment, but exultation, attended her flight.

The Duke of Calabria, heir-apparent of Naples, to whom the king, his father, before his departure had delegated the regency of the kingdom, during his own absence, remained at Naples till the 7th of February. But, having tried, in vain, to open a negociation with the French, he abandoned the city on their approach, and retired, with a body of troops, to Calabria, where General Damas, a French emigrant in the Neapolitan service, was at the head of a considerable force, endeavouring to organize a levy *en masse*, for the defence of that part of the kingdom. The activity of the French, however, left the Neapolitan generals but a short time to complete their preparations. General Regnier was called from before Gaeta, and sent after the fugitives with part of the army which had entered Naples. No stand was made by the Neapolitan generals till they reached the frontiers of Calabria; when having taken a strong position at Lago Negro, they determined to wait there the approach of the enemy. An action

ensued, in which the Neapolitans, after attempting, in vain, to defend the passage of a small rivulet, were driven with great loss from their position. This action, which seemed to have been obstinately disputed on the part of the Neapolitans, was fought on the 6th of March. On the two following days Regnier continued to advance, driving small parties of the Neapolitans before him, and on the 9th he attacked their army in its entrenched position at Campo Tenese. According to the French accounts, the Neapolitans behaved most shamefully on this occasion. They were said to have fled at the first onset, abandoning their cannon and baggage, and about 2,000 prisoners to the enemy; and to have dispersed after the battle so completely, that General Damas was unable, in his flight, to collect together more than 900 infantry and 50 horse.

The truth is, that the disorder of the Neapolitan army, in Calabria, was owing more to the want of skill and courage in their leaders, than to any misconduct in their troops.—The battle of Campo Tenese, (if it deserves the name,) put an end at this time to the war in Calabria. Regnier advanced to Neggis at the extremity of the peninsula, and placed a French garrison in the fort of Scylla. Another division of the French army marched, without opposition, to Tarento, and took possession of that important city, the most conveniently situated of any in the kingdom, for menacing, at once, both Sicily and Greece.

The whole kingdom of Naples had now submitted to the French arms, except Gaeta and Civitella del Tranto, in the farther Abruzzo.—Gaeta, which is situated on the point of a rocky promontory, washed on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus, strongly fortified, was still held by the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthardt; and such was the strength of the place and resolution of the governor, that the French had no chance of becoming masters of it without a regular siege; which, for want of battering cannon, they were unable for some time to commence. But, though no enemy appeared against them in the field, the country they had subdued was far from being tranquil. Assassinations, robberies, and other disorders inseparable from a dissolution of government, broke out at Naples and in other parts of the kingdom, and required, for their suppression, the most rigorous and vigilant police. These disorders, which filled the better sort of Neapolitans with the most dismal apprehensions, were fomented by the partizans and emissaries of the old government, who thought to distress the French by exciting disturbances in the country. But, such wretched policy had no other effect than to alienate still farther from, the exiled family all persons of rank, property, or consideration at Naples, and to attach them more firmly to

the French interest, from the predominance of which only they could expect security and protection.

The knowledge that such were the sentiments of the principal Neapolitans, determined Bonaparte to make known, without further delay, his ultimate intentions with respect to Naples. He had already declared, that the exiled family should never return to occupy the throne which they had abandoned. He now issued a decree, conferring the crown of Naples on his brother Joseph and his legitimate heirs-male; without prejudice to their eventual claim to the throne of France; but with a proviso, that the crown of France and that of Naples should never be united on the same head.

In pursuance of this decree, which was communicated to the French senate on the 30th of March, Joseph Bonaparte caused himself to be proclaimed King of Naples, and made all the constituted authorities of the kingdom take an oath of fidelity to him. The city of Naples was illuminated on this occasion, with every demonstration of joy and satisfaction on the part of the nobles, who were eager to shew their attachment to their new king, and accept of offices and distinctions in his service, in order to mark, not so much their devotion to him as their aversion to the exiled family.

The assumption of the regal dignity in Naples, by Joseph Bonaparte, and the defection of so many persons of distinction, excited the liveliest indignation at the court of Palermo. Instead of profiting by their past misfortunes, the Queen and Duke of Calabria listened to no counsels but such as flattered their anger with plans of vengeance, or soothed their impatience with idle projects for regaining their lost dominions. Though driven from Naples by their inability to resist the French arms, they were now eager to attempt the recovery of that kingdom, and confident of expelling from it an enemy whose invasion they had not ventured to oppose, or even dared to await.—No event had happened since their flight, to encourage them in so wild and unpromising an enterprise.—They had no foreign succour to reckon upon, nor prospect of any diversion of importance in their favor. To the efforts of their Neapolitan subjects alone could they look for assistance; but, to expect a prosperous issue to their attempts, without farther aid than their late subjects could afford, was to suppose, that Neapolitans fighting to subvert their government, were more formidable than Neapolitans fighting in its defence. Plans founded on such expectations terminated as might have been foreseen. In some of the provinces of Naples, emissaries from the court of Palermo were successful in exciting insurrections against the French, and in all they produced a spirit of restlessness and in-

subordination, which gave to the new government great inquietude. But no permanent good resulted from these disturbances, to compensate the present evils to which they led. Abruzzo and Calabria were delivered for a short time from the French yoke. But, though the insurgents fought with unparalleled courage and intrepidity, and were successful in many encounters, the numbers and discipline of the French prevailed in the end; so that after a fruitless waste of blood, and perpetration of atrocities, on all sides, disgraceful to humanity, these provinces were again compelled to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte for their sovereign.

The provinces of Abruzzo, though naturally poor, are inhabited by a more respectable and less indigent peasantry than the other parts of the kingdom of Naples.—The late government, which stood in awe of the Abruzzese, had been careful not to violate their privileges, nor in any sort to oppress them; and had, on the contrary, relieved them from some local taxes unfavorable to their industry. So easy is it for princes to gain the affections of their subjects, that these slight favors had kindled a lively spirit of loyalty and attachment to the exiled family in the breasts of the Abruzzese. When, therefore, a successful sally from Gaeta had enabled part of the garrison of that fortress to cut its way through the besieging army, and reach the mountains of Abruzzo, the flames of insurrection spread rapidly over the province.

After a long resistance, Civitella del Tranto, in the further Abruzzo, was obliged to surrender to the French: the Abruzzese, who had taken up arms, had defended themselves for many months, and submitted at length on honorable terms of capitulation.

About the middle of April, Sir Sidney Smith had arrived at Palermo, in the *Pompée*, of 84 guns, and taken the command of the English squadron destined for the defence of Sicily, consisting of five ships of the line, besides frigates, transports, and gun-boats. With this force under his command, Sir Sidney sailed to the coast of Italy, and began his operations by introducing into Gaeta supplies of stores and ammunition, of which its garrison had been greatly in want. Having performed this important service, and left at Gaeta a flotilla of gun-boats, under the protection of a frigate, to assist in the defence of the place, he proceeded to the bay of Naples, spreading such alarm along the coast, that the French conveyed in haste to Naples part of their battering train from the trenches before Gaeta, in order to protect the capital from insult, and secure it from attack. It happened, that at the moment when Sir Sidney came in sight of Naples, that city was illuminated on account of Joseph Bonaparte being proclaimed

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King of the Two Sicilies. It was in the power of the English admiral to have disturbed their festivity; but, as the sufferers from his interference must have been the inhabitants of Naples, and not the French troops, or the new king, he wisely and humanely forbore, and made for the isle of Capri; of which he took possession, after a slight resistance, and placed in it an English garrison.—He then proceeded southward along the coast, giving the greatest annoyance every where to the enemy, obstructing by land, and intercepting entirely by sea their communication along the shore, so as to retard their operations against Gaeta, which was the chief purpose for undertaking this expedition.

On the return of Sir Sidney to Palermo, after the conclusion of this service, he was led, from the active turn and sanguine temper of his mind, to enter with eagerness into the projects of the court, and to second its views on Calabria to the utmost of his power. Finding him favorably inclined to their schemes, and anxious to distinguish himself by some great exploit, their Sicilian majesties invested the British admiral with the most ample authority in Calabria, and even constituted him their viceroy in that province. But, though active and indefatigable in the duties of his new department, and successful in distributing money, arms, and ammunition among the Calabrians, he soon found, that, unless an English army made its appearance in the country, there was no chance of his producing an insurrection against the French. It became, therefore, necessary for the court of Palermo, either to abandon the fruit of all its intrigues and machinations, or to prevail on the commander of the English forces in Sicily to invade Calabria with part of his army.

After the evacuation of Naples, Sir James Craig had retired with the English army to Sicily, and established his head-quarters at Messina, as the station best adapted for protecting the island from invasion.—There he remained till April, when bad health compelled him to resign his command to Sir John Stuart, who was soon after entrusted by his Sicilian majesty with the defence of the east coast of Sicily from Melazzo to Cape Passaro, and with the command of the Sicilian troops in that district. The army continued in its position at Messina till the end of June, without attempting offensive operations against the enemy.

It was of the utmost importance to England, that Sicily should not fall under the dominion of France; and therefore Sir John Stuart, when solicited by the court of Palermo to assist in its schemes on Calabria, hesitated long, and deliberated maturely before he complied. He considered, that an expedition to Calabria, however it might gratify their Sicilian majesties, could not,

on the most favorable supposition, lead to their re-establishment at Naples, nor even secure to them the possession of any part of their continental dominions; whereas, if it failed, it must weaken the defence and endanger the safety of Sicily. He was, therefore, averse to such an expedition, and refused to engage in it when first proposed to him. But, overcome by the urgent and repeated instances of the Sicilian government, encouraged by flattering accounts of the disposition of the Calabrians, and foreseeing that, if success attended the first operations, he should be able at any rate to destroy the stores and ammunition collected in Calabria for the invasion of Sicily, he consented at length to land with part of his army on the continent, and make trial of the loyalty and affection of the people to their former masters. The enterprize which Sir John Stuart thus reluctantly undertook, he conducted with singular judgment and ability, and brought to a fortunate conclusion, with infinite glory to the British arms, but without any of those advantages to the court of Palermo which it had fondly anticipated from the experiment.

The troops destined to this expedition by Sir John Stuart, amounted to about 4,800 effective men.—With this small force he landed on the morning of the 1st of July, in a bay in the gulph of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. Little opposition was made to his landing by the enemy, who had not yet collected their forces. A proclamation was immediately issued by the English general, inviting the Calabrians to join the standard of their lawful sovereign, and offering them arms and ammunition for their defence. Few or none, however, obeyed the summons. Disappointed in his expectations from the inhabitants, Sir John Stuart was hesitating whether to re-embark his troops, when intelligence was brought to him that General Regnier was encamped at Maida, about ten miles off, with an army nearly equal to his own. Understanding at the same time that the French general was in daily expectation of reinforcements, he determined to advance next morning, (July 4) and attack him before they arrived.

The two armies were separated by a plain from four to six miles in breadth, extending from sea to sea, and bounded on the north and south by chains of mountains. The French occupied a strong position on the sloping side of a woody hill, below the village of Maida, having the river Lamato in front, and their flanks strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. In numbers they were greatly superior to the English, having received the expected reinforcement before the battle. Their force was about 7,000 men, while that of the English did not amount to 4,800. Had Regnier remained upon the heights, the English must have attacked him with great disadvantage, and

though the event of the engagement would have been probably the same, the loss on their part must have been more considerable. But, fortunately, blinded by an excess of confidence in his own troops, and an undue and unbounded contempt of the enemy, he quitted his strong position, and drew up his army on the plain.

The English, surprised at the number of his troops, which was greater than they expected, but in no wise dismayed by their appearance, advanced with undiminished alacrity to the attack. The action began on the right of the English army. After some firing, both sides prepared to charge with the bayonet, and advanced with apparently equal resolution; but the French, who had probably imbibed from their general his contemptuous opinion of the enemy, were so astonished at the firmness with which the English advanced to the charge, that, struck with a sudden panic, they gave way after the bayonets of the two armies had begun to cross, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight. It was too late, however, to escape. They were overtaken with immense slaughter, and in a short time the whole of the left wing of their army was totally routed and dispersed. The enemy being thus completely discomfited on their left, made an effort, with their right, to retrieve the honor of the day; but they were resisted with great steadiness by the English left, and their cavalry being thrown into disorder, in an attempt to turn the English flank, by an unexpected fire from the twentieth regiment, which landed during the action, and came up at this critical juncture, they abandoned the field of battle with precipitation, and left an undisputed victory to their opponents. About 700 French were buried on the ground, and 1,000 prisoners taken, among whom were General Compere and several other officers of rank; but their total loss from this conflict was estimated by Sir John Stuart at not less than 4,000 men. The English had only 45 men killed and 282 wounded in the action.

This glorious victory, which was gained on the 6th of July, was the signal of a general insurrection in both the Calabrias. The peasants, already prepared to take up arms, rose in every direction against the French, cut off their stragglers, pursued their flying parties, and attacked their posts. The French, provoked by their defeat, and exasperated by the cruelty of the insurgents, who gave no quarter to such as fell into their hands, retaliated with a savageness and ferocity more disgraceful to their character than the panic terrors which had seized them at Maida. The villages which declared against them were plundered and burned to the ground, and the inhabitants massacred without distinction of age or sex. This usage still farther inflamed the Calabrians, whose attacks on their posts were

incessant and furious, till, with the assistance of the English, they drove them entirely out of their country. Unable to contend with their numerous and exasperated assailants, the French were compelled at length to evacuate both Calabrias, and to abandon all the cannon, stores, and ammunition which they had collected in these provinces for the invasion of Sicily. Not a single place along the coast was left in their possession, from Coohne to Sicosà. Of 9,000 men, which was the amount of their force in Lower Calabria, before the battle of Maida, not above 3,000 made good their retreat: in Upper Calabria their loss from the insurgents, for the English did not penetrate into that province, was, by their own confession, very considerable.

But glorious and successful as this expedition had been, it soon appeared how far it was from having opened to the King of Sicily any prospect of regaining his kingdom of Naples. So sensible was Sir John Stuart of his inability to maintain the ground he had won in Calabria, that from the plain of Maida he announced his intention of returning without loss of time to Sicily. On the 18th of July his head-quarters were at Bagnara, near Reggio; and on the 23d the fort of Scylla, opposite to Messina, a place of great importance for the secure navigation of the straits, surrendered to one of his officers. The whole of the British army was now withdrawn from Calabria, except the garrison of Scylla, and a detachment of the 78th regiment, under Colonel M'Leod; which had been sent in the *Amphion* frigate to the coast near Catanzaro, in order to countenance and assist the insurgents in that quarter. This service was effectually performed by Colonel M'Leod and Captain Hoste of the *Amphion*. The French under Regnier were severely harassed in their retreat along the shore from Catanzaro to Cotrone, and the latter place, with all its magazines and stores, fell into the hands of the English.

General Acland was also dispatched to the bay of Naples, with the 58th and 81st regiments, to make demonstrations in that direction, which might alarm the enemy, and deter him from sending reinforcements to Calabria. General Acland was not absolutely prohibited from landing his troops, but he was directed not to expose his soldiers to that danger, unless he had a prospect of effecting some object of real and permanent utility. Sir Sidney Smith was in the mean time actively, if not judiciously, employed along the coast, assisting the insurgents with arms and ammunition, supplying them with provisions, and conveying them from one place to another, in the vessels under his command. By these exertions he contributed materially to extend the insurrection along the coast, and to expel the enemy from the watch-towers and castles which they occupied upon the shore. These operations were, in some

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instances, of use, by securing a safer and better anchorage for his ships; but, in others, the blood and treasure which they cost exceeded the value of his acquisitions. In one of these adventures, two officers and five seamen were killed and thirty-four seamen wounded, in the attack of an insignificant fort at Point Licosa, which he destroyed when it fell into his hands. No British troops were stationed any where to maintain his conquests, except in the isle of Capri, which was kept as a place of refreshment for the navy: but a number of posts were occupied and garrisoned by the insurgents, such as Amantea, Scalea, and the isle of Dino on the coast of Upper Calabria, and Maratea, Sapei, Camerota, Palinuro, and other places in the bay of Policastro. The chief, or rather sole use of these posts consisted in the protection which they afforded to the anchorage upon the coast, and facilities thereby given to the British and Neapolitan small craft, of intercepting the coasting communications of the enemy, so as to prevent the supply of his army in Calabria with cannon, which, from the badness of the roads, it was impossible for him to convey by land.

The loss of Gaeta, which surrendered to the French soon after the battle of Maida, more than counterbalanced these trifling successes in other parts of the coast. While the Prince of Hesse continued to have the command of Gaeta, that place was gallantly defended; and sallies were repeatedly made with the greatest success, by which the operations of the enemy were impeded, their cannon spiked, and their batteries taken and destroyed. But the Prince of Hesse having been wounded by a splinter, and removed for his recovery to Palermo, and the French having at length brought their artillery to act upon the place, the lieutenant-governor, Colonel Hotz, saw himself forced to capitulate. The surrender of Gaeta cut off the communication with the northern parts of the kingdom of Naples, where the spirit of disaffection was as strong as in the south; and set at liberty a force of 16,000 men, previously employed in that siege, to act against the Calabrians.

A decree was issued at Naples, on the 31st of July, declaring the two Calabrias in a state of war, and subjecting them to all the rigours of military law. Massena, invested with despotic authority, was placed at the head of a powerful army, and sent to reduce them to obedience. The insurgents were not in sufficient force to meet him in the field, and were too much divided among themselves to attempt any enterprise of importance, even against his out-posts. The difficulty of transporting artillery over the mountains retarded his operations; but his progress, though slow, was uninterrupted, and his successes, though

often dearly bought, were not checked by any reverse.

On the 16th of August, the advanced guard of the French army entered Cosenza, the capital of Upper Calabria, and before the beginning of September they had recovered possession of the whole of that province, excepting Amantea, Scalea, and some other places upon the coast. But it was some time before they penetrated in force into the Lower Calabria. Their head-quarters, in December, were still at Cosenza and Fiume Freddo, in Upper Calabria, though their advanced posts had long before been at Monteleone and Mileto, about 30 miles distant from Scylla. Cotrone did not fall into their hands till the end of the year, nor Amantea, the last place held by the insurgents upon the coast, till the beginning of the ensuing spring.

The Calabrian insurgents or *massé* were composed of the lowest, worst, and most miserable of the country people and villagers. Attracted by pay or the hope of plunder to the standard under which they fought, no confidence could be reposed in their fidelity; and though individually brave, when assembled in bodies no dependence could be placed on their steadiness. While the French were still at a distance, a report was brought to the *massé* in Lower Calabria, that the enemy was advancing to attack them, on which the *capi*, or chiefs of the *massé*, fled in the most shameful manner, and the *massé*, abandoned by their leaders, after recovering from their first panic, broke out in such acts of murder, cruelty, and rapine, that it became necessary for Sir John Stuart to cross over to Scylla, and send detachments of British troops into the interior of the country, to put a stop to their excesses. This happened in the latter part of August.

On a subsequent occasion, intelligence having been sent to the Neapolitan generals that the French, who were lying at Nicastro, to the number of 4,000 men, were afraid to cross the river Lamato, lest the English should land and attack them in the rear, it was resolved to attempt to surprise them in that situation, by advancing from Monteleone and Filadelfia, with 1,600 of the *massé* and 2,000 Neapolitan troops; but when this corps had arrived within four miles of the enemy, a suspicion suddenly seized the *massé* that the Neapolitans meant to desert them in the heat of the engagement, upon which they immediately secured the person of Cancelliere, the general set over them by his Sicilian majesty, and refused to deliver him up, when demanded, to the other generals.

Many of the *capi*, or chiefs of the insurgents, were men of infamous character, who had justly forfeited their lives to the laws of their country. Pane di Grano, one of the most celebrated of

their leaders, was a priest, whose crimes had been so enormous, that, though a clergyman, he had been condemned to the galleys. Fra Diavolo, who distinguished himself in the neighbourhood of Naples, had been guilty of robbery and murder. Galley-slaves, polluted with every crime and prepared for every atrocity, were collected by order of the court of Palermo, and landed among its former subjects, in order to keep alive the insurrection, and render desperate the hope of accommodation with the enemy. The consequences of employing such agents to conduct the war may be easily imagined. Murder and rapine spread universally over the country. The lawless and vicious combined against the orderly and well-disposed. Those who had property were oppressed and plundered by those who had none, and many victims were sacrificed to private resentment, under the mask and pretence of public duty.

The French, irritated by cruelties, which the humanity of Sir John Stuart interposed ineffectually to prevent, retaliated on the insurgents with a barbarity equal to their own. Prisoners taken with arms in their hands were shot instantly, on the false and monstrous pretext, that they were rebels against Joseph Bonaparte. Villages, which refused to admit French troops within their walls, or to pay the contributions demanded from them, were pillaged and burned; and in some atrocious cases, the wretched inhabitants were included, without mercy or distinction, in the conflagration, and, with their wives and children, prevented by French soldiers from making their escape from the flames that consumed their habitations.

When Sir John Stuart returned to Messina from his glorious expedition in Calabria, he found Lieutenant-general Fox arrived there from Gibraltar, with a commission of commander-in-chief of the British forces in Italy. General Fox took upon him the command of the army on the 29th of July, and immediately appointed Sir John Stuart to conduct the war, which he had begun with so much success, in the two Calabrias. This office Sir John Stuart most readily undertook, and in the prosecution of it made a second expedition to Calabria, for the purpose of restoring some degree of order in that country, and repressing the excesses of the *massé*; but when Sir John Moore, his senior officer, joined the army with reinforcements from England, and became, of course, second in command, he preferred returning home to England to continuing third in command in Italy.

Soon after the arrival of Sir John Moore, that gallant and experienced officer was dispatched along the coast to the bay of Naples, to collect information of the state of the country, and to confer with Sir Sidney Smith about operations,

in which the assistance of the navy might be wanted. The result of Sir John Moore's inquiries was unfavorable to any new expedition to the continent. He found the populace of Naples discontented, and ready to attempt an insurrection, if encouraged by the presence of a considerable British army; but, without some prospect of co-operation from the upper part of Italy, he saw no advantage to be gained by encouraging these dispositions; and with respect to the war in Calabria, he was satisfied that, by supplying the people with arms and ammunition, and exciting them to insurrection, it would be merely organizing and keeping alive a predatory civil war, ruinous and destructive to individuals, while it was unattended with any real or permanent benefit to the English or to their ally. The information collected by General Fox at Messina, and the conduct of the *massé* in Lower Calabria, coincided with the report of Sir John Moore, and determined General Fox to make no expedition to the continent, unless some more favorable opportunity presented itself, and in the mean time to withhold from the *massé* supplies of arms and ammunition, which they were obviously employing in other uses than such as a British general could approve of.

This determination was far from being acceptable at Palermo, where the court listened greedily to every plan proposed to it for the recovery of Naples, and thought always the last project laid before it the surest to succeed. The Marquis di Circello, who had been appointed minister of foreign affairs on the resignation of Sir John Acton, was a person of very middling abilities, but high in favor with the queen, and implicitly devoted to her service. It was natural for such a minister, desirous of pleasing his sovereign, and indifferent or blind to all other consequences, to propose to the commander of the British forces to engage, in conjunction with the troops of his Sicilian majesty, in a combined attack upon Naples. A temporary possession of that city, he argued, though it were for twenty-four hours only, if it did no other good, would, at least, enable their majesties to take vengeance on their rebellious subjects. Such a consideration was not calculated to dispose a British officer in favor of their plan; but there were other reasons, besides the disgust arising from the disclosure of such views, which determined General Fox to express, in the most peremptory manner, his decided disapprobation of the project, and to signify, that it was totally impossible for the British army to co-operate in such an expedition.

Thwarted in its plan of operations by the refusal of the English general to co-operate in a project, every part of which he disapproved of, the court of Palermo was ultimately compelled to abandon its designs upon Naples; though it affected, for some time, an intention of pursuing

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the enterprize with its own forces, the greater part of which it assembled on the north coast of Sicily, under the Prince of Hesse, on pretence of inspecting, arming, and clothing the troops. But, when the resolution of General Fox not to concur in the expedition was found to be unalterably fixed, the project was entirely given up, though with much reluctance and ill-humour against the English.

While their Sicilian majesties were thus intent on the recovery of Naples, the importance of Sicily, the resources which it might be made to afford, and the means necessary to be taken for conciliating the affections of its inhabitants, and rousing them against the enemy, seemed never to have entered into their contemplation. When the royal family were driven a second time to Sicily for shelter and protection, the Sicilians had vainly imagined, that in return for their assistance and fidelity they would be relieved from jealous and injurious restrictions on their commerce and navigation, and raised to greater weight and consideration in the councils of their sovereign, than they had hitherto attained. Their ancient constitution, the venerable forms of which were still existing, they were desirous to re-establish, and no less attached to the English by ancient traditions than by hatred of the French, they fondly expected from the former assistance and countenance in this great undertaking.

As the transactions in Naples had little connection with the scenes passing in the rest of Europe, we shall proceed next to give an account of the affairs in Cattaro and Ragusa between the French and Russians; and afterwards revert to the more important but fatal events in the north of Germany.

Cattaro, a small barren province, situated to the south of Ragusa, derives its value from the excellence of its harbour, which is the largest and safest in the Adriatic; and from the skill of its seamen, who form the chief part of its population. This province was one of those transferred to France by the peace of Presburg, by the articles of which it was stipulated, that France should take possession of Cattaro within six weeks after the exchange of the ratification of the treaty. At the expiration of that period, the French officers appointed to receive the province from the Austrians had not arrived at Cattaro. An agent of the court of Russia at Cattaro took advantage of this delay, and succeeded in persuading the inhabitants, who are chiefly Greeks, that France having failed to take possession of the place at the time appointed, Austria was released from the obligation of maintaining it, and justified in withdrawing her troops and leaving it to the first occupant. This reasoning, though satisfactory to the inhabitants of Cattaro, made no impression on the Austrian commandant, who occupied the forts

with a garrison of 1,500 men, till supported by the irruption of a band of Montenegrins from the mountains, and by the arrival of a Russian line-of-battle-ship from Corfu.

The Marquis de Ghisilieri, commissary-general of the Austrian army, appointed to deliver up Dalmatia and Cattaro to the French, happened, at that moment, to arrive at Cattaro, whither he had preceded the French generals, on hearing of the mutinous spirit of the inhabitants; but, instead of resisting the Russians and their allies, as with the garrison in the forts he might easily have done till the arrival of the French, he consented, after a short negociation, to evacuate the place, which was immediately occupied by the natives, and by them transferred to the Russians. This strange transaction took place on the 4th of March, when the French were within a few days march of the place. The Austrian officers in garrison at Cattaro were scandalized at this proceeding, and so indignant with Ghisilieri, that they made a formal protest against the evacuation of the forts; and when the conduct of that officer came afterwards to be enquired into at Vienna, the reasons he assigned for giving up the place appeared so unsatisfactory to the tribunal before which he was tried, that he was dismissed from the imperial service, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life in a fortress of Transylvania.

The French, disappointed of Cattaro, with that profligate contempt of the rights of independent states which so strongly characterized the transactions of these times, took possession of Ragusa, to which they had no claim, on pretence of securing it against the incursions of the Montenegrins, who had not even threatened to violate its territory. The Montenegrins are a barbarous tribe of freebooters, inhabiting the chain of mountains adjoining to Cattaro, from one of which, called Monte-negro, they derive their name. They were, at this time, in close alliance with the Russians, and, therefore, the occupation of Ragusa by the French, instead of protecting that republic from their violence, afforded them a pretext for invading and laying it waste. Several skirmishes ensued, in which both sides claimed the victory. The French, however, were, in the end, compelled by the Russians and Montenegrins to shut themselves up in Ragusa, where they stood a siege of several weeks, while the Montenegrins ravaged the country and committed horrible excesses on the inhabitants. General Lauriston, who commanded in Ragusa, was at length relieved, July 6, from this embarrassing situation, by the arrival of General Molitor from Dalmatia, with a French army collected in that province. It was now the turn of the Russians and Montenegrins to retreat, which, after the loss of their artillery and plunder, the former effected to their ships, the latter to their mountains, and in a few days the territory of

Ragusa was cleared of these barbarians. No event of importance followed till the month of September, when the Russians and Montenegrins, having assembled in great force near Castel-Nuovo, General Marmont marched against them from Ragusa, and having enticed them, by a mi-

litary stratagem, to quit their entrenchments, attacked and defeated them with great loss on the 29th. But, notwithstanding this defeat, the Russians continued in possession of Cattaro and Castel-Nuovo at the end of the year.

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CHAPTER III.

Occupation of Hanover by the Prussians.—France refuses to confirm the Alterations made by Prussia in the Treaty of Vienna.—Bonaparte's Violence and Inconsistency.—Treaty of Paris.—Surrender of Anspach, Neufchatel, and Cleves.—Exclusion of the English Flags from the German Ports.—Embargo upon Prussian Vessels.—His Britannic Majesty's Message to Parliament.—War between Prussia and Sweden.—Murder of Palm, a Bookseller.—Confederation of the Rhine.—Dissolution of the German Empire.—Conduct of Prussia.—Blockade of the Prussian Ports discontinued.

AFTER the battle of Austerlitz, the court of Berlin had again recourse to negotiation. Major-general Von Pfuhl was dispatched to the French head-quarters, with instructions to signify, that Prussia was now ready to accept the propositions which she had formerly rejected, and with orders to add, "that his Prussian majesty would consider the occupation of Hanover by French troops as an act of hostility." But, previously to the arrival of Von Pfuhl at the place of his destination, Haugwitz had signed a definitive treaty at Vienna, by which Prussia, from being the friend and ally of the coalesced powers, and almost the open and declared enemy of France, became the ally of the latter, the guarantee of her conquests in Germany, and her associate in the spoils of the vanquished and baffled coalition.

The treaty of Vienna was sent back to France with alterations; and under the pretence of securing the electorate of Hanover from the calamities of another ruinous war, the troops of the allies were withdrawn from it, and replaced by Prussians. To the English minister at Berlin it was said, that arrangements concluded with France for ensuring the tranquillity of Hanover, "stipulated expressly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the king, until the conclusion of a peace between England and France;" and the assertion, that "till the conclusion of a general peace, Hanover would be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia," was repeated in the proclamation of his Prussian majesty on taking possession of the electorate;

but not a word was said of his ulterior design of annexing it to the Prussian monarchy, in exchange for territory ceded to France.

This reserve in taking possession of Hanover was far from being acceptable to the court of St. Cloud. The alterations which Prussia had proposed in the treaty of Vienna, were rejected with disdain; and the treaty itself, because it had not received a simple and unconditional ratification, was declared to be annulled. Haugwitz hurried to Paris, flattering himself that the personal consideration in which he was held by Bonaparte would remove every difficulty. But, after having been made to wait some days for an audience, he was undeceived at his first interview. Nor did he quit Paris till he had signed a new treaty, by which Prussia became bound, not only to perpetrate an undisguised act of injustice, by annexing Hanover to her dominions; but, to commit an act of decided hostility against England, by excluding the British flag from the ports of that electorate. Such was the violence and inconsistency of Bonaparte's conduct, that in the very act of compelling Prussia to accept of the sovereignty of Hanover, he interfered with the exercise of her sovereignty in that country, in so important a point as the right of making peace or war. His will, however, was no longer disputed.

The treaty of Paris was signed on the 15th of February; on the 24th, Bernadotte took possession of Anspach and Bayreuth for the King of Bavaria, to whom these provinces were transferred by France; on the 18th of March the Prussians evacuated Wesel; and on the 21st the French troops were withdrawn from Hamlen, the only

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place in the electorate of Hanover which they had continued to occupy. On the 28th of March, a proclamation was issued by Count Shulenburg, in the name of the King of Prussia, ordering "the ports of the German ocean, and the rivers which empty themselves in it, to be shut against British shipping and trade, in the same manner as when Hanover was occupied by French troops;" and on the 1st of April, a patent appeared under the authority of the same monarch, annexing formally the electorate of Hanover to his other dominions, on pretence, that belonging to the Emperor Napoleon "by right of conquest," it had been transferred to Prussia "in consideration of the cession of three of her provinces to France," viz. Anspach, Neufchatel, and Cleves.

The conduct of the Prussians, when they took possession of Hanover, in assuming to themselves the civil as well as military administration of the country, had excited a suspicion in the Hanoverian regency of their secret intentions, and occasioned a protest from Count Munster against this proceeding, as "contrary to the rights of his sovereign, and as a measure of which his majesty, so far from giving his consent to it, highly disapproved." No regard being had to this protest, nor to the remonstrance accompanying it, that "if the occupation of Hanover by a Prussian force was inevitable, it should take place under such stipulations as were least injurious to the rights of his majesty, and least severe upon the unhappy inhabitants," Mr. Fox took occasion to express, in an official note, March 17, to Baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London, "the great anxiety felt by his majesty, at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate of Hanover;" and to desire him explicitly to inform the court, "that no convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity would ever induce his majesty so far to forget what was due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienations of the electorate." But this note, which at an earlier period might have deterred the court of Berlin from the violent and outrageous course on which it had entered, arrived too late to produce any change in its determinations. The three provinces were already given up to France, and engagements had been formed to execute the other articles of the treaty of Paris, from which the Prussian government durst not recede.

While the violent and unjustifiable proceedings of Prussia were directed solely against the electorate of Hanover, his Britannic majesty was advised by his ministers "to forbear all recourse to his British subjects" in support of his rights; and to content himself with "remonstrating; by amicable negociation, against the injury he had sus-

tained, and resting his claim for reparation on the moderation of his conduct, on the justice of his representation, and on the common interest which Prussia, herself, must ultimately feel, to resist a system destructive of all legitimate possession. But when, instead of receiving assurances conformable to this just expectation, his majesty was informed, that the determination had been taken of excluding, by force, the vessels and commodities of Great Britain from ports and countries under the lawful dominion, or forcible controul of Prussia; it was impossible for his majesty longer to delay to act, without neglecting the first duty which he owed to his people. The dignity of his crown, and the interests of his subjects, equally forbad his acquiescing in this open and unprovoked aggression." No sooner, therefore, had intelligence reached London of the actual exclusion of British shipping from the Elbe, and of the determination of Prussia to shut all the ports of the German ocean against the British flag, than measures of retaliation were adopted.

Notice was given, on the 8th of April, to the ministers of neutral powers, that the necessary means had been taken for the blockade of the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave. A general embargo had been laid on all Prussian vessels in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland, April 5; and this order was afterwards extended to all vessels belonging to the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, vessels under the Danish flag only excepted, on the 16th. The English mission at Berlin was recalled; and a message from his majesty was presented to both houses of parliament, April 21, stating "the necessity in which his majesty found himself of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of adopting provisional measures of just retaliation against the commerce and navigation of Prussia," on account of acts "of direct hostility deliberately pursued against him, which left him no alternative." After stating, concisely, the particulars of the conduct of Prussia, which called for these proceedings, the message concluded by saying, that his majesty "had no doubt of the full support of his parliament in vindicating the honor of the British flag and the freedom of the British navigation; and that he would look with anxious expectation to that moment when a more dignified and enlightened policy, on the part of Prussia, should remove every impediment to the renewal of peace and friendship, with a power with whom his majesty had no other cause of difference than that now created by these hostile acts."

This message having been taken into consideration by the two houses of parliament on the 23d of April, addresses of thanks were voted unanimously in return. Mr. Fox, in his speech, gave an historical account of the transactions which had led to the rupture with Prussia, and made some severe comments on the conduct of that

power, which he described "as the union of every thing that was contemptible in servility, with every thing that was odious in rapacity." Other nations had been obliged to make cessions to France; but none of them had, like Prussia, been reduced to that lowest state of degradation, to consent to become the ministers of the injustice and rapacity of a master." In answer to the plea set up by Prussia, that "the Emperor Napoleon having obtained Hanover by right of conquest, the rightful possession of it had passed to Prussia," he observed, that "no example could be found in all the histories of war, and no mention had ever been made by the writers on the law of nations, of any power having a right to receive, as a present, a country occupied during a war by one of the belligerent powers, but not ceded by the other." After exposing the futility of this pretended right, Mr. Fox proceeded next to reprobate "the principle which had been lately adopted in Europe, of transferring the subjects of one prince to another, in the way of equivalents, and under the pretext of convenience and mutual accommodation. The wildest schemes," he remarked, "that were ever before broached, would not go so far to shake the foundations of all established government as this new practice. There must be, in every nation, a certain attachment of the people to its form of government, without which no nation can subsist. This principle, then, of transferring the subjects of one prince to another, strikes at the foundation of every government, and the existence of every nation." Mr. Fox concluded with stating, that "there could be no doubt but that the shutting the ports of Prussia to British vessels was alone most clearly and unquestionably an act of hostility against this country."

A declaration was also issued, April 20, by his majesty, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, recapitulating instances of the perfidy, insincerity, and rapacity of the court of Berlin, and solemnly protesting, for himself and his heirs, against every encroachment on his rights to the electorate of Brunswick, Lunenburg, and its dependencies.

Prussia had so little expected prompt measures of retaliation on the part of England, that we find, after the ratification of the treaty of Paris, Count Hardenberg had given assurances to the merchants of Berlin that the navigation and property of Prussian subjects had nothing to apprehend from Great Britain. It had been said, that, though the Prussian government was compelled to issue an order for shutting its ports against the British flag, nothing was farther from the intentions of those who were friendly to the connection of Prussia with France, than to enforce this order, or carry it strictly into effect; but, that the execution of this part of the treaty of Paris belonging officially to ministers, who disapproved of the whole

transaction, these persons determined to enforce it with the greatest rigour, for the purpose of bringing into discredit the political system of their opponents, by the losses and inconveniences to which, they foresaw, the exclusion of British shipping from their ports would necessarily lead; saying, in their own justification, that they were not made for half measures.—Whatever truth may be in these reports, it is certain, that soon after the hostile acts and declarations of England were known at Berlin, the Prussian government shewed a disposition to relax its system of excluding English trade and navigation from the north of Germany, by giving orders, May 14, at Stettin, Colberg, and its other ports in the Baltic, not to oppose the entrance of British ships, but, on the contrary, to receive them in the most friendly manner. On the same day an order of council was issued by Great Britain, for seizing and bringing to judgment, before the admiralty-courts, all vessels found navigating under Prussian colours; in consequence of which, that flag, lately so common upon the ocean, quickly disappeared, and gave place to Danish, Pappenberg, Kniphausen, and other neutral ensigns.

In addition to her war with England, the subserviency of Prussia to France involved her in hostilities with Sweden. The Swedish troops, who occupied Lunenburg for the King of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians into that duchy, were compelled, after a light resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg, April 23; upon which the King of Sweden laid an embargo on all Prussian vessels in his harbours, April 27; and issued an order for the blockade of all the Prussian ports of the Baltic, May 6. It was supposed, that Prussia would take her revenge by expelling the Swedes from Pomerania; but, if she ever entertained such a design, she was prevented from carrying it into effect by a new revolution in her politics, which gave a totally different direction to her arms.

Bonaparte, it is thought, never thoroughly forgave the court of Berlin, for the danger to which he was exposed, by the vacillation and momentary change of its political system after the affair of Anspach; but while he stood in awe of its power, and had reason to fear the consequences of its hostility, he continued to be lavish of assurances of friendship, and flattered and amused its ministers with protestations of regard and professions of moderation. The journey which Haugwitz took to Paris, opened the eyes even of that minister to the sincerity and value of these declarations; but the first public act of the cabinet of St. Cloud which gave serious offence and alarm to the court of Berlin, was the investiture of Murat with the dutchies of Berg and Cleves, March 15. Berg had belonged to the King of Bavaria, as Count Palatine of the Rhine, and been ceded to France

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in exchange for the Prussian provinces of Anspach and Bayreuth in Franconia. Cleves, which had been already dismembered by the extension of the French empire to the banks of the Rhine, was one of the three provinces given up by Prussia for Hanover. Various speculations had been formed with regard to the destination of these provinces, when they fell into the hands of France, but the general sentiment in Germany was that of surprize and indignation, when they were given to Murat, a foreigner, a soldier of fortune, and the brother-in-law of Bonaparte. There seemed to be no end to the encroachments of France, nor reliance on her most solemn and reiterated declarations, that the Rhine should be the boundary of her empire. To Prussia, in particular, the establishment of Murat in the midst of her Westphalian provinces was far from being acceptable; and very soon she began to experience the inconvenience of such a neighbour. Possession was taken in his name of the abbeys of Werden, Essen, and Elten, on pretence that they belonged to the dutchy of Cleves, without respecting the prior occupation or claims of Prussia; and Wesel, though on the German side of the Rhine, was annexed to a French department, and strongly fortified.

But a deeper and more sensible injury awaited the Prussian government. While Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging its ministers to persist in the measures they had adopted for retaining Hanover, Lucchesini discovered at Paris, that the French government had offered to the King of Great Britain the complete restitution of his electoral dominions. Thus, after the sacrifice of her honor and reputation, Prussia saw herself, on the eve of a general peace, about to be deprived of the reward for which she had consented to act a part so mean, treacherous, and unworthy, without an opportunity of retrieving her character or of bettering her condition by resistance. Fortunately, as she then thought, the negotiation for peace between France and Russia, after preliminaries had been signed at Paris, was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg to ratify the treaty concluded by its negotiator. But this event, while it opened to Prussia the prospect of assistance, in case she should be driven to a war with France, disclosed to her farther proofs of the secret enmity of the cabinet of St. Cloud, and of its readiness to abandon her interests. She was informed by Russia, that during the negotiation at Paris, distinct hints had been given to the Russian negotiator, that if his court was desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to its dominions, no opposition would be made to such a project on the part of France.

Two other causes contributed materially to the determination of Prussia to commence hostilities

against France; the one, by its effect on the public mind; the other, on account of the injury done to herself.

The occupation of Cattaro by the Russians had served as a pretext to the French emperor, not only for retaining possession of Braunau, in the hereditary states of Austria, after the term stipulated for its surrender by the peace of Presburgh, but for keeping on foot an immense army in Germany, which he maintained at the expense of the free towns and states of Suabia and Franconia. The presence of so large an army on its frontiers excited the jealousy and awakened the fears of the Prussian government. To overawe Prussia, rather than to recover Cattaro, seemed to be the object of assembling so great a force in that quarter, and when troops were collected in Westphalia, that suspicion was converted into certainty. Complaints were addressed from every quarter to Berlin, of the severity of the French contributions, and of the insufferable burthen of supporting their armies. The barbarous murder of Palm, a bookseller, of Nuremberg, who was arrested in that imperial city by order of the French government, hurried to Braunau, and there tried and executed, August 26, under authority of a court-marshal, for an alleged libel on the French emperor, excited universal indignation, and roused every pen in Germany to call down vengeance on such atrocious, unwarrantable acts.

All eyes were turned to Prussia, imploring assistance and relief, while the bitterest reproaches were uttered against that selfish, temporizing policy, which had subjected Germany to such calamities and disgrace. The popular feeling at Berlin, in the court, in the army, among the burghers, was loudly and unequivocally expressed against the base, unprincipled policy of the government, since it had been directed by Haugwitz, Lombard, and other partizans of France. The surprize and indignation which the scandalous traffic of the Prussian provinces for Hanover had excited at first, subsequent events had not allayed. Every day had brought the news of some fresh encroachment on the part of France, of some new insult or mortification to Prussia. The young officers, inflamed with military ardour, were eager to distinguish themselves against the conquerors of Austria. The old generals, who recollected the glorious days of Frederic II. forgot their age and infirmities, as well as the immense changes since that time, both in France and Prussia, and joined in the cry for war. Prince Lewis of Prussia, who had, a few years before, been called the Prussian Duke of Orleans, took the lead in inspiring these sentiments, and diffusing them among the young men of his rank. The queen, young, beautiful, and amiable, listening with indignation to the atrocities, usurpations, and insults of France, and jealous of her husband's

honor and reputation, joined in the same cause. The ministers, weak and unprincipled; hated and despised, were unable to resist the torrent which hurried the Prussian monarchy to destruction.

These ministers, as destitute of wisdom as of probity, as incapable of profiting by experience as of acting a fair or honorable part, had, in the mean time, been engaged in another criminal negotiation with Bonaparte, and had been again outwitted by his superior craft and artifice. The peace of Presburgh had left the forms of the Germanic constitution entire, and from some of the articles of that treaty it appears doubtful, whether the French emperor entertained thoughts at that time of the speedy subversion to which it was afterwards condemned. The residence of his troops in Germany, occasioned by the unlucky affair of Cattaro, probably suggested, and the prospect of peace with Russia certainly matured, a design suitable to his restless mind, of destroying what remained of that ancient structure, and of erecting in its room a new confederation of princes, at the head of which he should himself be placed. This project seems to have been already conceived in the beginning of June, and early in July the details of the plan were settled; but it was resolved not to publish them, in case peace could be obtained. On the 10th of that month the Russian plenipotentiary, D'Oubril, had his first conference with General Clarke, who was appointed to negotiate with him on the part of France. The true character of the Russian minister was soon discovered. No obstacle, it was foreseen, would be opposed by him to the new arrangements proposed in Germany. The plan of confederation was, therefore, definitively settled without delay, and signed on the 17th of July, by princes and ministers, who were scarce allowed time to read the deed to which they affixed their signatures.

The members of this confederation were the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Elector of Baden, the Duke of Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the Princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Nassau-Usingen, of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburgh, Birchstein and Lichtenstein, the Duke of Aremburg, and the Count of Leyen. The Archduke Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, (formerly Archduke of Tuscany, and afterwards Elector of Saltsburg,) acceded to the confederation of the Rhine on the 30th of September.

By their articles of confederacy, these princes separated themselves from the Germanic empire, and renounced all connection with it; appointed a diet to meet at Frankfort, to manage their public concerns, and settle their differences; chose the Emperor of the French for their protector; established among themselves a federal alliance,

by which, if one of them engaged in a continental war, all the others were bound to take part in it; and fixed the contingent which each should in that case furnish, as follows: France, 200,000; Bavaria, 30,000; Wirtemberg, 12,000; Baden, 3,000; Berg, 5,000; Darmstadt, 4,000; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others, 4,000; total, 258,000 men. It was settled, that none of the members of this confederacy should be dependent on any foreign power, nor enter into any service but that of the states of the confederation and their allies. No prince belonging to the confederacy could alienate the whole or any part of his dominions, but in favor of the confederates. Other German princes and states might be admitted into the confederacy, whenever it was found consistent with the general interest. In the mean time a vast number of petty princes and counts were deprived of the rights of sovereignty, which they held under the Germanic constitution, and these, without equivalent or indemnity, were transferred to members of the confederation. The imperial city of Nuremberg was given to the King of Bavaria, and that of Frankfort on the Maine to the Archbishop of Ratisbon, formerly elector and arch-chancellor of the empire, now prince primate of "the confederated states of the empire," or confederation of the Rhine.

By these great and important innovations, the Germanic empire was virtually dissolved, and many of its states were annexed, under the name of allies, to the rising empire of the French. Bonaparte was not content, however, while the name of the Germanic empire subsisted. No sooner were the preliminaries of peace signed between France and Russia, (July 20th,) than a message was conveyed from him to the Emperor of Germany, to signify to the latter, that he must prepare to lay aside the title of Emperor of Germany, and yield the precedence to France; and farther, that he must be ready to give his assent to the new arrangements to be proposed in a few days at Ratisbon. To this mandate the Emperor of Germany, since he could not resist the order, wisely submitted without remonstrance, and by a formal deed, August the 6th, resigned his office and title of Emperor of Germany, and annexed his German provinces and states to the empire of Austria. On the 1st of August the confederates announced to the diet at Ratisbon, their separation from the empire; and on the same day a note was presented to the diet, in the name of the French emperor, declaring that he no longer acknowledged the existence of the Germanic constitution.

When these arrangements were communicated to Prussia, her acquiescence was purchased by the delusive hope held out to her by France, of being permitted to form a confederation of states in the north of Germany under the protection of Prussia, as the confederation of the Rhine was

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under the protection of France. But no sooner had Austria submitted to the loss of her ancient imperial dignity; and deposited the sceptre of the Othos at the foot of the modern Charlemagne; than Prussia, whose meanness was despised, and assistance no longer wanted by Bonaparte, found herself condemned to another disappointment, aggravated by the reflection, that she was indebted for this mortification to the want of wisdom and probity in her councils. She was told, that from deference to England, Bonaparte could not permit her to include the Hanseatic towns in her confederacy, and that he was determined to take them under his own protection. He was not averse to her plan of a northern confederation; *but his regard to justice and respect for the law of nations*, would not allow him to see any compulsion used to make independent princes belong to it against their will. The wise prince, she was told, who governed Saxony, seemed not inclined to contract the new obligations which Prussia wished to impose upon him; and France could not see him enslaved, or forced to act against the interests of his people. The Elector of Hesse, another member of the proposed northern confederation, was reminded by the French minister at Cassel, of the inability of Prussia to do any thing for her allies. He was then invited to join the confederacy of the Rhine, and as an inducement to comply, the remaining possessions of the Prince of Orange, brother-in-law of the King of Prussia, were offered to be transferred to him.—And, when he refused these tempting proposals, the Rhenish confederation passed a resolution, by which he was cut off from access to part of his own states.

In the midst of these injuries and mortifications, Prussia discovered, that France, which had been continually urging her to the invasion of Swedish Pomerania, had engaged to Russia, to prevent her from depriving the King of Sweden of his German territories; and that after guaranteeing to her the possession of Hanover, her faithless ally had negotiated with England on the basis of the restoration of that electorate.

The reluctance of Prussia to part with Hanover, her indignation at the treacherous conduct of France, and the growing influence of public opinion upon her counsels, were the chief causes that stimulated her to risk the chances of hostility with France. About the middle of August, her government began to make preparations, and put her army on the war establishment. It was thought that Knobelsdorff was sent to Paris, in the beginning of September, for the purpose of gaining time, and not with any view to an amicable adjustment of the differences between Prussia and France. Lucchesini, who had been long the Prussian minister at Paris, when he foresaw that war between France and Prussia

was inevitable, had contrived, that one of his dispatches to his court, full of complaints against the French government, should fall into their hands.—Incensed at the tone of his dispatch, the French demanded his recall from Paris, and imputed to his misrepresentations, the misunderstanding that had arisen between France and Prussia. With this demand, the court of Berlin willingly complied, and congratulated itself on the success of a stratagem, which, it hoped, had given a false direction to the suspicions of its enemy. To prolong the deceit, it made choice of General Knobelsdorff to be its minister at Paris, a warm partizan of France, sincerely attached to peace, and quite unsuspecting of the artifice which he was sent to practise. The professions of peace, which he made by desire of his court, after it had determined on hostilities, were on his part sincere; and so little was he aware of the secret designs, either of his own government or of that to which he was sent, that when Bonaparte left Paris to take the command of his army against Prussia, Knobelsdorff inquired, with the greatest simplicity, whether he should not accompany his majesty the emperor to headquarters, little suspecting against whom his march was directed.

Such a negotiator might be duped by his employers, but could not long deceive the penetration of Bonaparte and Talleyrand. Knobelsdorff arrived at Paris on the 7th of September, with a letter from his Prussian majesty to Bonaparte, full of civil and friendly expressions, to which corresponding returns, probably equally sincere, were made. On the 11th, a note was addressed to him by Talleyrand, complaining of warlike preparations in Prussia, which were publicly stated at Berlin to be directed against France; and adding, amidst professions of regard for Prussia, and of regret that she should listen to counsels so much at variance with her true interests, that the emperor had ordered reinforcements to be sent to his army. Knobelsdorff in reply, September 22, assured the French minister, that his master had entered into no concert with the enemies of France, and that the warlike preparations of Prussia had arisen from a misunderstanding, which the emperor's late interesting conversations with himself and Lucchesini, he had no doubt, would remove. On receiving these assurances, Bonaparte authorized his minister to declare, on the 13th, that he should make no public declaration on the subject of his differences with Prussia, till the effect of Knobelsdorff's report at Berlin was known.

A second communication from Talleyrand, complaining that the intelligence from Berlin wore every day a more hostile aspect, and expatiating on the natural ties between France and Prussia, war between which, he said, appeared

to the emperor a political monstrosity, maintained for some time longer the appearance of a negotiation with a view to peace. But, in the meanwhile, the French troops were continually advancing towards the future scene of action, and on the 24th of September Bonaparte left his capital to take the command of his army, having three days before summoned the confederates of the Rhine to furnish their contingents.

On the first of October the mask, which Prussia had so ineffectually worn, was at length laid aside. A note was presented by Knobelsdorff, demanding, as a preliminary to negotiation, that the whole of the French troops should instantly repossess the Rhine; that no obstacle should be raised by France to the formation of a northern confederacy, including all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine; and that the basis of the negotiation should be the separation of Wesel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the three abbeys by the Prussian troops. To these demands the French emperor did not even deign to answer. But Talleyrand, in a report on the causes of the war, (October 6,) availed himself of them with great dexterity, to shew, with some degree of plausibility, if not with perfect truth, that had France been willing to gratify the unjust ambition of Prussia at the expence of her weaker neighbours, the flames of war would not have been re-kindled on the continent. Prussia had indeed been as perfidious, as unprincipled in her ambition as France; but she had conducted herself with less ability and with less success. Her morality had been the same; but, after selling her honor and reputation, she had been defrauded of the price.

It was a great error of his Prussian majesty, when he determined upon war with France, to continue the same persons in his government who had directed his counsels during the whole of the late disgraceful proceedings. These persons had given abundant proofs of incapacity, in all the negotiations they had conducted; and such was their reputation, that they had no means of inspiring other governments with confidence in the sincerity of their professions, but by embarking their master, alone and unassisted, in a contest with Bonaparte. It was from Russia only, that Prussia could expect, in the first instance, to receive effectual aid. But, though a letter from his Prussian majesty had informed the Emperor of Russia, in the month of August, of the relations in which he then stood towards France, no intimation was given to Russia of the approaching war; nor was any measure taken for obtaining from her assistance, till the 18th of September, when Count Krusemack left Berlin for Petersburg, charged with such a commission. Krusemack arrived at Petersburg on the 30th.

Orders for marching, though expedited immediately after his arrival, could not reach the Russian army in Poland till the 5th or 6th of October, nor could that army arrive at the scene of action in Germany before the middle of November; so that Prussia voluntarily exposed herself for a whole month, without assistance, to resist the best army and the best generals of Europe.

With such men as Haugwitz, Lombard, and Beyme at the head of affairs, it ceased to be a matter of surprize, that no overtures of friendship or alliance had been proposed to the court of Vienna, nor even an attempt made to sound the intentions of that government, or to open with it a confidential intercourse. Of the minor powers in the north of Germany, Saxony was the unwilling ally of Prussia. Hesse, in expectation of a subsidy from England, affected neutrality. Mecklenburg was really neutral. The Swedish army had re-occupied the Duchy of Lauenberg, abandoned by the Prussians.

Scandalous as had been the conduct of Prussia towards England, and unwilling as she was still to give up Hanover, which she foresaw must be the price of any assistance from Great Britain, the desire and hope of a subsidy got the better of every consideration, and induced her ministers, when they sent Count Krusemack to Petersburg, to communicate to Mr. Thornton, the British minister at Hamburg, the disposition of his Prussian majesty to accommodate his differences with the King of Great Britain. A desire was expressed, that some person should be authorized by the English government to open a negotiation for that purpose; but no communication was made by the Prussian ministers of the nature of their differences with France, nor assurance given of their readiness to adopt for the basis of negotiation, the restitution of Hanover to its lawful owners. The English ministry, though they had reason to believe that the quarrel between France and Prussia originated in the offer of the former to give back Hanover to the King of Great Britain, hesitated not a moment to comply with their request, but appointed Lord Morpeth to proceed without delay to the head-quarters of the Prussian army, there to enter on negotiations for peace. Lord Morpeth left London the 1st of October, and having passed off Heligoland a packet with Baron Jacobi on-board, the late Prussian minister at London, who was returning in that capacity to England, he arrived at Hamburg on the 6th, and reached the head-quarters of the Prussian army at Weimar on the 12th. This promptitude did not suit the views of the Prussian ministry. They were on the eve of a great battle, which might decide the fate of the campaign; and they were unwilling, while the event was uncertain, to pledge themselves to an act of justice, or entangle themselves in connec-

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tions of no immediate utility. If victory remained to the Prussians, Hanover might still be theirs. If defeated, they were afraid, lest their having contracted engagements with England might be prejudicial to them, should they be compelled to solicit peace from France. Persisting to the last in his duplicity and irresolution, Haugwitz, who had been named to negotiate with the English minister, contrived, by breaking his word, and by other disengenuous shifts, to avoid seeing him at Weimar and Erfurt; and, subsequently, to the battle of Auerstadt, but while the result of it was unknown, Lord Morpeth having

asked Lucchesini whether the court of Prussia was ready to enter on immediate negotiation, the Italian unguardedly replied, "that it would depend on the issue of the battle which had just been fought."

The English ministry, when they appointed Lord Morpeth to negotiate with Prussia, gave further proof of the sincerity of their disposition to reconciliation, by removing the blockade of her ports and rivers, (September 25,) which had hitherto continued, with great inconvenience, to the north of Germany.

CHAPTER IV.

Position of the Prussian and French Armies.—Death of Prince Lewis.—Prussian Magazines seized by the French.—Battle of Auerstadt.—Loss of the Prussians.—Surrender of Erfurt.—Defeat of Kalkreuth and of the Prussian Reserve under Prince Eugene.—Armistice between France and Saxony.—Escape of the King of Prussia.—Bonaparte enters Berlin.—Capture of Prince Hohenlohe's Army.—Retreat of General Blucher to Lubeck.—Lubeck taken by Storm.—Surrender of Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Magdeburg, Hameln, and Nieuburg.—Invasion of Westphalia.—Occupation of Hesse Cassel and Expulsion of the Elector.—Occupation of Hanover, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg.—Peace between France and Saxony.—Occupation of Hamburg.—Berlin Decree.—Armistice between France and Prussia.—Refused to be ratified by the King of Prussia.—French cross the Oder.—Arrival of the Russians at Warsaw.—Actions on the Narew and Wkra.—Defeat of the Russians.

EARLY in October the Prussian head-quarters were at Naumburg, where also their principal magazines were collected, and their army extended itself in the country bordering on the Saale in Upper Saxony. On the 4th of that month, their head-quarters were moved forward to Erfurt, and on the 10th to Weimar. The position of their army was nearly as follows: Their left, commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, under whom were General Tauenzin and Prince Lewis of Prussia, occupied Saalfeld, Schleitz, and Hof, and its advanced posts extended to Munchberg and Culmbach. Their centre, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, Marshal Mollendorf, and the king in person, was distributed in the neighbourhood of Erfurt, Weimar, Gotha, and Eisenach, and its vanguard, under the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, was stationed at Meinungen on the Werra. Their right, commanded by General Ruchel, extended to Mulhausen. From this disposition of the Prussian army, it is probable, that had not the Duke of Brunswick been anticipated by the French, it was his intention to have begun hostilities by bearing down with his right

on Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and with his left on Bamberg. A separate corps under General Blucher, which had been stationed at Gottingen, for the protection of Westphalia, joined the main army before the battle. Hesse was neutral, but the Saxons acted as auxiliaries to the Prussians, and served in the left under Prince Hohenlohe. The reserve of the Prussian army, under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, did not arrive from Custrin till after the battle of Auerstadt. The whole force, Prussians and Saxons, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, did not amount to less than 150,000 men.

While this immense army remained inactive on the banks of the Saale, the French were collecting their scattered troops, and concentrating their forces in the neighbourhood of Bamberg. On the 6th of October Bonaparte arrived in that city, and on the 8th, the French army was in motion to attack the Prussians.

The position of the Prussian army in front was strong, and perhaps impregnable. But a wise general, attentive to every danger to which his

troops are exposed, should have reflected on the possibility of the enemy turning their flank: getting possession of their magazines: shutting them up in a country without resources; and forcing them to fight at a disadvantage, and, if worsted, without a possibility of escape. The magazines at Hof, Zwickau, Weissenfels, and Naumburg, were left without protection, exposed to the attacks of the enemy, and when cut off from these, the Prussians had no alternative but to fight or starve. There were no resources in the barren country of Weimar for maintaining so large an army and numerous cavalry as the Prussian. There was no bread, no beer, no brandy for their men, and no fodder for their horses. When their cavalry took the field on the morning of the battle of Auerstadt, the horses had been without corn, and the men without food for two nights and a day. Another fatal error in the disposition of the army was its encampment on the left bank of the Saale, by which the electorate of Saxony, the chief fortresses of the Prussian states, and the capital itself, were laid open to the enemy; and the Prussians, in case of a disaster, were cut off from Magdeburg, the only rallying point where they could assemble, or place of refuge where they could be in safety.

The French army advanced on the 8th, in three divisions. The right, composed of the corps of Marshals Soult and Ney, and of a division of Bavarians, set out from Amberg and Nuremberg, joined at Bayreuth; and from thence marched against Hof. The centre, commanded by the Grand Duke of Berg, the Prince of Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte), and Marshal Davoust, marched from Bamberg to Cronach, and from thence to Saalburg and Schleitz. The left, composed of the corps of Marshals Lasnes and Augereau, advanced from Schweinefurth upon Coburg, Graffenthal, and Saalfeld. By these movements the left wing of the Prussians, which stretched to a great distance from their centre, was exposed to the attack of the whole French army. Aware of their danger, the Prussians at Hof, who were at the extremity of the line, and in the greatest danger of being cut off, fell back upon Schleitz before the arrival of Marshal Soult. Some prisoners, however, were taken, and all the magazines at Hof fell into the hands of the enemy. Soult, followed by Ney, at the distance of half a day's march, pressed forward to Plauen, in Upper Saxony, where he arrived on the 10th. The French centre passed the Saale at Saalburg, after a slight resistance on the part of the Prussians, and advanced on the 9th to Schleitz, where a body of 10,000 Prussians was posted under the command of General Tauenzien. An action ensued, in which the Prussians were worsted with considerable loss, and next day the French advanced to Auma, and on the 11th to Gera, within half a

day's march of Naumburg, where lay the great magazines of the Prussian army. The French left had equal success with the other divisions of their army. Lasnes entered Coburg on the 8th, and advanced to Graffenthal on the 9th. On the 10th he attacked at Saalfeld the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe, commanded by Prince Lewis of Prussia, and gained over it a signal victory. Prince Louis, to whose rashness and disobedience of orders in quitting his position at the bridge at Saalfeld, and advancing to attack the enemy, this misfortune was entirely to be attributed, fell in the action. The Prussians were completely routed, and lost 30 pieces of cannon, besides 600 men killed, 1,000 taken prisoners, and a great number wounded.

By the success of these operations, the French, after turning the Prussian left, became masters of their magazines, and placed themselves between their grand army and the cities of Berlin and Dresden. On the 12th, part of the French centre, under Marshal Davoust, entered Naumburg, and took possession of the Prussian magazines, which they set on fire. Their army now extended along the right bank of the Saale from Naumburg to Neustadt. Their first line was composed of the corps of Davoust, at Naumburg; of that of Lasnes, at Jena; and of that of Augereau, at Kahla. In the second line was the grand Duke of Berg, between Zeitz and Leipzig; the Prince of Ponte Corvo, at Zeitz; the emperor and Soult, at Jena; and Marshal Ney, at Neustadt.

The disasters of Schleitz and Saalfeld, and the unfortunate death of Prince Louis, when known at the Prussian head-quarters, produced universal consternation, though the extent and consequences of these calamities were far from being fully understood or foreseen. Fears were entertained, that the French, after breaking through and defeating their left, would advance to Dresden and take possession of Saxony. But so remiss were they in the most ordinary precautions, and so absurdly confident in the strength of their positions, that one of their patrols, sent out from head-quarters towards Naumburg to reconnoitre, returned without going to Naumburg, because when half way they met a traveller, who told them there were no news of the French at Naumburg. From this state of blind security they were roused by the blaze of their magazines on the night of the 12th, which at once disclosed to them the real intentions of the enemy, and shewed how successful he had been in accomplishing his designs. Nothing now remained for them but to risk a general engagement without delay.

Next day was employed, on both sides, in making arrangements for the important battle decisive of the fate of Prussia. The French army extended from Naumburg to Kahla, along the

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Saale, a line of six hours march, its centre being at Jena. The Prussians, who had been collecting the whole of their forces into one point, were assembled between Auerstadt, Weimar, and Jena. The two armies were separated by the heights of the Saale, which seemed to afford an impregnable position to the Prussians, and to oppose an insuperable barrier to the French. But, by some incredible oversight, the Prussian generals, satisfied with guarding the high road between Jena and Weimar, left the most important passes of the Saale unoccupied. Of this omission the French failed not to avail themselves. During the whole of the night of the 13th, they were indefatigably employed in securing these passes, and transporting cannon to defend them; in which they were so successful, that, when day broke, the Prussians saw themselves attacked in their elevated position, which they had considered as an impregnable fortress; and so unsuspecting were they to the last moment of their danger, that at Rauthal, the French, who had penetrated by the neglected pass of Swetzen, arrived within 300 paces of one of their columns before its approach was suspected.

At break of day the whole of the French army was under arms. The light troops of the centre began the action by opening a brisk fire on the Prussians, which drove them from their advanced positions, and enabled the French line to extend itself on the plain, and draw up in order of battle. The Prussian left, amounting to about 50,000 men, were dispatched early in the morning towards Naumburg, to take possession of the impregnable defiles of Koesen; but these were already occupied by Davoust, whom they attacked eleven times successively, but in vain attempted to dislodge. Their centre, consisting of 80,000 men, was opposed to the French centre at Jena; and these were the only two divisions of their army engaged in the heat of the action. Their right, under General Ruchel, amounting to 12,000 men, did not come up till their centre was broken and thrown into disorder; and their rear-guard, (formerly their vanguard,) commanded by the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, was still at Meinungen, thirty miles distant from the field of battle.

A thick fog obscured the early part of the day, and when it cleared up, the two armies beheld each other at the distance of less than a cannon-shot. Some French battalions took possession of a small village, from which the Prussians attempted to dislodge them. Lasnes advanced to support his countrymen, and Soult to get possession of a wood upon his right occupied by the enemy. Another body of Prussians having made a movement upon the French left, Augereau put his troops in motion to repulse them. In less than an hour the action became general. Two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand men, with seven or

eight hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most awful scenes ever beheld. The Prussian infantry behaved with courage and firmness; but their cavalry, worn out, fatigued, and disheartened, maintained not its ancient reputation. The French cavalry charged with the greatest spirit and boldness; and their artillery performed wonders. The most courageous soldiers could not approach, without trembling, the shower of balls that preceded the march of their columns. Both armies manœuvred with the same exactness as on a field-day, but the rapidity of the French evolutions astonished and disconcerted the Prussians.

Soult having got possession of the wood, after a combat of two hours, pressed forward; and, at the same instant, the French reserve, both cavalry and infantry, advanced to the front line, which, being thus strengthened, threw the Prussians into disorder, and forced them to retire. They rallied, however, and returned to the action, which they maintained for about an hour; but they were again thrown into confusion by the advance of the second French reserve, composed of the dragoons and cuirassiers under the command of the grand Duke of Berg. The charge of this body of horse, at the conclusion of the day, was irresistible. Neither cavalry nor infantry could withstand the shock. In vain did the Prussians form themselves into square battalions: their ranks were broken; artillery, cavalry, infantry, all were put to rout. The French reached Weimar as soon as their fugitive enemies.

While the Prussian centre and right were thus completely defeated, their left, repulsed by Davoust in its repeated attempts to drive him from the defiles of Koesen, was forced, after a combat of several hours, to fall back upon Weimar, at the moment when the broken corps, which had reached that city, were attempting to retreat in the direction of Naumburg. The confusion arising from these opposing currents may be easily imagined; in addition to which, the innumerable baggage-waggons that blocked up all the roads leading to Erfurt, impeded the retreat of the troops, and compelled them to consult their immediate safety by a precipitate flight. The king himself was forced to quit the high-road, and, at the head of a small body of cavalry, to escape from this scene of disorder across the fields.

According to the French accounts, more than 20,000 Prussians were killed or wounded in this disastrous action, and from 30,000 to 40,000 taken prisoners. The Duke of Brunswick was wounded in the face, by a grape-shot, in the beginning of the action, in consequence of which he was obliged to quit the field. He was transported in a litter to Brunswick, where he arrived on the 21st. But the approach of the French, whose enmity he in vain attempted to soften, having compelled

him to seek a more distant asylum, he was carried to Altona, where he died of his wounds on the 10th of November, in the 72d year of his age. Lieutenant-general Schmettaw was mortally wounded. Above twenty generals and lieutenant-generals were made prisoners, and 300 pieces of cannon and 60 standards were taken.

The loss of the French was stated, in their official reports, at 1,100 killed, and 3,000 wounded. None of their officers above the rank of a brigadier-general was either killed or wounded.

Many were the errors of the Prussian generals in this engagement. The most fatal was their omitting, on the 13th, to possess themselves of the impregnable heights and defiles of Koesen; their neglecting to have any corps in reserve to support their battalions against the double reserve of the French; their leaving the Duke of Saxe-Weimar with 16,000 men at Meiningen, where he remained till next day, unacquainted with what had passed; the absence of all concert and co-operation between the two divisions of their army principally engaged; and the unprepared state in which they were found by the enemy when the action began. After the Duke of Brunswick was carried off the field, there was no commander-in-chief to issue general orders to the army. The corps fought singly, without plan or combination, or attention to the movements of the enemy. When the action was lost, the troops who escaped from the field of battle fled in different directions, and, ultimately, were all taken prisoners or dispersed, because no rallying point to retreat upon had been settled, in case such a disaster should befall them.

A considerable body of Prussians, under Marshal Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange Fulda, made good their retreat to Erfurt; but next morning they were invested in that place by the grand Duke of Berg; and on the following day they surrendered by capitulation. The prisoners taken at Erfurt amounted to 14,000 men, among whom, besides Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange, were many other officers of distinction. A park of 120 pieces of cannon, with all the requisite implements and ammunition, and magazines of great value, fell, at the same time, into the hands of the French. Mollendorf, when taken prisoner, was dangerously ill of his wounds. A marked degree of attention was shewn to him by the French, as one who had done all that lay in his power to prevent the breaking out of hostilities; while the Duke of Brunswick and others, whom they denominated of the war-faction, were treated with extreme rigour when they had the misfortune to fall into their hands, or were reduced to the necessity of soliciting their clemency and indulgence.

Another division of the Prussian army, under General Kalkreuth, attempted to escape in a body

over the Hertz mountains, but was overtaken at the village of Greusen, and defeated with loss. Magdeburg was the quarter to which the fugitive columns of the Prussians chiefly directed their flight: and Prince Hohenlohe, though wounded, having reached that fortress, a considerable army was collected there under his standard. The garrison of Magdeburg amounted to 12,000 men; but the place was ill adapted for sustaining a siege or maintaining an army; its magazines having been emptied, with a fatal improvidence, to supply the grand army when it took the field. Marshals Ney and Soult, and the grand Duke of Berg, followed the Prussians in their flight to the walls of Magdeburg; and, in the total confusion and disorder into which they were thrown, made a number of prisoners, and got possession of a great part of their artillery, baggage, and ammunition.

On the other side of Weimar, Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, who was advancing with the Prussian reserve from Custring, instead of falling back on the news of the battle, continued his march to Halle, where he was attacked by the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, October 17, and defeated with considerable loss. In this engagement, which destroyed the last entire corps of the Prussian army, the French took 5,000 prisoners and 34 pieces of cannon. The Prussians, in their retreat, burned the bridge at Dessau over the Elbe; but it was quickly re-established by the French. An attempt was also made to destroy the bridge at Wittenberg, which the French arrived in time to prevent.

Previously to the battle of Auerstadt, October the 11th, a proclamation had been issued by Bonaparte, addressed to the Saxons in the Prussian army, with the view of detaching them from, or at least of rendering them suspected to, their allies; and, immediately after the battle, 6,000 Saxon prisoners, who had been taken in the action, were set at liberty on giving their parole not to serve against the French; whose sole object, they were assured, in taking up arms, had been to preserve the independence of the Saxon nation, and to prevent it from being incorporated with the Prussian monarchy. These measures were accompanied by a friendly message to the elector at Dresden, in consequence of which that prince, who had been preparing to fly from his capital, remained there, withdrew from his connection with Prussia, and soon after concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with France. Heavy contributions were, nevertheless, imposed on the electorate for the support of the French army; and the city of Leipzig, which had been long a place of deposit for English merchandize, was occupied, without delay, by a French column under General Macon, October 18, whose rigorous search for English goods and property in

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that city was less remarkable than his anticipation of the famous Berlin decree, in his declaration to the merchants of Leipzig, that the island of Great Britain was in a state of blockade.

The unfortunate King of Prussia, who had behaved with great gallantry in the battle of Auerstadt, arrived at Charlottenberg, near Berlin, on the 17th, and from thence continued his route to Custrin on the Oder. From Custrin, he soon after repaired to Osterode in West Prussia, and from Osterode to Königsberg, where he remained at the end of the year, without having again joined the army. He was followed to Custrin by the garrison of Berlin, which was withdrawn from that city on the 21st, and a provisional administration appointed to maintain the public tranquillity till the arrival of the French. This last event was not long delayed. On the morning of the 25th the corps of Marshal Davoust entered Berlin, and was next day followed by that of Augereau.

Bonaparte had arrived on the 24th at Potsdam, where he stopped to examine the apartment and visit the tomb of the great Frederick. He ordered the sword of that great man, his scarf, the ribbon of his order, the black eagle, and all the colours he took in the seven years war, to be sent to the Hotel of the Invalids at Paris, as a present to the old soldiers who had served in the Hanoverian war, and as a memorial of one of the greatest generals recorded in history. He had already seized an opportunity of gratifying the long wounded vanity of his countrymen, by taking down the monument erected in commemoration of the battle of Rosbach, and ordering it to be conveyed to Paris, as a proof that the disgrace which that day had brought on the French arms was at length effaced. At Potsdam he was informed that Spandau had surrendered, though held by a strong garrison, and amply provided with stores and ammunition.

On the 27th, Bonaparte made his public entry into Berlin; and next day he gave audience to the foreign ministers of powers in amity with France, resident in that city; to the Lutheran and reformed consistories, whom he assured of his protection; to the members of the court of appeals, to whom he gave instructions how to administer justice, and to the civil authorities of the city, to whom he recommended strongly to maintain a vigilant police. "I will not suffer any windows to be broken," said he: "my brother the King of Prussia ceased to be a king from the day when Prince Lewis Ferdinand was bold enough to break the windows of his majesty's ministers: his majesty should have ordered him to be hanged." Some of the persons who presented themselves before him, on this and other occasions, were received with bitter taunts and studied mortifications, on account of the share

which they or their relations were supposed to have had in lighting up the flames of war; but no one was forbid his presence, except Prince Hatzfeldt, head of the provisional government of Berlin. That nobleman, accused of acting as a spy for Prince Hohenlohe, and of sending him intelligence from Berlin of the military movements of the French, was, a few moments afterwards, arrested and delivered over to a military tribunal, by which he would have been inevitably condemned to death, and, in a few hours executed, but for the intercession of his wife, the daughter of the minister Schulenburg, whose grief and despair extorted his pardon from Bonaparte.

While these scenes were acted at Berlin, the wreck of the Prussian army, collected at Magdeburg under Prince Hohenlohe, was making an unsuccessful attempt to gain the banks of the Oder. With a force of near 40,000 men, but disheartened and dispirited, including the whole of the Prussian guards who had escaped from the battle of Auerstadt, that general set out from Magdeburgh for Stettin, after sending forward detachments of cavalry, to destroy the bridges over which the French must pass to intercept his march. He proceeded without interruption to Zehdenick, on the river Hevel. But, at that place, the advanced guard of his army, consisting of 6,000 cavalry, was attacked by the grand Duke of Berg, and Generals Lasalle and Grouchy, with a body of light cavalry and dragoons. A hot action ensued, in which the Prussians were worsted, with the loss of 300 killed and 700 wounded.

After this affair, the French generals, who had no infantry to support them, pushed forward to Templin, which lay in the line of the Prince of Hohenlohe's march, in order to stop his progress till their infantry under Marshal Lasnes should come up. But the Prussian general, by making a detour through Furstenberg, avoided Templin, and reached Boitzenberg, without having been again compelled to fight. Near Boitzenberg another action ensued, in which 500 of the Prussian gendarmes were made prisoners.

A second detour by Schoenermark became necessary, in order to reach Prenzlau, where the army hoped to find bread and forage, of which it stood much in need. But no sooner had the Prussians reached the heights of Prenzlau, than the French shewed themselves on their right. An engagement immediately ensued, in which the superior numbers and artillery of the latter compelled the former to retreat with precipitation into the town. All hope of reaching Stettin was now extinguished. That city was seven German miles from Prenzlau. The Prussians were without bread or forage, and almost without ammunition. The French were preparing to renew the attack, and reinforcements were every instant coming up

to join them. In this deplorable situation, Prince Hohenlohe saw no resource, but to accept the terms of capitulation offered to him, and accordingly, surrendered with the whole forces under his command, amounting to about 17,000 men. This misfortune happened on the 28th, and next day a body of 6,000 men, belonging to his army, which had pushed forward by another route to Paserwalk, was forced also to surrender. There appears to have been no fault of Prince Hohenlohe in this unfortunate retreat, unless it be true, as the French insinuated, that he lost two days unnecessarily at Magdeburg.

The rear of Prince Hohenlohe's army, commanded by General Blücher, had reached Boitzenberg, and was preparing to set out for Prenzlau on the morning of the 29th, when intelligence arrived of the surrender of the main body of the army on the preceding evening. Blücher immediately resolved to change his route, and direct his course towards Strelitz, in the hope of meeting with the corps commanded by the Duke of Weimar, which had not been engaged in the battle of Auerstadt, and had since been attempting to cross the Elbe. His own corps was 10,500 strong, and consisted of the Prussian reserve, which after its defeat at Halle, had been taken from Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and placed under his command by Prince Hohenlohe. On the 30th, Blücher had the good fortune to join, in the neighbourhood of Strelitz, the Duke of Weimar's corps, of 10,000 men, which, after passing the Elbe at Havelberg, had reached Strelitz by the way of Rhinsberg, after falling in with a third corps, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick Oels; but, together with this fortunate occurrence, he received the unwelcome news that Soult had also crossed the Elbe, and was between him and that river with his army.

Having taken the command of these three corps, Blücher resolved on making an attempt to pass the Elbe at Lauenburg, in order to reinforce the Prussian garrisons in Lower Saxony, and with that view directed his march through Mecklenburgh to the Lake of Schwerin, where he arrived on the 3d of November. In this march he was hotly pursued by the French, and several sharp actions took place, particularly at Wahren, and in the village of Fahre, near the Lake of Schwerin. The French corps, commanded by the Prince of Ponte Corvo, pressed upon his rear; that of Soult on his left intercepted his communication with the Elbe, and frustrated his design of crossing that river at Lauenburg; while a third division, under the Grand Duke of Berg, advancing on his right, along the skirts of Swedish Pomerania, took prisoners some of his straggling columns, and prevented him from seeking refuge with his army under the walls of Stralsund. Hemmed in on all sides, he had no alternative

but to throw himself into Lubeck, or with troops exhausted by hunger and fatigue, to risk an engagement with an enemy greatly his superior in numbers. In Lubeck he hoped to enjoy some repose, and refresh his men after the severe fatigues they had undergone. But his indefatigable enemy was at hand. One of the gates of Lubeck was forced, and a combat ensued in the streets and squares of that city, in which the Prussians were worsted, and many corps of their army cut literally in pieces, besides 4,000 made prisoners.

The unfortunate citizens of Lubeck, who had no concern in the quarrel of which they became the victims, suffered all the horrors incident to a place taken by a storm, and were abandoned for some hours to the lust, cruelty, and rapacity of the conquerors. Blücher made good his retreat from this scene of horror and devastation, and reached the frontiers of Danish Holstein with the small remains of his army; but less able than ever to hazard an engagement with the French, and not daring to violate the neutrality of the Danish territory, he was there forced to surrender. The dismal affair of Lubeck took place on the 6th of November, and on the following day Blücher surrendered at Swartau with his army, which was now reduced to less than 10,000 men. A body of 1,600 Swedes, on their way home from Lauenburg, who had been detained by contrary winds at the mouth of the Trave, were also compelled to lay down their arms.

The surrender of the army under General Blücher left no corps of Prussians in the field upon the German side of the Oder; and his obstinate and skilful resistance, as it was the most glorious, so it was the last of their exertions to avert the total ruin and downfall of their monarchy. Their fortified places seemed emulous which should first open its gates to the enemy, and those which were best supplied with the means of defence, were commonly the first to surrender. When Spandau capitulated, October 24, the French observed, that, well defended, it might have sustained a siege of two months after the trenches had been opened.

Stettin surrendered on capitulation to the first column of French troops which appeared before it, October 29, who found, to their surprise, that it contained a garrison of 6,000 fine looking troops, 160 pieces of cannon, and abundant magazines of all sorts.

Custrin, a place of considerable strength, and of great importance on account of its situation upon the Oder, surrendered to Marshal Davoust as soon as it was invested and summoned, November 1, though its garrison consisted of 4,000 men, amply provided with magazines.

Magdeburg, the bulwark of the Prussian monarchy on its western frontier, capitulated to Marshal Ney, November 8, after a few bombs

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In Magdeburg were found 22,000 troops, including 2,000 artillery men; and in Hameln there was a Prussian garrison of 9,000 men, with six months provisions, and stores and ammunition of every kind. The French general, to whom the place was given up, had no forces with him, except two Dutch regiments and a single regiment of French light infantry. Never were the effects of panic terror more visible or more fatal than in these occurrences. The battle of Auerstadt had deprived the Prussians of all courage and confidence, and seemed even to have bereft them of understanding.

While the grand French army was proceeding in this uninterrupted course of victory and success, an inferior army, assembled at Wesel under the command of Louis Bonaparte, the newly created King of Holland, overran the Prussian provinces of Westphalia, and penetrated into the electorate of Hanover; and a still smaller corps, under General Daendels, took possession of Emden and East Friesland. At Munster and other places, valuable magazines fell into the hands of the invaders; and no resistance was any where made to them. Hameln was given up to General Savory in the manner already related, and Nienberg, the last place of the electorate held by the Prussians, capitulated, November 25. The surrender of Plasenberga, a small fortress in the territory of Bayreuth, completed the conquest of the Prussian fortresses in Germany to the west of the Oder.

In the meantime Marshal Mortier, who had formerly commanded in Hanover, after taking possession of Fulda in the name of his sovereign, made a sudden irruption into Hesse, and expelled the elector from his capital and dominions. The pretences for this violence, were the ancient treaties of subsidy and alliance between Hesse and England, and certain acts of the present elector and of the hereditary prince before the battle of Auerstadt, inconsistent with the neutrality which they professed. The fortresses of Hanau and Marburg were ordered to be destroyed; the magazines and arsenals to be removed; the Hessian troops to be disarmed and disbanded; and the sovereign arms of Hesse Cassel to be every where taken down. Resistance to these orders, which must have been fruitless, was not attempted by the elector. The Hessian troops suffered themselves to be disarmed, and part of them engaged in the service of France. But, though possession was thus peaceably obtained of Hesse, such was the severity of the contributions and other vexations imposed on the inhabitants, and such their dread

of the French conscription being introduced among them, that towards the close of 1806, the country people flew to arms against their oppressors, and joined by the disbanded Hessian soldiers, surprised and defeated some French detachments quartered in the villages. Similar insurrections broke out at Lingen, in Westphalia, and at Bayreuth and other places. But these disturbances, though harassing and alarming to the French, then engaged in carrying on war in the heart of Poland, were suppressed without difficulty, and the authors of them punished and disarmed.

While the Elector of Hesse was thus expelled from his dominions, the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin was exposed to the same fate, November 27, because he was related to the Emperor of Russia, and because the Russians had taken possession of Moldavia and Wallachia. As in these instances the princes, thus despoiled of their territories, had observed the strictest neutrality in the late hostilities, it was natural that the houses of Brunswick, Lunenburg and Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, which had taken an active part in the war, should be deprived of their states by the same authority. Within ten days after the battle of Auerstadt the house of Brunswick was declared to have lost the sovereignty of its ancestors, October 25, and soon after the occupation of Hesse, Mortier marched into Hanover, and took formal possession of the electorate, November 14. Of all the princes of Germany, who had joined with Prussia in the war, none were treated with clemency or indulgence by the French emperor, except the Elector of Saxony and the princes of the house of Saxe. By a treaty signed at Posen, on the 11th of December, the elector was declared King of Saxony, and he and the other princes of the house of Saxe were admitted into the confederation of the Rhine, and received under that denomination among the new vassals of the French empire. The Dukes of Saxe Weimar and Saxe Gotha were in the number of princes who consented to hold their dominions upon these terms.

From Hesse and Hanover, Mortier proceeded to Hamburg, which he entered without opposition on the 19th of November, and next day he issued an order for the sequestration of all English produce and manufactures found in the city, whether belonging to English subjects or to other persons. Statements were demanded from the merchants and bankers, of the English manufactures or funds arising from the sale of English manufactures in their possession; domiciliary visits were threatened to enforce compliance; and those who gave false returns were menaced with summary punishment by martial-law. To strike greater terror, the English merchants at Hamburg were put under arrest, and

though afterwards released on their parole, they were placed under a guard of soldiers, and threatened to be sent to Verdun. These acts of violence brought less profit to the French than they did harm to the Hamburgers. The trade of Hamburg was annihilated, while the amount of English property and manufactures confiscated was inconsiderable. Before the armed force sent to Cuxhaven to stop the English vessels at the mouth of the river, arrived at that place, the merchantmen, apprised of their danger, had made their escape. The seizure of Hamburg had been long foreseen, and though the French minister in that city persisted to the last in his declarations that its neutrality would be respected, little credit had been given to his assurances. The fate of Leipzig had been a warning to the merchants of Hamburg. No exertions had been spared by the factors and commercial agents of the English, in disposing of their goods, and winding up their concerns before the arrival of Mortier and his army; so that, after all, the most valuable prize from this expedition proved to be the corn found in the magazines of Hamburg, great quantities of which were sent to Berlin, where apprehensions of famine began to be entertained.

This new system of warfare, the French emperor, intoxicated with success, promulgated at Berlin on the 20th of November, in a decree interdicting all commerce and correspondence, direct or indirect, between the British dominions and the countries subject to his control. By this decree the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade; all subjects of England found in countries occupied by French troops were declared prisoners of war, and all English property was declared lawful prize; all letters addressed to Englishmen, or written in the English language, were ordered to be stopped; all commerce in English produce and manufactures was prohibited; and all vessels touching at England, or any English colony, were excluded from every harbour under the control of France. The pretext for these infringements of the law and practice of civilized nations was founded, partly, on the extension given by England to the right of blockade, and partly on the difference in the laws of war by sea and by land. By land the property of an enemy is not considered lawful prize, unless it belongs to the hostile state. By sea the property of unarmed, peaceable merchants is liable to capture and confiscation. By land no one is considered a prisoner of war who is not taken with arms in his hands. By sea the crews of merchantmen are considered prisoners of war equally with the crews of armed vessels. For these reasons the French emperor declared, that the regulations of the decree, which he now promulgated, "should be regarded as a fundamental

law of the French empire, till England recognized the law of war to be one and the same by sea and by land, and in no case applicable to private property or to individuals not bearing arms; and till she consented to restrict the right of blockade to fortified places actually invested by a sufficient force."

Those parts of the decree which prohibited all commerce in English produce or manufactures, filled the commercial cities of the continent with dismay, as a measure fatal to their prosperity. Deputations were sent to Bonaparte from Hamburg, and from Nantes, Bourdeaux, and other cities of France, to solicit, upon this head, some relaxation of a decree, not less injurious to his own subjects than to the English. But his answers were stern and uncomplying. When told by the merchants of Hamburg, that "these measures would involve them in universal bankruptcy, and banish commerce from the continent," his reply was "so much the better; the bankruptcies in England will be more numerous, and you will be less able to trade with her. England must be humbled, though the fourth century should be revived, commerce extinguished, and no interchange of commodities left but by barter." But notwithstanding these alarming appearances, this decree soon became perfectly harmless and inoperative. Some slight and temporary embarrassments in commerce were experienced from it at first; but, in a short time, though formally extended to Holland and other countries under the control of France, its existence was only known by the bribes given to generals of division and custom-house officers for omitting to enforce it, and by the occasional confiscation of some unfortunate vessel which had neglected that necessary precaution.

Immediately after the battle of Auerstadt, the King of Prussia had applied to Bonaparte for an armistice, and though his request of a cessation of hostilities was refused, he was encouraged to send a plenipotentiary to the French head-quarters to negotiate peace. Lucchesini was accordingly dispatched thither without delay, and arriving there on the 22d of October, Duroc was named on the part of the French emperor to negotiate with him. At first the Prussian minister was amused with hopes of concluding a peace on the terms which he was authorized to offer; but as the situation of his sovereign became every day more desperate, by the capture of his armies and surrender of his fortified places, the demands of the French rose in proportion; and, at length, the Emperor Napoleon explicitly declared, November 10, that he would never quit Berlin, nor evacuate Poland, till Moldavia and Wallachia were yielded by the Russians in complete sovereignty to the Porte, and till a general peace was concluded on the basis of the restitution of all the

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Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies and possessions taken by Great Britain during the war. With this declaration all hopes of peace vanished, instead of which an armistice was now proposed by the French, and after much fruitless negotiation concluded by Lucchesini, November 16, on terms so disadvantageous to his master, as well as impossible for him to execute, that reduced as his circumstances were, he refused, on the 22d, to ratify it. To justify him in this determination it is sufficient to mention, that he was made to purchase by this convention a suspension of military operations, without any hope of peace, and with a reservation to France of a right to renew hostilities after ten days notice, by surrendering Dantzic, Graudenz, Colberg, Breslau, or, in one word, almost all the fortified places in his possession, besides engaging, what he could not perform, to prevent the entrance of the Russian troops into his dominions. Desperate as was the chance of war, it was better than submission to such conditions.

While this negotiation was going on, the French were prosecuting the war with unremitted activity. Two corps of their army crossed the Oder early in November; the one under the command of Marshal Davoust entered Posen on the 10th; and the other, consisting of the troops of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, with Jerome Bonaparte at their head, undertook the conquest of Silesia, where victory seemed easy and sure, as there was no army to contend with, and the fortified places were destitute of the means of defence. But the panic, which had delivered up so many Prussian fortresses without resistance, had begun to subside. Great Glogaw, the capital of lower Silesia, though invested on the 8th, and defended by a garrison of only 2,500 men, held out till the 29th; and Breslau, though bombarded for more than three weeks, did not surrender till the 5th of January, 1807. Repeated sallies were made by the garrison, and the besiegers were repulsed with loss in an attempt to storm some of the works. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of the inhabitants during the bombardment, though the town was set on fire in different places, and many persons were killed, and many houses and churches destroyed. An attempt was made to raise the siege by the Prince of Anhalt Pless; but his army, drawn from the garrisons in Upper Silesia, after being repeatedly defeated, was at length dispersed. This disaster extinguishing all hopes of relief, Breslau surrendered by capitulation.

As the attempts of the French emperor to excite insurrection in Poland were attended with little effect, and failed ultimately of success, it will be unnecessary to enter at length into the measures taken by his emissaries for that purpose, or to make extracts of their speeches and procla-

mations. Dombrowski, a Polish exile in the French service, was the chief actor in this scene, and even the celebrated Kosciuszko was brought again upon the stage. Some little sensation was produced in South Prussia, where the French armies were in force, and where the nobles were discontented with the Prussian government, for interfering with their privileges, and abridging their ancient authority over their serfs. But even in this part of the country, none of the great nobles joined the French, or showed a disposition to profit by their flattering offers of raising Poland again to her former rank among nations, and avenging her of her now humbled oppressors. In Russian Poland all classes were reconciled to their chains, and the nobles in particular, delighted with the splendour and consideration they enjoyed at Petersburg, had lost all recollection of the republic of Poland and *liberum veto* of their ancestors, as completely as those who now summoned them to freedom had forgotten the rights of man and republic one and indivisible.

The Russian troops, advancing to assist the Prussians, reached Warsaw before the French, and having taken possession of that city with a view to maintain it against the enemy, they sent forward a detachment to Lowicz, to defend the passage of the river Bzura. But this corps was attacked on the 27th of November by the advanced guard of the Grand Duke of Berg's division, and driven back with loss to Blonie. General Benningsen, who commanded the Russian army, having, in the mean time, received more accurate information of the French force marching against him, determined to abandon Warsaw and repossess the Vistula with his troops, and not content with this retrograde movement, he continued his retreat beyond the Narew. The French entered Warsaw on the 28th and 29th, and applied themselves, immediately, with the greatest industry, to fortify the suburb of Prag on the opposite side of the river, and to re-establish the wooden bridge over the Vistula, which the Russians had burned in their retreat. The same military precautions were taken at Thorn, by Marshal Ney, and at Zakroczym by Marshal Augereau. At both places bridges were thrown over the Vistula, protected by formidable works, which at once facilitated the return of the army, and secured, if necessary, its retreat. In addition to these measures of precaution, the fortresses of Custrin, Stettin, Spandau, Wittenberg, Erfurt, and Magdeburg were placed in the best possible state of defence, and strongly garrisoned, forming a chain of posts between the French army in Poland and the heart of Germany. And, besides compelling the confederates of the Rhine to furnish their full contingents to the army, a message was sent from Berlin to the French senate, before the departure of the emperor to Poland, desiring that the con-

scripts of 1807, who by law could not be called out to serve till the following September, might be placed at his disposal on the 1st of January, 1807. This prudence and caution, worthy of an experienced general, and most suitable to the circumstances and wary character of Bonaparte, appeared to the Russians the result of fear and apprehension; and this conceit filled them with a barbarous exultation and stupid confidence in their arms. That such should have been the impression on the Russians, who know no tactics but marching straight forward to battle, and have no resource after battle but victory, does not in the least surprise us; but that the same opinion should ever have prevailed elsewhere, does indeed fill us with astonishment; we cannot, however, forget, that for a short period there were men of understanding who seriously believed, that the conqueror of Austria and Prussia was afraid of the half-civilized, half-disciplined savages of the north.

The Russian general, Benningsen, having formed a junction behind the Narew with the second division of the Russian army, under the command of Buxhoevden, and further reinforcements having arrived with Kamenskoy, who had been appointed by the court of St. Petersburg commander-in-chief of the army, the Russians began again to advance, and fixing their head-quarters at Pultusk, threatened to drive the French over the Vistula. But while they were anticipating triumphs, and celebrating, with fire-works, at Sierock, the junction of their three armies, a small French detachment passed, in the night, over the Narew, and before morning had entrenched itself so strongly, that the Russians could not afterwards dislodge it. A bridge, similar to those thrown over the Vistula, was immediately constructed and fortified with works; and when this was finished, the whole French army began at once to move forward, in order to bring the united Russian and Prussian armies to a general engagement.

The French emperor having left Berlin on the 25th of November, and remained at Posen till the 16th of the following month receiving addresses and congratulations from the Poles, arrived at Warsaw on the 18th; and, on the 23d, put himself at the head of his army, and crossed the Narew. The French army was distributed in the following manner. The right, consisting of the divisions of Lasnes, Davoust, and the Grand Duke of Berg, and commanded by Bonaparte in person, having crossed the Narew at the above-mentioned bridge, was opposed to the left flank of the Russians, who were so injudiciously drawn up by their generals as to be exposed to its attacks in this unfavorable position. To the left of this great division of the army was the corps of Augereau at Zakroczym on the Vistula, and

at a still greater distance in the same direction was the corps of Soult, which had crossed the river at Polock. The French left, consisting of the divisions of Ney, Bessieres, and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, after having advanced from Thorn to Golub, and from thence to Sierpsk, was directed to attack the Prussians under General Lestocq, and, by a rapid movement, to cut off their communication with the Russians. These orders were executed by Ney and Bessieres with their accustomed promptitude and success. The chief actions were at Biezun and Soldau, in both of which the Prussians were defeated with considerable loss of men and artillery, and thereby prevented from forming a junction with the Russians. These actions took place on the 23d and 26th of December. The operations of the French right began on the night of the 23d, by an attack on the village of Czarnowo, on the Narew, where the Russians were in great force, and had erected batteries; but, after an obstinate resistance, their batteries were carried, and their troops dislodged by the French. Next day, the army under Kamenskoy was driven from its entrenchments at Nasielsk, and compelled to fall back several leagues; and the same day Augereau passed the Wkra at Kurscomb, and defeated a body of 15,000 men, who disputed with him the passage of that river. On the 25th, there was no action of consequence. The Russian columns, broken and dispersed, retired before the French in disorder, and nothing saved them from being entirely cut off, but the shortness of the days, which was favorable to their escape, and the badness of the roads, which prevented the advance of the French artillery. At this critical moment, Kamenskoy, the Russian commander-in-chief, left his army, and retired to Ostrolenka. The cause of his departure has been variously explained. His enemies gave out, that the late reverses of the army had disordered his mind, and rendered him incapable of the command. But there are some who pretend, that he was the only one of the Russian generals who was aware of their danger, and, that he left the army in disgust and despair, when he found his authority insufficient to curb the inconsiderate ardour of the younger generals, who were determined on risking another engagement. In consequence of the departure of Kamenskoy, the command of the Russian army was divided between Benningsen and Buxhoevden, the former at Pultusk, and the latter at Golomyn. Both were attacked by the French on the 26th, and both made an obstinate resistance. They were both, however, driven from their positions, and forced to retreat with precipitation, leaving behind them great part of their baggage and artillery. Soult had been sent forward by another road to cut off their retreat; but the horrible sloughs, the consequences of rain and thaw,

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BOOK VII. retarded his march, and saved them from total destruction. According to the French accounts the Russians lost, in these actions, 80 pieces of cannon, all their ammunition-waggon, 1,200 baggage-carts, and 12,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. Their own loss they admitted to

have been 800 killed and 2,000 wounded; among the latter were six general officers, and one general of dragoons was killed. After the action of the 26th, the French army went into cantonments on the banks of the river Orzyk, and the Emperor Napoleon returned to Warsaw.

CHAPTER V.

Affairs of the Ottoman Porte.—Rupture between Russia and Turkey.—Invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Russians.—Austria displeased with Russia.—Important Reforms in the Austrian Army.—Conduct of the King of Sweden.—Declaration of his Danish Majesty.—Internal Affairs of Holland.—Louis Bonaparte made King of Holland.—Negociations for Peace between England and France.—Its Failure.

WHILE these events were passing in Poland, hostilities broke out unexpectedly between Russia and the Porte. This termination of the friendship and alliance which had subsisted between these two powers since the invasion of Egypt by Bonaparte, was brought about partly by the machinations of the French ambassador at Constantinople, and partly by the ambition and precipitate violence of the court of St. Petersburg.

It had been lately settled by a convention between Russia and Turkey, that the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, when once appointed by the Porte, should remain in office for seven years, and should on no account be removed from their governments before the expiration of that term, without the concurrence of the Russian minister at Constantinople. That such a stipulation was derogatory from the sovereignty, claimed and exercised by the Ottoman Porte for ages in these provinces, cannot be denied. But the terms of the convention were clear and precise, and, when concluded and ratified, any contravention of its articles by one of the contracting parties, without the consent of the other, could not but be regarded as a breach of treaty, affording to the other party a just ground of complaint, and on refusal of redress, a justifiable cause of war. The convention might have been originally improvident on the part of the Turks, as being incompatible with the dignity, and inconsistent with the interests of their empire; but, when concluded, they were bound to abide by it, and had no right to abrogate or set it aside without the consent of Russia.

Affairs were in this posture, when the Ottoman government, alarmed at the progress of the French power, consented to send a special embassy to Paris, to congratulate Bonaparte on his assumption of the Imperial dignity; and contrary to its former determination, agreed to receive an ambassador from France. This concession was re-

garded as an important victory by the French cabinet; and to improve the advantage it had gained, General Sebastiani was selected to be its ambassador at the Porte, as a person eminently qualified to promote its views in that quarter, by persuading Turkey to break her alliance with Russia and England, and revert to her ancient connection with France. Fully instructed in the part he was to act, no sooner had Sebastiani arrived at Constantinople, than he laid before the divan the treaty between France and Russia, recently signed at Paris by D'Oubril; and contending that an article of that treaty, which guaranteed in general terms the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, amounted to a virtual repeal of the convention concerning the hospodars, which he knew to be disagreeable to the Turks, he succeeded in persuading the Porte to recal the reigning hospodars, and appoint others in their place, without consulting the Russian ambassador, or regarding his formal protest against these measures. Having carried this point against the Russians, while it was still uncertain whether D'Oubril's treaty would or would not be ratified by the court of St. Petersburg, the French negociator proceeded next, as soon as he understood the ratification of that treaty had been withheld, to present a note to the Ottoman government, Sept. 6, in which he demanded that the passage of the Bosphorus should be shut against all Russian ships of war, as well as against every other vessel of that nation, bringing troops, ammunition, or provisions; though he knew, that by a treaty between Russia and the Porte, that passage was open to the vessels of the former, without exception or limitation. If these and other demands in his note, urged with equal insolence and contempt of good faith and of the obligations of treaties, were instantly complied with, he assured the Turks of the friendship and

protection of his master, the great Napoleon; but if not immediately acceded to, he threatened them with instant war, and announced the presence of a formidable French army in Dalmatia, ready to punish or defend them, according to the party they espoused.

The Porte, instead of resenting these insolent proposals in the manner they deserved, whether governed by the intrigues, or terrified by the threats of Sebastiana, shewed a disposition to comply with his desires, and communicated the note received from him to the English and Russian ambassadors at Constantinople, in order to obtain their advice in this critical juncture of its affairs. Both these ministers, as was to be expected, remonstrated in the strongest terms against the wavering, undecided policy, which had lately directed its councils; but their representations made little impression on its government, till the Russian ambassador, Italinski, threatened to leave Constantinople, and began, September the 29th, to make preparations for his departure. Alarmed at the threats of the Russian minister, as they had been formerly dismayed by the menaces of Sebastiani, the Turks yielded a second time to their fears, reversed their late orders, restored the deposed hospodars, in the manner required by Italinski, and acceded in fact to all his demands, October the 15th.

All cause of war between Russia and Turkey seemed now removed, when suddenly a Russian army, under General Michelson, entered Moldavia, November the 23d, and took possession of Chotzim, Bender, and Jassi.

When the news of this invasion reached Constantinople, that city was filled with indignation and surprise. The cry for war was loud and universal, especially among the janizaries and ulemas, whose religious fanaticism and general hatred of Europeans were inflamed by the perfidy of the faithless Muscovites, the objects alike of their superstitious dread and deep-rooted aversion. But, so unwilling was the Turkish government to engage in hostilities with Russia, that notwithstanding this ardour on the part of the people, more than thirty days were suffered to elapse before war was determined upon and declared. A Russian brig, which attempted to pass through the streights of Constantinople, brought matters at last to a crisis. This vessel was stopped by the Turkish batteries, December the 25th, and the dispatches which it bore for the Russian minister, explanatory of Michelson's invasion, were thrown overboard and lost. This event determined Italinski to leave Constantinople without delay. He accordingly embarked in the *Canopus*, an English seventy-four, which had been for some time at anchor in sight of the Turkish capital, and contrary to the old but barbarous custom of the Ottomans, he was suffered

to depart without molestation, December the 29th. Next day a rescript from the grand seignior to the grand vizier was published, containing a formal declaration of war against Russia. Great preparations were made by sea and land for carrying on hostilities with vigour. Paswan Oglou, Pacha of Widin, formerly pursued as a rebel, but now invested with legitimate authority in the revolted province, which he had successfully maintained against his sovereign, and Mustapha Bayracter, Ayan of Ruschuk, had been already commissioned to repel the infidels by force, and to oppose the further progress of their invasion. The Pachas of Romelia were ordered to advance towards the Danube to support them; and an army was assembled in Asia, at the head of which it was announced that the grand vizier would take the field in spring, bearing the sacred standard of the empire. The naval armaments of the Ottomans, as far as their means would allow, corresponded with their military preparations. Their fleet was got in readiness and manned with the best sailors that could be procured; and to prevent any hostile designs upon their capital, orders were given to put the castles of the Dardanelles in the best possible state of defence.

In the mean time the Russians, under Michelson, after having completed the conquest of Moldavia, entered Wallachia, and having defeated a body of troops, which the Ayan of Ruschuck had sent to oppose them, they took possession without resistance of Bucharest, December the 27th, the capital of that province, and from thence sent detachments in all directions. At the close of the year they were masters of the three provinces of Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Wallachia; and threatened to cross the Danube, and join the revolted Servians under Czerni George; who after gaining repeated victories over the Turks, and nearly driving them from Servia, were at this time employed in the siege of Belgrade.

The invasion of Moldavia by the Russians, besides other bad consequences to the allies, excited the jealousy and ill-humour of Austria, and produced in her cabinet a temporary alienation from their cause. The system of Austria during the present campaign had been that of a cautious and prudent neutrality. When war between France and Prussia became inevitable, she assembled a formidable army on the frontiers of Bohemia, but declared at the same time to the belligerent powers, that she had no other intention in taking this step, than to maintain inviolate the integrity of her territories. While the fortune of the war was uncertain, those assurances appeared to both parties satisfactory, and no one presumed to find fault with her conduct, or doubt the sincerity of her professions. But, when the Prussians were driven across the Oder, an imperious message was delivered at Vienna, in the

name of the French Emperor, demanding the recall of the Austrian troops from the frontiers of Bohemia, and insisting on their return to their usual quarters. To this order the Austrian ministers had the prudence to submit without delay or hesitation. It was at the moment when this humiliation was fresh in their recollection, that the Russians chose to awaken their jealousy and alarm their fears by advancing to the Danube, and threatening to encompass them on the side of Turkey with the dominions or vassals of the court of St. Petersburg.

In consequence of the courts of inquiry appointed to sit on the conduct of the Austrian officers, many were degraded and dismissed from the service. The Prince Auersberg, who had neglected to burn the bridge at Vienna, though he had received positive orders to destroy it, was condemned to ten years imprisonment; and General Mack received sentence of death by the unanimous voice of his judges. But the emperor remitted the capital part of his punishment, and softened the severity of many of the other sentences. While these wholesome examples of rigour were given, some reforms of importance were made in the constitution of the Austrian army under the direction and authority of the Archduke Charles.

The King of Sweden, who had hitherto waged against France a harmless war of official notes and virulent proclamations, began, about the close of the present year, to exchange real blows with his adversary. A body of Swedish troops, who had been stationed in Lauenburg, were made prisoners at Travemunde, as they were endeavouring to make their escape to Sweden by sea; and towards the end of December, Marshal Mortier advanced with a small army to the frontiers of Pomerania, in order to form the siege of Stralsund, and drive the Swedes from the isle of Rugen. An attempt had been previously made by the French emperor to open a separate negotiation for peace with the King of Sweden, for whose character he expressed the highest esteem and consideration; but his proffers were rejected with disdain by that high-spirited monarch, and the Swedish envoy at Hamburg, who had listened to the overtures of his emissary, was severely reprimanded for giving ear to them.

Denmark persevered in the maintenance of that pacific system which was most suitable to the smallness of her means, and best adapted to secure the happiness of her people; and, in consequence of the interruption of trade in the north of Germany, occasioned by the progress of the war, and the decrees of the French, she thereby greatly improved her commerce and navigation, and transferred to herself a great part of that trade which used formerly to be carried on under Prussian colours and through Prussian ports.

On the dissolution of the Germanic constitution, the King of Denmark formally annexed Holstein to his other dominions, as an integral part of the Danish monarchy, and declared it to be for ever separated from the Germanic empire, and to owe no allegiance but to himself.

Holland was this year doomed to experience a revolution more singular than unexpected. With that restlessness of character which must ever be at work, and that proneness to regulation and love of uniformity, which the habits of a military life naturally inspire, Bonaparte had no sooner abolished the name of *republic* in France, than he sought to extinguish that appellation in the rest of Europe. The Cisalpine republic was transformed into the kingdom of Italy; the Ligurian was absorbed into the great empire; the free cities of Germany were made over to the vassal kings, who approached the foot, or decorated the steps of his throne; and such was his rage for harmony and regularity in the political edifice he was erecting, that even the people of the United Provinces, born and nurtured under republican institutions, were compelled to descend to the level of other nations, and to acknowledge a fellow mortal to be their sovereign. After such discussion and deliberation as military despots permit to their subjects, this important change was announced publicly at Paris, by a deputation of Dutchmen sent for that purpose from the Hague, June the 5th. Louis Bonaparte, a younger brother of Napoleon, was selected to be the King of Holland, and unwillingly dragged from the frivolities and delights of Paris, to superintend, in a foggy climate, the concerns of a laborious, parsimonious, and impoverished people, who had yet to teach their lips the accents of loyalty, and their necks the obeisance due to a king.

At this time circumstances occurred which led to the overtures of peace between England and France. About ten days after Mr. Fox came into office, February 14, he received a letter from a person calling himself Guillet de la Gerillière, stating, that he was arrived at Gravesend without a passport, and requesting Mr. Fox to send him one, as he had very lately left Paris, and had something to communicate, which would give Mr. Fox satisfaction. On receiving this letter, Mr. Fox gave orders, through Sir Francis Vincent, under secretary of state, to Mr. Brooke of the alien office, to send for the man from Gravesend, a private interview having been solicited, and to bring him on his arrival in London to Mr. Fox's house in Arlington-street, instead of taking him to the foreign-office. In consequence of these orders, the Frenchman was next morning carried to Mr. Fox's house, and there admitted by him alone into his closet; when, after some unimportant conversation, he proceeded to the object of his journey, which was to inform

Mr. Fox that a plan had been entered into for the assassination of Bonaparte, and a house hired at Passy, from which it could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk. Surprised and confounded with the audacity of the villain, in making him the confident of so execrable a design, Mr. Fox, without inquiring further into the particulars of the plot, instantly dismissed the Frenchman from his presence, and desired Mr. Brooke to send him as soon as possible out of the kingdom. But on reflection he ordered him afterwards to be detained, till such information could be given to the French government as might prevent the perpetration of his crime, if really projected; and with that view he transmitted to M. Talleyrand, Feb. 20, a short and simple statement of the occurrence, and of what he had done thereupon. The answer to this communication, dated March the 5th, was a natural and well-turned compliment to the honor and generosity of Mr. Fox's character, and was accompanied by an extract from the Emperor's speech to the legislative body, in order, as M. Talleyrand observed, "that Mr. Fox might know, if the advantages of peace were duly appreciated, on what terms it might be discussed." The extract was a simple offer "to conclude peace, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens."

Mr. Fox considered this communication as a distinct overture, and proceeded to answer it in that frank and direct style which was the characteristic of all his public dispatches. He objected in his letter, dated March 26, to the uncertainty of the basis of Amiens; the variety of modes in which it had been interpreted; and the delay which the explanations on the meaning of it would unavoidably occasion, even if no other objection existed. "The true basis of such a negotiation," he observed, "between two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicane, would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle; viz. that the object of both parties should be a peace, honorable for both and for their respective allies; and, at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe." He then proceeded to state the impossibility of treating, much less of concluding any thing unless in concert with Russia, but suggested the practicability of some previous discussion of the principal points, and some provisional arrangements, while they were waiting for the actual intervention of that power; and he forestalled an objection, which might be made to his statement, founded on the few material points in issue between Russia and France, by insisting upon, and extolling the interest taken by that power in all that concerned the greater or less degree of independence enjoyed by the different princes and states of Europe. He ended this letter with an expression of his desire of

peace, and a short but firm exposition of the ability of Great Britain to continue the contest.

A correspondence of some length ensued, in which, as M. Talleyrand observed, there was a character of openness and precision that had not hitherto been seen in the communications between the two courts. The great difficulty consisted in the admission of Russia into the negotiation. M. Talleyrand endeavoured with much ingenuity to represent that power as interposing its authority between two great nations fully competent to adjust their own differences, but Mr. Fox insisted on her being a party in the question, and an ally of Great Britain, whose interests were inseparably connected with her own. To bring the discussion to a point, Mr. Fox stated explicitly, April 20, that his majesty was willing to negotiate conjointly with Russia, but would not consent to negotiate separately. A month elapsed without any answer being given to this dispatch, and the first overture might have been said to have failed in consequence of the determination of England not to negotiate separately, and the unwillingness of France to admit the intervention of Russia. But, though no arrangement took place, "the spirit of conciliation manifested on both sides, was considered as a great advance to peace; and in the course of the month of May, the English cabinet were, no doubt, enabled to ascertain, with greater precision, the views and intentions of the court of St. Petersburg, and enabled to determine how far the substance and advantage of a joint negotiation might be preserved, without insisting on the forms to which France seemed to feel so much repugnance."

Whether M. Talleyrand calculated on the probability of such communications between the two courts, or was only anxious to prolong a correspondence, which might ultimately lead to a negotiation, he wrote a letter on the 2d of June, in the form of an answer to Mr. Fox's dispatch of the 20th of April, in which, after some vague observations on the nature of alliances, and some trivial objections to a joint negotiation, he proposed,—“first, to negotiate in the same preliminary forms which were adopted during the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham, in 1782; forms which were not renewed with so much advantage in the negotiations of Lisle, but which were perfectly successful in the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Amiens;—secondly, to establish as a basis two fundamental principles; the first, taken from Mr. Fox's letter of the 26th of March, namely, that the two states should have for their object that the peace be honorable for them and their respective allies, and at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as it is in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe; the second principle to be an acknowledgment on the part of the two powers, of their mutual right

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The English government did not return any immediate answer to this letter. Indeed, though the form of the proposals contained in it, gave it an appearance of great precision and exactness, some time seemed to have been necessary to understand the meaning of the French government, in making a reference to the preliminary forms in the administration of Lord Rockingham, and those which preceded the treaty of Amiens; for they were not only dissimilar, but it appeared from Mr. Fox's answer, that by adopting the precedents of 1782, the French would have completely established the mode of negotiation, to which they objected, and admitted the principle against which M. Talleyrand, in the very letter containing that offer, peremptorily protested. Whether these considerations, or an expectation of further communications from the Russian cabinet, induced Mr. Fox to suspend the correspondence, no answer was made to this letter till the 14th of June, by which time a new channel of communication was opened, and a fresh overture was made from the French government, which led to all the subsequent negotiations between the two countries. As, however, Mr. Fox answered the letter of the 2d of June without any reference to this new negotiation, we shall close our account of the direct correspondence between M. Talleyrand and the English minister, by stating the substance of the last letter of that correspondence. It consisted of a civil but convincing reply to the objections urged by M. Talleyrand to a joint negotiation, a simple statement of the preliminary discussions in 1782, and a comparison of the situation of England then with relation to the allies of France, with that of France to the allies of Great Britain at the date of the letter, and an offer of the same forms of treating which France at that time thought proper to insist upon. "We then treated with France and her allies. Let France now treat with us and our allies." After acquiescing in the basis offered in the second proposition, upon condition that the two powers mutually agree to abstain from all encroachment on the greater or lesser states of Europe; and after expressing his hope, that no difficulties in form rather than in substance should retard the restoration of peace; he intimated that any mode of negotiation, to which Russia will assent, will be agreeable to Great Britain, and took that opportunity of observing, that an honorable peace was no less conformable to the wishes of Russia than to those of England and France.

Thus ended the direct correspondence between the two ministers for foreign affairs, in the course of which, and in consequence of the conciliatory manner in which it had been conducted, Mr. Fox had solicited, as a personal favor, the

release of several of his private acquaintance, prisoners at Verdun, the peculiar circumstances of whose detention had rendered any arrangement for their exchange impracticable, as it would have been derogatory to the dignity of the country to have acknowledged the principle on which they had been detained. The applications of Mr. Fox were in many instances successful, and among the persons named by him was the Earl of Yarmouth, only son of the Marquis of Hertford, who, together with his wife and family, had been detained in France since the commencement of the war. On Lord Yarmouth's arrival in London, he communicated, June 13, the substance of a conversation with M. Talleyrand, which had passed at the desire of that minister, for the purpose of conveying, through a secret and confidential channel, the sentiments and views of France, and the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored between the two countries. The terms sketched out in the conversation seemed so favorable, that the English cabinet lost no time in conveying to M. Talleyrand their disposition to commence a negotiation, on the basis contained in them. The bearer of the proposition was better able to judge of, and to enforce the adherence to the terms proposed, than any other person whatever; the residence of his family in France rendered Lord Yarmouth's return less liable to public observation; and it was understood that, excepting himself, no one would have been permitted to remain twelve hours in France, without producing full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace. These were probably the reasons which induced the English cabinet to direct Lord Yarmouth to return. Before his departure, Mr. Fox, with an observation that we were all mortal, requested him to commit to writing the heads of the proposals made by M. Talleyrand. His memorandum of a conversation with that minister, preserved in the secretary of state's office, and afterwards laid before parliament, was the only written evidence of the proposals which induced Mr. Fox to treat directly for peace with the French government. As the unwillingness of France to adhere to her original offers not only occasioned the first departure from that spirit of conciliation, in which the former correspondence had been conducted; but was the real cause of the ultimate failure of the negotiation, the substance of those overtures necessarily formed the most important part of the whole transaction. Unfortunately Lord Yarmouth could not foresee the necessity of the disclosure of so confidential a paper. It consequently was not drawn up in that methodical style which is generally desirable in a public document. The want, however, of official precision, and the omission of some inferior points, were amply supplied by his lord-

ship's comments and explanations in the house of commons, when the subject came into discussion. From the paper, combined with those declarations, it was clear that three specific offers were held out as inducements to Great Britain to treat, viz. the restoration of Hanover, the possession of Sicily as a consequence of the principle of the *uti possidetis*, and a facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which, without establishing a congress, or recognizing the claim of a joint negotiation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their close connection and alliance.

The restoration of Hanover was considered as a point unconnected with the basis of the treaty. It was a compliment to the crown of Great Britain in return for the recognition, virtual or stipulated, of the Emperor of France, and of the numerous sovereignties conferred on various branches of his family since the commencement of the war. Bonaparte had, in all probability, promised the electorate to the King of Prussia, if he had not actually guaranteed the possession of it to that monarch; but in order to retain the power of amusing the court of Berlin as long as he might find his interest to do so, he was naturally anxious to conceal this offer of sacrificing her supposed interests to the attainment of peace with Great Britain. Such indeed seemed to have been his motives in preferring a message through Lord Yarmouth to a continuance of the correspondence between the ministers of the two countries. The occupation of Hanover by Prussia was in itself a reasonable plea, even to Great Britain, for not committing the offer of its restoration to writing till further progress had been made towards the conclusion of peace.

On the other points of the negotiation his conduct was very different. If, on the return of Lord Yarmouth, the outward appearance of conciliation was preserved, the substance of the terms demanded was very unexpectedly altered, and the circumstances of the two countries openly maintained by M. Talleyrand to be materially changed in favor of France. The fact was, that the French had either ascertained that M. D'Oubril, the Russian minister, was secretly authorized to treat for a separate peace, or foresaw, with their usual sagacity, that the weakness of his character would enable them to intimidate him into that fatal and inconsiderate measure. M. Talleyrand, therefore, predicted that the advantages of a joint negotiation were defeated, and openly insisted on that circumstance as a legitimate motive for extending his demands. If this view of the subject was not to be reconciled to high and chivalrous notions of honor, it must be acknowledged to be within the usual line of policy which states prescribe to themselves; and,

that to have disdained the advantage which France might have derived from this change of circumstances, would have been a rare instance of forbearance among the transactions between nation and nation. The French government, on the contrary, seemed to have been elated with the prospect of success likely to attend their negotiation with M. D'Oubril. They had not determined on the extent of the fresh demands to which this new state of things would, in their judgment, entitle them; and M. Talleyrand, in the first interview with Lord Yarmouth, after his return to Paris, not only departed entirely from his clear and explicit offer of Sicily, but indulged himself in vague allusions to further demands, and in peremptory representations of the necessity of negotiating with some person duly authorized and empowered to treat. This first deviation from the original overtures was received by the British ministry as the omen of the failure of negotiation. From that period Mr. Fox despaired entirely of its success.

The instructions afterwards to Lord Yarmouth were distinct and peremptory. He was directed to insist generally on the recurrence to the original overtures, and to make the re-admission of Sicily as the *sine quâ non* of the production of his full powers, which, "to avoid all pretence of cavil," were conveyed to him without delay. In the meanwhile the conduct and language of M. D'Oubril, who had arrived at Paris, and who on the 10th of July opened his negotiations in form with the French Commissioner-general Clarke, fully justified the expectations of M. Talleyrand. It was soon manifest that no scruple about Sicily would prevent that minister from accepting such terms as Bonaparte might choose to grant, and nothing but the immediate and unqualified concurrence of England deter him from signing a separate peace. With the view of postponing so fatal a step, and of securing M. D'Oubril's co-operation on the other points in discussion, the English cabinet seemed for one moment to have been willing "to ascertain whether any practicable shape could be given to the proposal of an exchange for Sicily." This guarded relaxation was evidently the result of an extreme compliance with the wishes of M. D'Oubril, not a variation of opinion on the importance of the object, much less an acknowledgment of the right of France to recede from the original basis, within the scope of which it was carefully stated to be brought, in Mr. Fox's dispatch of the 18th of July. But the fears and the impatience of M. D'Oubril did not allow him to wait till the sentiments of the British cabinet were known. Such was the success of the French negotiators, that they intimidated him into a belief that the delay of forty-eight hours, in the

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signature of a separate treaty, would expose Germany and Europe to dismemberment and destruction, and that an immediate acquiescence with the demands of Bonaparte was the only method of averting those evils. He accordingly signed a treaty on the 20th of July, and without communicating to Lord Yarmouth some of the most material articles to which he had consented, hastened, according to his own expression, to lay his work and his head at the feet of his imperial master. The French very naturally regarded the signature of this treaty in the light of an important victory, and, by the same arts as they had practised on M. D'Oubril, so far succeeded in terrifying Lord Yarmouth with the consequences of a rupture or of delay, that they prevailed upon him to produce his full powers, before the basis originally offered had been again recognized, before the extension of its application to Sicily had been in any shape renewed, and before the impression produced on the British cabinet by the precipitate conduct of M. D'Oubril had been ascertained.

General Clarke was immediately appointed to treat with Lord Yarmouth on the part of France, and thus—although “the discussions had, according to Mr. Fox’s dispatch of the 18th of July, been prolonged solely for the purpose of temporizing in compliance with the wishes of M. D'Oubril, Lord Yarmouth was actually exchanging notes, and holding conferences with a French commissioner after that gentleman had signed a separate peace and left Paris, and before his court was apprized of either of those events. The circumstances in which his lordship was placed were undoubtedly very embarrassing, and it is but just to observe, that it would have required great address and experience to have withheld his full powers, without bringing the discussions to an abrupt and unsuccessful termination. But as his instructions had been peremptory, it is not any matter of wonder that the English cabinet was not satisfied with the step which he had taken.

The necessity of some other negotiator, “fully instructed in the sentiments of his majesty’s government, on all the various points of discussion that might arise,” was immediately felt; and the important charge was entrusted to Lord Lauderdale, a nobleman whose discernment and talents eminently qualified him for the task, and whose uniform disposition to a pacific system of policy was a strong earnest of the sincerity of the British cabinet in their endeavours to obtain peace. Nor were these the only recommendations of Lord Lauderdale. The health of Mr. Fox began at this period to decline, and the nomination of his personal friend and tried political adherent, was a pledge that the cabinet

continued to promote his views, and to consult the spirit of his policy.

The first endeavour of Lord Lauderdale, on his arrival at Paris, was to bring back the French government to the basis of the *uti possidetis*, and to the application of that principle to the island of Sicily. Lord Yarmouth, after having for that purpose concurred with his colleagues in representing, formally and officially, the substance and tendency of Talleyrand’s original overtures, left the subsequent part of the negotiation exclusively in his hands. The French negotiators, (for M. Champagny, minister of the interior, was soon appointed joint-plenipotentiary with General Clarke,) never actually admitted the basis of the *uti possidetis*, after the arrival of Lord Lauderdale, and constantly evaded the acknowledgment of having in the first instance proposed it. They contrived, however, under various pretences, and in one instance by an actual delay of the passports for a messenger, to detain Lord Lauderdale at Paris, till it became the policy of Great Britain, as well as France, to await the decision of the court of Petersburg upon the treaty which M. D'Oubril had carried thither for ratification.

On the 3d of September a courier brought the intelligence to Paris, that the emperor had refused to ratify M. D'Oubril’s treaty, and this refusal was not the consequence of any representation from the court of London, for it was declared before any messenger arrived from London, or the English minister in Russia had received any instructions from his court. M. Talleyrand, with great apparent frankness, informed the British negotiator of this piece of intelligence the day after its arrival in Paris, and assured him that France was now disposed to make peace with England on more favorable terms than she otherwise would have been induced to admit. The probability of the ratification of M. D'Oubril’s treaty being refused, had been foreseen, and Lord Lauderdale was instructed “to consider the two courts as having reverted to their former situation with additional bonds of union, resulting from fresh proofs of their respective adherence to the spirit and principles of their alliance.” As it was soon obvious, that the abandonment of Russia was to be the price of the more favorable terms, so ostentatiously announced to Great Britain, the honorable determination of the English court not to listen to any such projects, prevented any precise detail of the concessions France was willing to make for the attainment of her object. It is however worthy of remark, that no offer of Sicily was, even in the supposition of a separate peace, ever made during the course of the negotiation.

Mr. Fox was now unable to discharge the

duties of his office. The principles, however, which he had laid down, seemed to have regulated the conduct of the British cabinet throughout the discussions. An attention not only to the interests but to the wishes of Russia, a firm determination to listen to no measure that could give her umbrage or suspicion, and a strong desire to preserve Sicily, amounting nearly to a resolution, not to abandon it, were, on the part of Great Britain, the most prominent features of the latter, as they had been of the early part of the negotiation. Lord Lauderdale was not authorized "to sign any treaty except provisionally, such treaty not to have its full effect until peace should be concluded between Russia and France;" but he was at the same time instructed, "to impart to the French plenipotentiaries the conditions upon which Russia, (according to the full and perfect knowledge his Britannic majesty had of the intentions of that court), would be willing to negotiate with the French government; to reduce them into the form of a treaty in the event of their being agreed to on both sides; and to insert an article in the provisional treaty between Great Britain and France, by which his Britannic majesty should engage to employ his mediation for the purpose of obtaining the accession of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias to the said treaty."

It seemed that M. Talleyrand felt little or no objection to the above-described form of proceeding; but, notwithstanding the conciliating tone adopted by that minister, the official note in which the promised acquiescence of the emperor was signified, breathed a very different spirit. It contained much irrelevant and offensive matter; it was conceived in the language of remonstrance and reproach, and barely conveyed a reluctant consent to the proposal of Lord Lauderdale. It was manifest from this circumstance, as well as from other passages of the correspondence, that the impatience of Bonaparte would have brought the negotiation to an abrupt and violent conclusion, but for the frequent and wise interposition of his ministers, who, sometimes by address, and sometimes by representation, contrived to soften the tone and moderate the language of their official communications. The English negotiator, in his reply to the above-mentioned paper, though he took as much notice of the offensive topics introduced into it as was

essential to the maintenance of his own dignity, very judiciously combined it with the personal assurances of M. Talleyrand, and considered it as amounting to a full admission of his proposal. But, on the renewal of the conferences, it did not appear that France was disposed to relax in any one of her pretensions. In the meanwhile Bonaparte had left Paris for the army on the Rhine, and one of the plenipotentiaries (General Clarke,) as well as M. Talleyrand accompanied him on his journey. M. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negotiation, was neither authorized to relinquish the claims of Joseph upon Sicily, nor to acquiesce in such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburg. The negotiation was therefore at an end, and Lord Lauderdale peremptorily insisted on his passports. In the last conference M. Champagny, though he had previously doubted his powers of hearing Lord Lauderdale upon the subject of Russia (notwithstanding the assurances contained in the public note and conversations of M. Talleyrand) offered to cede the full sovereignty of Corfu to that power. This was rejected as insufficient, which led to the erroneous opinion that the negotiation was broken off solely because Great Britain insisted on the cession of Dalmatia to Russia.

The obvious policy of France, when she despaired of any separate peace with Great Britain, was to induce her to admit in the project of a treaty such terms as she foresaw would alienate the affections, and shake the confidence of her ally the Emperor of Russia. The honorable determination of the British cabinet, and the firm but temperate conduct of the negotiator, defeated this design, and his earnest and peremptory demand of passports was at length granted, though they were accompanied with a note evidently composed under the immediate direction of Bonaparte. This paper insinuated that the principles of Mr. Fox had been abandoned by his colleagues and successors; that a departure from the basis laid down by him had thrown the first obstacle in the way of pacification, and that to the loss of that great man alone was to be ascribed the further continuance of the calamities of war. To these charges Lord Lauderdale delivered a spirited, manly, and convincing reply.

CHAPTER VI.

Naval Affairs.—Escape of the Rochefort Squadron.—Sir J. T. Duckworth's Victory.—Dispersion and Misfortunes of the Brest Squadron.—Summary of the Naval Successes and Losses.—Conquest of the Cape of Good Hope.—Capture and Loss of Buenos Ayres.—Death of Mr. Fox.—Anecdotes of him and of Mr. Burke.

BOOK VII.

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DURING the present year the British navy maintained its accustomed superiority over the enemy. But, though successful in every action, it could neither achieve the same victories, nor sustain the same calamities as in the preceding campaign. It had neither a Nelson to lose, nor a hostile fleet like that of Trafalgar to vanquish. Its efforts were directed to the humbler but useful service of protecting from insult and depredation the colonies and commerce of the empire, left exposed at the commencement of the year, without adequate means of defence, to the numerous squadrons of the enemy, which during the winter months had eluded the vigilance of the English blockading fleets, and escaped to sea. So hotly was the enemy pursued, and so closely watched in every quarter, that after threatening to lay waste England's colonies and interrupt her commerce, he was compelled to renounce these projects, and consult his safety by a precipitate and ignominious flight. Few of his ships employed in these expeditions returned to France. The greater part of them were taken or destroyed by the English, while others perished from storms in search of some friendly harbour to shelter them from the pursuits of their enemy.

The only squadron of the enemy, that got back to France during the present year without any disaster, was the Rochefort squadron, which had sailed from that port about Midsummer 1805, with orders to repair to a certain latitude, and wait there for the arrival of the other squadrons of the combined fleet. After cruising in vain at the place of rendezvous, and taking and destroying a number of vessels, neutral as well as English, and falling in with and capturing the Calcutta of 56 guns, this squadron had at length the good fortune to return to Rochefort about the beginning of the year, bringing with it above 800 English prisoners on board.

The fleet that escaped from Brest harbour in December 1805, was not equally fortunate. This fleet consisted originally of fifteen ships of the line, six frigates, and four corvettes: but after having been ten days at sea, it separated into different squadrons, one of which, consisting of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette,

commanded by Admiral Leisseigues, made directly for Saint Domingo, and having arrived at that port without any accident, January 20, disembarked a body of troops and supply of ammunition, which it had on board, for the use of the colony. After having performed this service, the French admiral loitered away in the bay of Occa for more than a fortnight, taking in water and repairing the damages sustained by his ships in their voyage; at the end of which period he was fortunately descried by Sir John Thomas Duckworth, on the 6th of February, who was cruising in these seas with a squadron of seven ships of the line, and four frigates, and had received intelligence of the arrival of a French fleet at St. Domingo. The French admiral, who was greatly inferior in strength, endeavoured to make his escape on the appearance of the English squadron, but being speedily overtaken, an action commenced, which lasted with great fury for near two hours, at the conclusion of which three of the French line-of-battle ships remained prizes to the English, and two were driven on shore and burned. The two French frigates and corvette put to sea and made their escape. The loss of the English in this engagement was sixty-four killed and 294 wounded. No officer above the rank of a midshipman was killed, but several were severely wounded. The French had 760 killed and wounded on board of the three ships that were taken, and they no doubt lost a proportional number in the two others that were destroyed.

Another division of the Brest squadron, commanded by Admiral Villaumez, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope; but having touched at the isle of Noronha, the admiral was there informed of the capture of that settlement by the English; upon which he proceeded to San Salvador in Brazil, and after remaining there for some time to refresh his seamen, among whom symptoms of scurvy began to appear, he set sail for the West Indies, April 2, and arrived without accident at Martinique in the end of June. The squadron which Villaumez conducted to Martinique consisted of six ships of the line and one frigate, to oppose which Sir Alexander Cochrane, the English admiral upon the station, had

at that moment only four ships of the line and three frigates; but with this inferior force he gallantly pursued the enemy, in order to watch his motions and check any enterprizes he might meditate. No sooner had the French admiral collected the whole of his squadron at Martinique, than he put again to sea, and steered to the north, followed at a distance by Cochrane, who, though he avoided an engagement, hovered in sight of the enemy's squadron, to prevent him making any attempt on the ports or shipping of the English islands. In passing St. Thomas's the French slackened sail for the English, as if desirous of coming to action, but Cochrane, considering the inferiority of his force, the French having been joined by another ship of the line and three frigates after they left Martinique, declined fighting, and satisfied with having traced the course of the enemy to Porto Rico, returned to Tortola, leaving two frigates to watch their motions. It was fortunate for the French admiral that he lost so little time at Martinique: for, on the 12th of July, Sir John Borlase Warren arrived at Barbadoes with six sail of the line, which had been dispatched from England with unexampled promptitude, on the first surmise of the French having re-passed the line and directed their course to the West Indies. Another squadron, under Sir Richard Strachan, had been previously sent out to cruise for them; and when news arrived of their escape from the West Indies, a third squadron, under Sir Thomas Louis, put to sea to intercept their return; besides which, blockading squadrons watched all the principal ports of the Continent, into which they could attempt to enter.

So many provident and well-combined precautions must have been followed by the capture of the French squadron, if it had ventured on returning to Europe, or had the ships of which it was composed, continued cruising together at sea. But the French admiral, seeing all his plans frustrated by the vigilance and activity of his enemies, determined on consulting the individual safety of his ships by dispersing them in different directions. The Veteran of 74 guns, commanded by Jerome Bonaparte, seemed to have been the first that separated from the rest of the squadron, and to have been the most fortunate in its voyage home. On the 16th of August, as this vessel was about three hundred leagues west of Brest, to the northward of the Azores, it fell in with the homeward-bound Quebec fleet, under the convoy of the Champion frigate, and took and destroyed six vessels laden with timber, and other valuable articles; and on the 26th of the same month, after having been chased by an English man of war, it reached in safety the coast of Brittany, and got into the small harbour of Concarneau, under the protection of batteries, where, though the vessel

was stranded, the stores and guns were saved, and the captain and crew got on shore. BOOK VII.

After the separation of Jerome from the admiral, which took place in the gulph of Florida, the rest of the squadron encountered a tremendous gale of wind, August 18, in which they suffered most severely. The admiral's ship, the Foudroyant, of eighty-four guns, reached the Havannah under jury-masts, after an action with the Anson frigate of forty guns, which drove her for protection under the batteries of the Moro Castle, Sept. 15. The Impeteux, after having lost her masts, bowsprit, and rudder in the storm, and being otherwise damaged, was standing in for the Chesapeake under jury-masts, when she was desecrated by three of the vessels of Sir Richard Strachan's squadron, and having taken ground as she attempted to escape, was there burned by the boats of the Melampus, and her crew made prisoners, Sept. 14. Two other seventy-fours, which got into the Chesapeake, after having been greatly damaged in the storm, were eventually destroyed by the English on the American coast, while the Cassant, which was supposed to have foundered at sea, arrived at Brest in the middle of October.

The French admiral Linois, who had so long wandered about the Indian seas, unmolested and unattacked, and carried on with success a predatory and most destructive war against the British commerce in the east, was this year intercepted, in his return to France with his plunder, by Sir John Borlase Warren, March 13, and brought to England, with the Marengo of eighty guns, and the Belle Poule of forty guns, being the only two ships under his command.

Five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board for the West Indies, having escaped from Rochefort, were next day met at sea by a British squadron under Sir Samuel Hood, Sept. 25, and after a running fight of several hours, four of the five frigates were compelled to strike. The loss of the English in this action amounted to nine killed and thirty-two wounded; but their gallant commander received a severe wound in the right arm, which rendered the amputation of the limb necessary.

It would be in vain to recapitulate all the individual instances of courage, enterprise, and skill exerted by the British navy in the various actions in which it was engaged during the present year. The capture of the Pomona frigate on the coast of Cuba, August 23, though defended by a strong castle and a formidable line of gun-boats, all of which were destroyed by the two English frigates, the Arethusa and Anson, engaged in this enterprise; the action between the French frigate the Salamander of forty-four guns, supported by batteries and troops provided with musketry and field-pieces on shore, and the English

BOOK VII. ship the *Constance*, of twenty-four guns, assisted
 CHAP. VI. by a sloop of war and a gun-brig, in which both
 1806. vessels were stranded and lost, though not till
 after the Frenchman had been compelled to
 strike his colours, and been taken possession of
 by the English; and the boldness and intrepidity
 displayed in numerous actions, in which vessels
 were cut out from under the protection of bat-
 teries, or in other circumstances unfavorable for at-
 tack, reflected honor on those who succeeded in
 such hazardous enterprises, and added, if possi-
 ble, to the glory of the body, by the individuals
 of which they were achieved. The enemy, whose
 enfeebled squadrons were reduced to marauding
 expeditions, in which, when detected, they had
 recourse rarely to resistance, more frequently to
 flight, saw with rage and disappointment his
 ports blockaded by Britain's triumphant squad-
 rons, and the ocean covered with her vessels,
 armed and unarmed.

Four ships of the line were taken from the ene-
 my during the present year, and seven destroyed
 or rendered useless. Thirteen frigates were
 taken and one destroyed; and from thirty to forty
 schooners, corvettes and national brigs, besides
 a great number of privateers, were taken or de-
 stroyed. To counterbalance these successes, the
 only loss sustained by his majesty's navy was that
 of the *Athenienne*, of sixty-four guns, which,
 with its captain and 300 of the crew, perished un-
 happily in its way to Sicily, by striking on some
 hidden rocks in the Mediterranean; and that of
 the *Constance*, stranded on the coast of France,
 with its prize the *Salamander*. Two transports,
 with troops on board for Gibraltar, were taken
 early in the year by the French squadron under
 Admiral Villaumez; but the troops were after-
 wards retaken by Sir Home Popham, with the
 frigate into which they had been put. The most
 valuable prize taken by the enemy was the *War-
 ren Hastings* East Indiaman, which, after a long
 and well-contested action, was compelled to strike,
 June 21, to the *Piedmontese*, a French frigate of
 forty-four guns, and was afterwards carried into
 Mauritius. Some damage was done early in the
 year, by a French squadron, on the coast of
 Africa, to the vessels engaged in the slave-trade;
 and several ships, employed in the Greenland
 and Newfoundland fisheries, were taken and de-
 stroyed by the *Guerriere* French frigate of fifty
 guns, which, however, was afterwards taken in
 its way home, July 19, by the *Blanche*, after a
 sharp action, near the *Ferroe* islands.

An expedition against the Cape of Good Hope
 had sailed from England in the autumn of the
 preceding year, which reached Table Bay, Janu-
 ary 4. The force destined for this conquest con-
 sisted of about 5000 land-troops, under Sir Da-
 vid Baird, with a proportional naval force, com-
 manded by Sir Home Popham. The town sur-

rendered on the 10th. Sir Home Popham having
 persuaded Sir David Baird to grant him a small
 body of troops under General Beresford, steered
 for the Rio Plata, and arrived at the mouth of
 that river in the beginning of June. Having got
 to Buenos Ayres, by the help of rafts and boats,
 (for the bridge had been burnt by the enemy),
 General Beresford entered that city on the 27th,
 which had been previously abandoned by the
 viceroy, who fled to Cordova.

When intelligence reached government of Sir
 Home Popham's unauthorised departure from the
 Cape, and meditated invasion of South America,
 orders were instantly dispatched to recal him
 home, and put a stop to his expedition. These
 orders were too late to prevent his enterprise;
 and when the news of his success arrived, the
 strong objections to his plan were drowned in the
 universal joy at the fortunate result of his opera-
 tions.

The settlement, however, was soon again in
 the hands of the enemy. The Spaniards had been
 taken by surprise, and beaten by a handful of
 men, because attacked where they were unpre-
 pared for resistance; but no sooner had they re-
 covered from their panic, and discovered the
 smallness of the number of their opponents, than,
 ashamed of their defeat, they began to concert
 measures to expel their invaders. Emissaries
 from Buenos Ayres excited the country people to
 arms, and an insurrection was organized in the
 heart of the city, under the eye of the English
 commander-in-chief, which seems to have escaped
 his vigilance, till it had arrived at maturity, and
 was ripe for action. Liniers, a French colonel in
 the Spanish service, crossed the river in a fog,
 August 4, unobserved by the English cruisers,
 and landed at Conchas, above Buenos Ayres,
 bringing with him about 1000 men from Monte
 Video and Sacramento. Encouraged by this re-
 inforcement, the armed levies from the country,
 which had been defeated by General Beresford in
 a sally, advanced again to the city and summoned
 the castle to surrender, August 10. The whole
 inhabitants of the town were now in arms, and
 the danger appeared so imminent, that the Eng-
 lish had determined to evacuate the place and
 retire to their ships; but they were prevented by
 the state of the weather, and after a desperate
 action on the 12th in the streets and great square
 of the town, in which they were attacked with
 incredible fury, and severely annoyed by a de-
 structive fire from the windows and balconies of
 the houses, they were, compelled to lay down
 their arms.

The loss of the British army in the action of
 the 12th, amounted to 165 killed, wounded, and
 missing, besides 1300 made prisoners.

On the 13th of September died the Right Hon.
 Charles James Fox, at Chiswick House, the seat

of the Duke of Devonshire, where he had thrice within five weeks undergone the operation of tapping for the dropsy. This gentleman was born January 13, 1749, and was the second son of Henry, first Lord Holland, by Lady Georgina Carolina, eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond. By the mother's side he was, therefore, descended from the royal house of Stuart; and, consequently, was not only related to most of the great families of the ancient nobility, but was actually allied to the present reigning family. From his paternal descent, however, as far as regards the dignity of birth, he derived no consequence. His father reared his honours on the foundation of his own merit, in his great application and talent in business. A master of figures, no calculation was too intricate for him, and his address in parliament excited the attention of George II. whose patronage soon followed; for, in the year 1754, he raised him to the important office of secretary of war, and on the following year, to the still higher one of secretary of state for the southern department. In 1763 he was created a peer, by the title of Baron Holland, of Foxley.

Charles was placed at Eton school under the direction of Dr. Barnard; but had, for his private-tutor, Dr. Newcombe, the learned Bishop of Waterford. His rapid progress in classical learning while at school, gained him a decided superiority in every class he entered; and as his powers of oratory were superior to that of any boy in the school, he, whenever eloquence was found to be necessary, was always chosen as their leader. The strength of his constitution kept pace with that of his mind, and both were fully exercised. Study and dissipation alternately engrossed his whole attention; nor did the apparent preference of one hinder the advancement or indulgence of the other. Never contented with mediocrity, he ever sought the extent of whatever excited his attention—cold in nothing, but ardent in every thing. He soon discovered his bias to humanity, by always espousing the weakest side in those contests which so frequently disturb the harmony of juvenile society. He sat as judge in their disputes, and when he saw a school-fellow rejected or oppressed by partiality or prejudice, he frequently exerted his maiden eloquence in favour of justice: thus did he live, the young Solon and Demosthenes of his little state.

Having accomplished his studies at Eton, he was sent to the university of Oxford. Here he read nine or ten hours a-day, during the whole term, without any inconvenience arising from a series of nocturnal rambles, to which he displayed equal devotion. Tired, however, at length, with the restraint of college discipline, and with a spirit ill adapted for the apathy of merely contemplative life, he panted for the more active scenes

of enterprising men, and obtained leave of his father to make the usual tour.

Never was a mind better formed to reap the solid advantages of travelling. The etiquette of courts, the politics of nations, and the manners of men, attracted his penetrating mind; he enquired into their merits, and made himself master of their economy; he remembered that he was the son of a nobleman, forgot not his own dignity, and had an eye to the service of his country. Notwithstanding these, he frequently overstepped the bounds of propriety: the fascinating vivacity of French manners, and the seduction of Italian luxury, at times enslaved him: he drank large draughts of pleasure, and was often at the gaming-table, till his excesses exceeding even the indulgence of his father, whose ears they had reached, he was summoned home; and it was not without repeated commands that he obeyed.

On his return from those scenes of levity and dissipation, his father, in order to abstract him from the too great indulgence in pleasure, proposed his taking a seat in parliament, and thus to detach him from a course which threatened the destruction of his health and fortune. At the general election, therefore, in 1768, Lord Holland procured him the return for Midhurst, in Sussex. Notwithstanding his nonage, for he was not yet twenty, he was suffered to keep his seat; and whether this arose from accident or design in the committee of privileges, remains unknown. The exertions and display of youthful genius never fail to procure good-will and interest, and no youth ever excited so much anxiety and expectation.—His powers surpassed the hopes of his most sanguine friends, and he was the favourite subject of conversation in all classes of society. There was such originality in his thinking, and so much of nature in his manner, that he excited universal admiration. His first speech was upon Mr. Wilkes's petition from the King's Bench prison, to be permitted to take his seat, and thereby satisfy the desire of his constituents. Mr. Fox, on this question, did not take the popular side, and that on which the ablest and most constitutional lawyers declared the justice to lie.

Thus he commenced his parliamentary career, in supporting the measures of government; and so highly did the minister of that day value his support, that, in a short time, he was advanced to a seat at the admiralty-board. No sooner, however, did he become acquainted with the machinations of government, than he retired in disgust; his mind revolting at the measures which were preparing for the disastrous scene of the American war. These measures, however, were said to have been softened down, and he was persuaded to resume his seat. In December, 1772, he was raised to a seat at the treasury-board.

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For this he received the taunts of opposition as a placeman, which he repelled in an open ingenuous manner, denying the acceptance of his place to be the price of his services; and declaring, that he should no longer support the measures of government than he found them to be calculated to promote the welfare of the state. He had now a most arduous task to perform; for the incapacity of the ministry was such, as required the greatest talents to cover or excuse them. It is a singular proof of the mutability of human affairs to observe, that Mr. Fox had Lord North for his first colleague, and for his first oratorical adversary, Mr. Burke. It may be well, however, to state, that amidst the keenest wit and powerful arguments which these two great men exercised towards each other, they uniformly avoided every thing personal or invidious, our hero, upon all occasions, treating the splendid abilities of his great opponent with the respect and distinction they so justly merited.

Mr. Fox at length became sincerely attached to Mr. Burke, who had been born in Dublin, January 1, 1730, and derived his descent from a respectable family; his father having been by profession an attorney, in considerable practice in that city. When Mr. Burke had received a liberal education, he repaired to London, early in life, and entered himself in the Temple, where he increased his slender finances, by writing for the newspapers, and other periodical publications. His first acknowledged literary production was "A Vindication of Natural Society," and his second, an "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful." This latter publication gave to his talents the stamp of genius, and during the Rockingham administration he was chosen member of parliament for Windover, in Buckinghamshire, and soon distinguished himself as a decided enemy to American taxation, unattended by representation. In pursuing his parliamentary career, he became an ardent supporter of religious toleration, both as it regarded the catholic and protestant dissenter, and when Sir Henry Houghton made his memorable motion in the house of commons for relieving the dissenters from subscription, and from the penal laws, Mr. Burke, in an energetic oration, exclaimed—"The dissenters enjoy liberty by connivance! and what is liberty by connivance, but a temporary relaxation of slavery?" On the dissolution of parliament, which speedily followed, he was chosen member for Malton, under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, and at the same time was elected, along with Mr. Cruger, representative for the city of Bristol, for which latter place he took his seat. Having given offence to many of his constituents at Bristol, by his defence of the trade of Ireland, he declined to offer himself again to their suffrages on the dissolution of parliament,

in 1780. On the admission of the Rockingham party into power, Mr. Burke came into office, and was appointed paymaster-general of the forces. This situation he held till the elevation of Lord Shelburne to the office of premier, when Mr. Burke withdrew from the administration along with his friend Mr. Fox; but on the appointment of the coalition administration, he was again reinstated in his office of paymaster-general. During the existence of this administration, he remained in office; but Mr. Fox's India bill soon removed that ministry of discordant materials from power, and placed Mr. Pitt at the head of the treasury. Soon after the breaking out of the French revolution, Mr. Burke published his celebrated "Reflections," the object of which was to shew that all the measures of the revolutionists tended to anarchy and bloodshed, and that the tremendous event which all Europe had viewed with astonishment, was pregnant with danger to the neighbouring states. On this point Mr. Burke was at issue with his former political connections, and in a debate in the house of commons, on the new constitution of Canada, he observed, that Mr. Fox and he had often differed, and that there had been no less friendship between them: "but," added he, "there is something in the cursed French constitution, which evenenoms every thing." Mr. Fox, in an under voice, said: "there is still no loss of friendship between us."—"Yes," exclaimed Mr. Burke, "there is, I know the price of my conduct; our friendship is at an end." Mr. Fox, who had sustained with composure all the attacks of his political adversaries, was greatly agitated by this renunciation of friendship; "This, this was the unkindest cut of all;" but soon recovering his self-possession, he replied, in terms full of conciliation, maintaining, however, at the same time, that Mr. Burke's former political principles were utterly at variance with his present views and declarations.

The parliamentary labours of Mr. Burke now drew towards a close; and on the termination of the trial of Warren Hastings, in which he had stood forth as one of the principal accusers, he resigned his seat in favor of his only son. This young man, the object of his venerable father's warmest solicitude, was appointed secretary to Lord Fitzwilliam, pending his vice-royalty to Ireland, but his death, on the 2d of August, 1794, put a period to his opening prospects, and inflicted upon his father a shock, from which he never recovered. On the death of his son, the king was pleased to settle upon Mr. Burke and his lady a pension for life.

Mr. Burke possessed abilities of the first order: he had a great compass of mind, a large share of learning, and a never-failing stream of eloquence. He adorned every subject that came

under his observation, and enlivened every speech he delivered with the excursions of fancy and the charms of imagery. His quick sensibility, however, rendered his temper irritable; and his contentions in active politics called that infirmity forth, much more frequently than it would have been produced in calmer situations. His invectives, both in speaking and writing, were so bitter and severe, that they seemed to argue a malignity of disposition, though they proceeded only from a ardency of feeling. His political principles were more favorable to the claims of the privileged orders than to popular freedom, and he was a tory in principle when he was a whig in political connections. In the relations of private life, his conduct was highly meritorious.—An affectionate husband; a tender, judicious, and indulgent father; a sincere friend; at once fervid and active; a liberal master; and a zealous and bountiful patron.

The poignancy of Mr. Fox's disappointment, on finding that Mr. Burke had rent asunder a long friendship, may be more easily conceived than expressed; and when he heard that the friend whom for five and twenty years he had never seen without pleasure, nor heard without instruction, was no more!—he wept bitterly.

About the year 1794, Mr. Fox led Mrs. Armistead to the altar, although he did not avow it until eight years afterwards. During the peace of Amiens, Mr. and Mrs. Fox visited Paris, and were received at the court of the First Consul with marks of the highest respect. Immediately after his entering into office, the labor of its

duties overpowered his constitution; and, whatever his spirit, his health had been gradually weakening: the first acknowledgment he made of it, however, was in a letter to a friend who had desired his concurrence in an affair of some importance. "My life has been active beyond my strength," said he, "I had almost said, my duty. If I have not acted much, you will allow I have spoken much; and I have felt more than I have either acted or spoken. My constitution has sunk under it. I find myself unequal to the business on which you have written; it must be left to younger men."

Once he employed this remarkable expression.—"Pitt has died in January—perhaps I may go off before June." A gentleman who was in company with him, having made some observation in reply—"Nay," said Mr. Fox, "I begin to think my complaint not unlike Pitt's; my stomach has been long discomposed; I feel my constitution dissolving."

This state of health continued through the month of March, when his friends were convinced he was breaking fast. Still he insisted that his disease was only a temporary habit, and as he happened in May to recover an interval of strength, that circumstance tended to confirm him in his error. The symptoms, however, soon returned with redoubled violence, and he was pronounced, at the latter end of June, to have decided symptoms of dropsy.

The day fixed for the funeral of his remains, was the 10th of October, the anniversary of Mr. Fox's first election for Westminster.

CHAPTER VII.

Resources and Views of the Belligerent Powers.—Measures of Bonaparte.—Position and Strength of the French and Russian Armies.—Battles of Mohringen—Bergfried—Deppen—Hoff—and Eylau.—Pacific Overtures of Bonaparte.—Rejected.—Battle of Astrolenka.—Bonaparte's triumphant Proclamation.—Siege of Dantzic.—Attacks of the Russians on the whole French Line.—Surrender of Dantzic, and of Weischelunde.—Defence of Stralsund.—An Armistice.—Change of English Ministry.

At the commencement of the year 1807, every eye was fixed on the coasts of the Baltic. It was here that the destinies of Europe were to be decided, as they had been in former periods, on those of the Mediterranean. The genius and the resources of the north were brought into conflict with those of the south. A mighty contest was to be decided by arms between Alexander Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia on

the one part; and, on the other, Bonaparte Emperor of France, and King of Italy. The latter derived support from the nations whom he had subdued or intimidated. Italy, Spain, Holland, and a great part of Germany: the former depended on the aid of Sweden, and the cordial and vigorous co-operation of Great Britain. There was another ally more powerful than either of the two just mentioned, on which the

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Russians might, and no doubt did reckon, namely, a rigorous climate to which they themselves were inured, but which might prove fatal to soldiers from France, Spain, and Italy. The enemy, too, in proportion as he should advance into Poland, or beyond it, would be drawn into difficulties and dangers on the line of his operations, in territories with the nature or ground of which he could not be well acquainted, and farther and farther he removed from supplies and reinforcements. The Russians, on the contrary, could receive reinforcements and stores both by land and sea from Russia, Sweden, and England. The young and heroic King of Sweden, emulating his ancestor the great Gustavus Adolphus, with the aid both of a subsidy, and troops from England, might march an army through the Lower Saxony, from Dantzic and Colberg, as far as Hamburgh. This army, augmented in its progress by insurgents, in Hesse, Hanover, and the Prussian dominions, might pass the Elbe, and establish a war in the centre of Germany; where, if able to maintain himself for any length of time, he might reasonably expect to be joined by the Austrians.—Such were the considerations that encouraged and determined the court of St. Petersburg to undertake and persevere in the war with France.

Bonaparte, sensible of the disadvantages of being placed at so great a distance from France as the countries between the Vistula and the Niemen, was in the first place, and, above all things, attentive to the means of conveyance, or what in the French armies is called the *Ambulance*. On the great roads between the Rhine and the Vistula, hundreds and thousands of carriages were every where to be seen, going or returning from Thorn and Warsaw. Travellers unacquainted with the state of public affairs in Germany and Poland, might have supposed that the continued motion on the highways was occasioned by a flourishing internal commerce. From the countries that lay at his mercy, Bonaparte drew provisions and forage, and even additions to his military force, while, at the same time, one body of troops after another continued to march for his support from the frontier of France.

The French emperor was also, in a very particular manner, attentive to the commissary department. The different corps and divisions of his army were sure to find bread, at least, in abundance, and, as much as possible, every comfort required by a rigorous climate. Being intimately acquainted with the interests and views of the courts of Europe, and the individual characters of favorites and ministers, he endeavoured, if he could not at once induce them to acquiesce in his plans, at least to occupy, and distract their minds, and, by an appearance of

negotiation, to sow the seeds of mutual discord between the powers confederated, or that might be inclined to confederate against him. At the same time that he was busily employed in forming the confederation of the Rhine, that is, in the extension of his own power, and preparing for the extension of his conquests, he amused Russia and England with a negotiation for peace which he professed to have had always uppermost in his mind and heart, but which he really contemplated not as an end, but a means: the means of renewing war with greater advantage. He labored, by all means, to detach the King of Sweden from the cause of his allies, by professions of good-will, respect, and admiration, and even by dismemberments in his favor of Prussia and Denmark. He roused the Turks to war against Russia, and entered into a negotiation for an alliance offensive and defensive with the Emperor of Persia. Ambassadors were seen in his camp from Ispahan and Constantinople.

Vaunting was on every occasion had recourse to by the French government. Eighty-four pieces of cannon, taken from the Russian generals Kamenskoy, Bennigsen, and Buxhoeveden; in the battles of Czarnowo, Nasielsk, Pultusk, and Golyinin, were ranged before the palace of the republic of Warsaw. And that the effect which the sight of so grand a triumph was fitted to produce might be the greater, it was observed, "That they were the very same that the Russians drew along the streets of that city with so much ostentation, when lately they marched through them to meet the French." In order to heighten the exultation, it was stated, "that 5,000 prisoners had been sent to France, that 2,000 had escaped in the first moments of confusion, and 1,500 entered among the Polish troops. Thus had the battles with the Russians cost them a great part of their artillery, all their baggage, and from 25,000 to 30,000 men, killed, wounded, or prisoners." It is well known that Gazettes were strongly inclined to magnify advantages gained on one side, and exaggerate losses sustained on the other.

Bonaparte, at the same time, inflamed the military ardour of his troops, and the whole French nation, with whose character he was thoroughly acquainted, through their characteristic vanity and love of distinction. Though naturally of a reserved, saturnine, and sullen humour, he would now and then, in meetings with his principal officers, and others, assume a familiar talkative humour, and make many sarcastic observations on the character and conduct of his enemies. He indulged in many gasconades, magnifying the prowess of Frenchmen, and the power and resources of France, beyond all measure or moderation. The same tone of exultation, braggadocio, and confidence, appeared in all his gazettes or manifestoes which were called bulletins: the

object of all which was not only to keep up and exalt the courage of the French, but to strike awe and terror into other nations.

While the French Emperor advanced against the Russians and Prussians in front, with Sweden assailing, and Great Britain menacing his left wing, there was reason for the apprehension of hostility in various shapes on his right flank and in his rear. Above all, an attack, in case of any disaster, was to be apprehended from Austria. For this reason he still retained possession of the fortress of Brannau, and an army of 40,000 men in Dalmatia, which might be strengthened by reinforcements from Italy, turned the flank of the defence of Austria, and even menaced its capital.

After the battle of Pultusk, the French retired into winter-quarters on the Vistula. The Russians fell back by Ostrolenka, on the Niemen. The King and Queen of Prussia, with the ministry, the treasure, the most valuable property, and a guard of 1,500 troops, foot and horse, retreated to Memel. The other troops remaining to the King of Prussia were 5,000, under the command of General Lestocq, the greater part of which remained in Koningsberg. There was a garrison of 6,000 Prussians in Dantzic, of 2,000 at Colberg, and of 3,000 at Graudenz, and from 15 to 20,000 were dispersed in the different garrisons of Silesia. A military officer from England encouraged the king in this extremity, when he was literally cooped up in the most remote and smallest corner of his kingdom, with the promise of assistance in both money and troops, and the immediate advance of 80,000*l.* for maintaining the garrisons in Silesia. The Russian army was computed by some at 160,000; by others at not more than 100,000.

The strength of the French army was estimated by some at above 200,000; by none at less than 150,000. Reinforcements of troops advanced from time to time during the whole of the campaign, to both armies.

The grand Russian army, towards the end of January, was supported on one side by a corps of Russians and Prussians, under the Generals Lestocq, Pahlen, and Gallitzin, flanked on their right by the Frisch-haff, a bay or arm of the sea between Koningsberg and Elbing, and the Pregel, and covered on its left flank by a corps under General Van Essen, originally destined against Moldavia. The command of the army, after the battle of Pultusk, was given to General Bennigsen, who had formed a junction with General Buxhoeveden, after his defeat at Golymin. The plan of the Russian general was, to turn the left flank of the French army, to extend his force along the river, to Graudenz and Thorn, to reduce the enemy to a necessity of evacuating Poland, to straiten his quarters, and by all means

drive him into positions of difficulty and disadvantage.

As the eye of the Russian general was fixed on the Vistula, so that of Bonaparte was directed to the Pregel and the Niemen. Perceiving that it was the design of the Russians to give him no rest in his winter-quarters, he determined, according to his usual system, to take the advantage of an assailant, and to anticipate an attack, by making one. In the distribution of the French in their winter-quarters, one of the corps into which the army was divided, under the command of Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, took possession of Elbing, where there were immense magazines filled with all manner of stores and provisions, and occupied the country around, on the shores of the Baltic. This corps, which was to be supported by that of Marshal Ney, posted on the right banks of the Alla, was ordered to surprise Koningsberg, with its valuable magazines; which was attempted. But the French marshals were discomfited in the very outset of their enterprise, by the rapid advance of the Russians under the Counts Pahlen and Gallitzin, who, on the 24th of January, compelled Marshal Ney to abandon his posts on the Alla, and to retire by the way of Allenstein, behind the Dribentz, a river which runs into the Vistula, six miles south-east from Thorn; where he joined the corps under the Grand Duke of Berg, Murat. The Russian general having for some time made a show of following up his attack on the troops under Marshal Ney, bore with all his force on the detachment under the Prince of Ponte Corvo, whom he met at Mohringen, where he had established his headquarters, pushing his out-posts to the distance of a league, that is, about three English miles from the town on the road to Liebstadt.

The Russian general Markow, with a division of the corps under the command of the Counts Pahlen and Gallitzin, attacked the French at Mohringen, January 25. After a very sharp action, in which the eagle of the 9th regiment of the French infantry was taken, the Russians were repulsed. But being afterwards reinforced by a division of cavalry, under General Anrep, the battle was renewed. In these actions at Mohringen, the French, according to the Russian accounts, lost more than 1,000 men, in killed and wounded; the Russians, according to the French accounts, left 12,000 dead on the field of battle, and among these, General Anrep, whose death was greatly deplored by the whole Russian army.

During the action or actions near Mohringen, Prince Michael Dolgorowki, with his regiment of dragoons, went round to the rear of the enemy, made his way to head-quarters without being perceived, and carried off the French marshal's equipage, his plate, some ladies, and a large sum of money, part of the pillage of Elbing. A great

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number of prisoners also fell into the hands of the Russians, among whom were three generals, including General Victor, who was taken by a small party belonging to the Prussian garrison of Colberg, as he was on his way to take the command of the army besieging Dantzic.

The Russian and French details of the battle of Mohringen, though different, were not very inconsistent in any material point, except that both parties claimed the victory. But judging from the immediate result of the action, we must conclude that it was in favor of the Russians. The French did not pretend that the Russians fell back beyond Liebstadt, which was only six or seven miles from the field of action; whereas, Bernadotte, according to their own accounts, retreated to Strasburg, on the Dribentz, which is situated at the distance of sixty miles from Mohringen.

The defeat of the plan, intended to have been executed by a detachment of the army under Bernadotte, in concert with Ney, and the consequent advance of the Russians on the Vistula, roused Bonaparte from his temporary repose at Warsaw, and called into exertion all the energies of his character. The corps under General Van Essen, that covered the left flank of the Russian army, was posted at too great a distance from its main body to answer the purpose for which it was intended: and Bonaparte, with his usual decision and promptitude, took advantage of this circumstance. He broke up his cantonments on January the 29th and 30th. A corps under the command of General Savary was ordered to watch the movements of Van Essen, who was posted at Wisochi Massawick on the heights of the Bug; and another under Marshal Le Febvre at Thorn, to keep in check the Russians and Prussians at Culm, and Marienwerder: thus to secure for Bonaparte a safe retreat across the Vistula, in the case of a failure in his attempt on the main body of the Russian army.

Bonaparte having marched the flower of his army to one point, was determined to attack the centre of the Russian army. The corps thus concentrated, were those of the Marshals Davoust, Ney, Soult, and Augereau, computed to be about 80,000; the imperial guard under Marshal Bessieres, 15,000 strong, and the cavalry of reserve, under Murat, or, as the bulletins styled him, the Grand Duke of Berg; which, at the opening of the campaign, consisted of 240 squadrons, that is, 36,000, but which must have been greatly diminished, perhaps by one-third, during its progress. This force of about 120,000 horsemen and foot, exceeded the army to which it was opposed, by a much greater number than what might be supposed to be necessary to so consummate a leader of such gallant and well-disciplined troops. But Bonaparte was not more distin-

guished by any qualities than prudence and precaution. He was careful to provide rather a redundancy than a bare sufficiency of means for the accomplishment of his ends. He provided against reverses, and though he always boasted of the favor, he never, if he could help it, trusted to the caprice of fortune.

The Russian army was on its march to the Vistula, by the way of Wildenberg, a town sixty miles N. E. of Warsaw. At this place, the rendezvous of the French, Murat had assembled all his cavalry on the 29th; in the neighbourhood of which the other corps were also concentrated, and where Bonaparte, in person, arrived from Warsaw, on the 31st. It was his object to penetrate between the centre and the left of the Russians, and to take such positions between them and the Pregel, as should enable him to cut off their retreat.

The French army began its march on the 1st of February, taking its route from Wildenberg to Passenheim, a town which is the key to the great road that passes between the extensive lakes which form the sources of the river Alla, before-mentioned, which falls into the Pregel five leagues above Koningsberg. At Passenheim the French fell in with the Russians, who had hitherto persevered in the system of making, instead of receiving, the attack. But the Grand Duke of Berg attacked with several columns of the cavalry, and entered the town sword in hand. On February 3, in the morning, the Russians were on the Lower Vistula, which they had determined to pass, but where they now found that they had been turned on their left flank: their left wing supported itself in the village of Moudtken, and their centre was placed at Jowkowo on the great road to Liebstadt.

Bonaparte having repaired to the village of Getkendorff, formed a part of his forces in order of battle, placing the corps of Marshal Augereau in the centre, that of Marshal Soult on the right, and the imperial guard as a body of reserve. He gave orders to Marshal Soult to advance by the way of Gulstadt, and make himself master of the bridge of Bergfried, that he might fall on the rear of the enemy with the whole force of the army.

Marshal Soult dispatched General Guyot with his light cavalry, to take possession of Gulstadt, the centre of the Russian magazines; which he effected, though not without an obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy. Of the Russians 1,600 were made prisoners. The Russian magazines at Liebstadt and Allenstein were also taken. In the meantime Marshal Soult, with the other two divisions of his corps, hastened to the bridge of Bergfried.—The Russians, who were sensible of the importance of this place, for protecting the retreat of their left wing, defended the bridge with twelve of their best battalions. At three in the

afternoon, a cannonade was opened on both sides. The Russians, after a severe conflict, and a heavy loss in killed and wounded, were driven from the bridge; but they retreated in good order. They were followed by Marshal Ney, and some skirmishing took place. But night overtook the French and Russian detachments facing each other.

On the morning of the 4th of February, Murat, at the head of his cavalry, reconnoitered the position which the Russians had occupied the preceding day, and found that they had employed the night in retreating, and had left behind only the rear-guard, which followed, and which was fiercely pursued, fighting all the way for six hours. The difficulty of the ground, according to the French accounts, prevented their cavalry from doing the enemy much injury. In fact, the French cavalry were repulsed; though an attempt was made to veil the discomfiture, by ascribing their want of success to the nature of the ground.

In the meantime, General Van Essen harassed the French corps that was opposed to him by frequent detachments; and though the country occupied by that corps was defended by the natural fortresses of woods and morasses, carried off, at different times, numbers of prisoners. When he received intelligence that Bonaparte had set out from Warsaw, and marched against General Bennigsen, at the head of a force greatly superior to that of the Russians, being desirous of making a diversion in favour of the main army, he attacked the French, February 3, on the whole extent of their line, defeated them at all points, and drove the Generals Savary, Suchet, and Becker, back on the Narew.

On the night of the 4th of February, Bonaparte slept at Schlett, but his advanced guard pushed on to Deppen. On the 5th, the whole French army was again in motion. While this advanced, the enemy constantly retreated, falling back by the way of Arensdorf and Landsberg, in the direction of the Pregel; except one column, which had not passed the river Alla, and was thus cut off from the main body of the Russians, by the left of the French army. The emperor therefore ordered the Grand Duke of Berg, with the Marshals Soult and Davoust, to follow the main body of the enemy; and Marshal Ney, with one division of light cavalry, and another of dragoons, to attack the cut-off column. The grand duke, on the heights of Waterdorf, fell in with seven or eight thousand of Russian cavalry; which, after sustaining and repelling several charges, were at last forced to retreat.

Ney came up at Deppen with the advanced guard of the column just mentioned, which, finding itself to be surrounded, adopted the bold resolution of cutting their way through the French corps, but met death on the points of their bayo-

nets. The other part of the column, learning the fate of the advanced guard, retreated in confusion, with the loss of their standards, cannon, and baggage.

On the morning of February 6, the French army marched in pursuit of the enemy; the Grand Duke of Berg, with Marshal Soult's corps, in the direction to Landsberg, that of Marshal Davoust towards Heilsberg, and that of Marshal Ney to prevent the escape of the Russian corps that had been cut off from the main army at Deppen.

The Grand Duke of Berg came up with the rear-guard of the Russians, commanded by General Barclay de Tolly, between Glandau and Hoff, and immediately attacked it. For the support of this, several lines of cavalry were drawn up, with the heights of Landsberg in front; and their right and their left were flanked on the one side by a small conical hill, and on the other by a wood. After repeated attacks on these two wings had been repulsed, the French dragoons and cuirassiers of General Hautpoul's division fiercely charged, overthrew, and destroyed two regiments of Russian infantry. Their cannon and colours were taken, with all their colonels, and the greater part of their officers. The main Russian army made a movement for the support of the rear-guard. The French corps, under Marshal Soult and Marshal Augereau, took a position on the left of the enemy, and occupied the village of Hoff. The Russian general perceiving the advantage of this position, sent ten battalions to retake it. But the Grand Duke of Berg, making a second charge with his cuirassiers, attacked this party in flank, and cut them to pieces. The Russians filed off in the night.

Such was the French account; but the advantages gained were without doubt greatly exaggerated, for it was noticed in the same bulletin, as a remarkable circumstance, that part of the two armies passed the night between the 6th and 7th in the presence of each other. It appeared evidently, that this engagement of Hoff was a drawn battle, and that the Russians never quitted the field the day on which they fought. If the main army had filed off in the night, leaving only a post quite close to, and in the very presence of, the enemy, as a forlorn hope, that post, separated from the rest of the army, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, which would have been announced as a matter of great triumph.—From the moment that General Bennigsen ascertained the great numerical force opposed to him, he prudently adopted the plan of retreating on the Pregel, which he did, fighting all the way, though not without very great loss, yet with invincible valour and resolution.

In pursuance of this plan, on the morning of the 7th of February, before break of day, the whole Russian army filed off to take up a new

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and advantageous position at the little town of Eylau. Between this town and the wood near Hoff, just mentioned, the rear-guard of the Russians was attacked by the French, and a part of it made prisoners. The van-guard of the French, pursuing their advantage, discovered that the Russians had posted themselves behind the town. Both sides prepared for battle. At the distance of a quarter of a league from this place, is a rising ground or flattish hill, which, in the military phraseology of the French, is called a *plateau*, (platform) which commands the entrance into the plain or valley in which it is situated. This eminence was defended by three Russian regiments. These three regiments were attacked by an equal number of French. A column of Russian cavalry took the assailants in flank, and threw one of their battalions into great confusion. Some squadrons of dragoons, commanded by General Klein, came up in time for the relief of this disordered column. The Russians, however, maintained their ground on the eminence.

But in Eylau, where the Russians wished to maintain themselves, but which the French were eager to possess, before the commencement of the general battle, the contest was most sanguinary. The Russians had placed some regiments in a church and the yard around it. There they made a most obstinate resistance, and the post was not taken till after a dreadful carnage on both sides, at ten o'clock at night. The night was spent by the two armies under the bare canopy of heaven, facing each other. One division of the French army, under Le Grand, was posted in front of the village; and one under Saint-Hilaire, on its right. The corps of Augereau was placed on its left. That of Davoust had been detached in the evening, to stretch beyond Eylau, and to come round and fall on the left flank of the Russians, if they should not have changed their position. Marshal Ney was likewise in motion to outflank and fall on them on the right.

On the following morning, (February 8) the Russians commenced the attack with a brisk cannonade on the village of Eylau, and by the divisions under Saint-Hilaire. The emperor, with his guards, took post in the church and burying-ground, which the Russians had so well defended the day before.

To the military eye of Bonaparte, the hill commanding the entrance into the plain, which the French had failed to carry the day before, presented itself still as the most important object of attack. Till this should be carried, the centre of his army could not act offensively against the enemy: for, in order to do this, it was necessary that it should stretch into the plain. Marshal Augereau was therefore ordered to advance with his corps, and to open a cannonade against this commanding spot, with forty pieces of artillery

belonging to the imperial guard. A terrible cannonade ensued on both sides. The armies being within half a gun-shot of each other, every shot took effect, and the slaughter on both sides was dreadful. At one time it appeared, from the movements of the Russians, that, impatient of suffering so much without any decisive result, they had a mind to outflank the French on their left wing. But, in the same instant, Marshal Davoust, with his sharp-shooters, appeared, and fell on their rear. Upon this, Augereau's corps filed off in column, to attack and occupy the centre of the Russian army, which might otherwise have overwhelmed Davoust with superior numbers. At the same time, the division under Saint-Hilaire filed off to the right to support Davoust, and eventually to facilitate a junction between Davoust and Augereau, should his assistance become necessary.

No sooner had these movements commenced, than so thick a fall of snow covered the two armies, that they could not see beyond the distance of two feet. The point of direction was lost, and the French columns, inclining too much to the left, wandered about in uncertainty. This darkness lasted half an hour. When the weather cleared up, 20,000 Russian infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, by beginning to turn, threatened the division of Saint-Hilaire with excision.—At this moment, when destruction hovered over the French army, the greater part of which was straggling in columns, incapable of supporting one another, the cavalry under Murat, supported by the imperial guard under Bessieres, coming round about the division of Saint-Hilaire, extricated the French from their critical situation, by making a desperate and successful charge on the formidable mass of the Russian infantry. The Russian cavalry, who endeavoured to oppose this manœuvre, were routed with great slaughter. Two lines of infantry were broken; and the third falling back, supported themselves on a wood.

The issue of the battle, which had been long doubtful, was decided from the moment that Davoust, whose progress was greatly impeded by the weather, was at last enabled to fall upon the rear of the enemy, according to his orders, and drive them from the hilly ground or platform. The Russians, after repeated attempts to repulse that general, retreated, leaving their wounded and sixteen pieces of cannon on the field of battle.

In a contest, maintained for twelve hours, during the whole of which 300 pieces of cannon vomited death from the opposite lines so near each other, the number of killed and wounded on either side could not be otherwise than very great. The loss of the French, according to their own accounts consisted, exactly in 1,000 killed and 5,700 wounded, including 1090 so severely as to be rendered for ever unfit for service; and

that of the Russians in 7,000 left dead on the field of battle. Among the wounded on the side of the French, were four colonels and five generals, one of whom was Marshal Angereau, and another General Hautpoul, who died of his wounds. In the number of the killed, were four colonels. The eagle of one of the French battalions, according to their own accounts, was lost; that is, no doubt, it was taken by the enemy. "Thus, the Russian expedition, which set out on the 27th of January, and which had for its object to stretch out towards Thorn, and turn our left wing, has proved exceedingly fatal to them. It has cost the enemy from 12 to 15,000 prisoners, as many in killed and missing, forty-five pieces of artillery, and eighteen standards."

Very different from this was the account given of the battle of Eylau by the Russian general, who, in a letter dated on the field of battle, at Prussian Eylau, 8th of February, 1807, assured the Emperor, that the enemy had been completely defeated; that 1,000 prisoners, and twelve standards, which he had the honor to send to his imperial majesty, had fallen into the hands of the conquerors. He had been attacked, he said, that day, on his centre and both his wings, by Bonaparte in person, who, however, had been beaten back at all points, and every where defeated. His guards had attacked the centre of the Russians several times, and as often been repulsed: several columns of French infantry, and regiments of cuirassiers, had been destroyed. The loss of the Russians he believed might exceed 6,000 men; but that he might estimate, without exaggeration, the loss of the enemy at more than 12,000.

The character and result of this memorable battle were exhibited with great candour, in a letter written by a Russian officer of the army, three days after the contest. "Our army has performed prodigies of valour; though our loss has been very great. It is generally agreed, that it was a miracle we did not lose more: which is ascribed to the excellent discipline and order which prevailed even in the hottest of the action, and in the midst of such a fire as was never perhaps witnessed before. For these three days we have been enquiring of each other, on which side the victory lay? This question may appear singular: but in truth it is impossible for me to say which of the two armies fought with the greater courage and obstinacy, and did the greater mischief to the other." It is a very remarkable circumstance, in the battle of Eylau, that there was little or no engagement between the infantry of the two armies. The battle was fought by the artillery and cavalry. The day after the battle presented a horrid scene of dead and dying men: to bury all the dead required

immense labour. A great number of Russian slain were found with the insignia of their orders. Forty-eight hours after the battle, there were still upwards of 500 wounded Russians, whom the French had not been able to carry off. Brandy and bread were taken to them, and they were successively carried to the ambulance, or train of carriages. On the space of a square league were seen 9 or 10,000 dead bodies; 4 or 5,000 horses killed; whole lines of Russian knapsacks; broken pieces of muskets and sabres; the ground covered with cannon-balls, howitzer-shells, and ammunition; twenty-four pieces of cannon, near which lay the bodies of their drivers, killed at the moment when they were endeavouring to carry them off. All this was the more conspicuous, as the ground was covered with snow. The 500 wounded Russians were all conveyed in sledges to Thorn, and to the French hospitals, on the left bank of the Vistula. The surgeons observed, with astonishment, that the fatigue of this conveyance did no harm to the wounded.

At the same time that Marshal Davoust attacked the elevated ground, the possession of which was so warmly disputed, Marshal Ney came round by Altorf, driving before him the same column which he had attacked at Deppen, and, in the evening, occupied the village of Schoneditton. The Russian general therefore, harassed on his flanks by Davoust and Ney, who threatened to cut off his rear-guard, ordered several battalions of grenadiers to make an attack on Schoneditton; which was accordingly made at eight o'clock at night, but without effect. The next day, (February 9) the Russians were pursued as far as the river Frischeling, while they retreated behind the Pregel. The French gazette said, in conclusion, "The expedition is ended. The enemy is beaten and driven back eighty leagues from the Vistula. The French army is going to return to its winter-quarters."

That the main body of the Russian army—not absolutely the whole, as will presently appear, were forced to fall back eighty leagues from the Vistula, is true, but it is also true, that Bonaparte did not find himself in a condition, at this time, again to attack them, and hazard another battle. The Russian army, without any material loss, effected its retreat to Koningsberg.

Bonaparte was now only a short distance from Koningsberg, a grand depository of the enemy. The steeples of this place, which had been held out as a rich prey to the French soldiers, were to be seen from the heights of Eylau. Nothing could have been more desirable than to take a place which would at once have been a most advantageous military position, furnished abundance of provisions and stores, and gratified the army

by pillage. And that the reduction of Königsberg was accordingly, in fact, his object, appeared from a letter addressed to the Empress Josephine, by Berthier, Prince of Neuf-Chatel, the most confidential minister of Bonaparte, on the evening before the battle, dated at Great Glandau, February 7. "At the approach of his imperial majesty, the Russian army fell back. On the evening of the 6th he had passed Landsberg, with the intention of continuing his retreat during the night. The emperor, who commanded the advanced guard, ordered an attack on the rear of the Russians, which had been lately reinforced. It was unable to resist the vigour of an attack conducted by his majesty in person.—*To-morrow we shall be at Königsberg.*" And an attempt on Königsberg would, no doubt, have been made, if, after the battle of Eylau, Bonaparte had conceived that he possessed means for accomplishing his object. But this was, in truth, a drawn battle; and the severest check he had as yet received since the commencement of his career.

It was not, however, without some degree of plausibility that both sides claimed the victory, or at least a discomfiture of the design of their opponents. It was the intent of Bonaparte to take Königsberg. He was forced to fall back on the Vistula. It was the design of the Russians to drive the French back beyond the Vistula, to retake Elbing and Thorn, and to force them to raise the sieges of Colberg, Graudenz, and Dantzic. By a series of successive actions, they had been driven back by the French as far as Eylau, and on the day after the battle, beyond the Pregel. The French had buried the Russian dead; collected and taken care of the greatest part of their wounded, taken a number of their cannon dismounted in the action; and, finally, remained seven or eight days on the field of battle.

The relative positions in which the French and Russians were placed after the battle of Eylau, were not misunderstood by Bonaparte; who, according to his usual policy on all great crises, dispatched Bertrand, a general of division, to the Russian commander-in-chief, with some overtures of a pacific nature. But General Benningsen, in the true spirit of a gallant soldier, replied, that he had been sent by his master not to negotiate, but to fight. Bertrand was then ordered to proceed from Königsberg to Memel, with the same overtures to the King of Prussia; with whom he had not greater success than with the Russian chief. Bonaparte endeavoured, however, after these repulses, to make it believed in Germany, that both the Prussians and Russians were desirous of peace, and that treaties were on the point of being concluded. It was given out in his newspapers, that Duroc had gone to St. Petersburg, and that the King of Prussia was

governed by the counsel of Lombard, Beyme, and Kockyriz, the men who, together with Haugwitz and Lucchesini, had theretofore managed, as he wished, the court of Berlin. He was desirous to spread a conviction that he possessed the same influence at the court of Memel. Thus he hoped to sow the seeds of jealousy among the allies, and to deter any of the German states from insurrection, on the reliance of support from powers with whom he was likely, very soon, to be on terms of peace, amity, and even in alliance.

The Russians were not induced by the battle of Eylau, and the necessity their main army was under of retreating behind the Pregel, to give up their original plan of acting on the offensive against the French, and harassing them without ceasing, by all means and at all seasons. While the main army of the French still lay at Eylau, 3,000 Russian prisoners were rescued by a squadron of Cossacks, 1,000 strong, at Wildenbergh, from fifteen to twenty leagues on this side of Eylau, on the Omulcio, to the south-west of the lakes of Passenheim. General Van Essen, February 15, at the head of 25,000, advanced to Ostrolenka, along the two banks of the Narew. At the village of Flakis Law-owa he met the advanced guard of General Savary, who commanded the fifth corps of the French army. On the 16th, at day-break, General Gazan with a part of his division moving towards the advanced guard, met with the enemy on the way to Novogorod, attacked and defeated him. But at the same moment, the Russians by the left bank attacked Ostrolenka, which was defended by General Campana, with a brigade of the division of General Gazan, and General Ruffin, with a brigade of the division of General Oudinot. The Russian infantry advanced in several columns. They were suffered to come fairly within the town, as far as half the length of the streets; when they were charged by the French with fixed bayonets. Thrice did the Russians make an attack on the French, and were as often repulsed, leaving the streets covered with the dead. Their loss was so great that they were forced to abandon the town, and take a position behind the sand-hills which cover it.

The divisions of Generals Suchet and Oudinot advanced, and at noon the heads of their columns arrived at Ostrolenka. General Savary drew up his army in the following manner. General Oudinot commanded the left in two lines; General Suchet the centre; and the General of division Reille, chief of the staff of the army, commanding a brigade of the division of Gazan, formed the right. He covered himself with all his artillery, and marched against the enemy. General Oudinot putting himself at the head of the cavalry, made a successful charge, and cut in pieces the Russian Cossacks of the rear-guard.

A very brisk fire was kept up for a considerable time by both parties. The Russians at last gave way on all sides, and were followed fighting for three leagues. The loss of the Russians was 1,300 killed, among whom were two generals, above 1,200 taken, seven pieces of cannon and two standards. The French, according to their accounts, had only sixty men killed, and among these, the general of brigade Campana, an officer of great merit, and it is observed, a native of the department of Maringo.

At Gattenfield, February the 12th, 500 French soldiers were made prisoners by Platoff, hetman of the Cossacks. On the same day a division of one of the French corps marched to Marienwerder, situated on a small river, called the Leibe, not far from its junction with the Vistula, thirty-four miles south from Dantzic, and forty-four north-east of Thorn. Seven Prussian squadrons, found at this place, were attacked and routed, and 300 men with 250 horses taken. The rest of the Prussians making their escape, took refuge in Dantzic.

On the 16th of February, the day before Bonaparte began to march from Eylau, for the disposition of his troops in winter-quarters, he thought it proper to counteract any notion that might be entertained of this being a retreat, and to keep up the courage of his army, by assuming a very lofty air of triumph, which he did in the following proclamation, dated Prussian Eylau, February 16.

"Soldiers, we had begun to enjoy a little repose in our winter-quarters, when the enemy attacked the first corps, and shewed themselves on the Lower Vistula. We broke up and marched against him; we have pursued him, sword in hand, eighty leagues; he has fled to his strong holds, and retired beyond the Pregel. In the battles of Bergfried, Deppen, Hoff, and Eylau, we have taken from him sixty-five pieces of cannon, and sixteen standards, besides the loss of more than 40,000 men, in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The heroes, who, on our side, remain in the bed of honor, have died a glorious death. It is the death of a true soldier. Their relatives will always have a just claim to our care and beneficence. Having thus defeated all the enterprises of the enemy, we shall return towards the Vistula, and resume our winter-quarters. Those who shall dare to disturb these quarters, shall have reason to repent: for whether beyond the Vistula, or on the other side of the Danube, whether in the middle of winter or the beginning of autumn, we will still be found French soldiers, and soldiers of the grand army."

The first and leading consideration in the choice of positions for winter-quarters for the French army, was, to cover the line of the Vistula, and to favor the reduction of Colberg, Graudenz,

and above all of Dantzic. It was therefore concentrated in cantonments, behind, that is, to the westward of the Passarge, a small river which, passing by the town of Braunsberg, discharges itself, a little below this place, into Frisch-haaf. The Prince of Ponte Corvo, Bernadotte, with his corps, lay at Prussian Holland, and Braunsberg; Marshal Soult, with his, at Leibstadt and Mohrungen; Marshal Ney, at Gutstadt; Marshal Davoust, at Allenstein, Hohenstein, and Deppen; a Polonese corps of observation, commanded by General Zayoncheek, at Nidenbourg; Marshal Le Febvre before Dantzic; the 5th corps of the French army was stationed at Omulew; and the 8th, as a corps of observation, in Swedish Pomerania. There was a corps under Jerome, or Prince Jerome Bonaparte, employed in the reduction of the fortresses of Silesia. The Bavarian division, commanded by the heir-apparent, or as the French style him, the Crown-Prince of Bavaria, serving under Jerome, lay at this time at Warsaw, and was on its route to-join the French army. There was still a strong garrison at Thorn, where General Rapp, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, was appointed governor, in the room of Marshal Le Febvre, now employed in the siege of Dantzic. The head-quarters were at Osterode, nearly equidistant between Thorn, which formed as it were a bastion, on the right of the French, supposing their eye still directed to the east, and Marienwerder, and Elbing with the Isle of Nogat, which supported the left. And, for maintaining a communication between the opposite banks of the Vistula, as well as for securing a retreat, in case of any disaster, in the course of future operations, the têtes-du-pont, or fortified bridges, at Praga, Modlin, Dirchaw, in the palatinate of Ulm and Thorn, were put in a proper state of defence, and new ones constructed at Marienburg, and Marienwerder. From the country around Marienwerder, and Elbing, which, particularly the Isle of Nogat, is exceedingly fertile, the French army was abundantly supplied with provisions.

It was now the immediate object of Bonaparte to refresh and recruit his army, and to secure the possession or command of the countries he had over-run, by reducing the Prussian fortresses that still held out on the Vistula and the Oder. But the Russians, determined and resolute in their purpose to give him no rest, engaged the French in continued skirmishes, and in some very sharp actions, which were attended with considerable loss to both parties.

On the 26th of February, a Russian detachment marched against Braunsberg, the head, that is, the most advanced or easterly of the French cantonments. Bonaparte being informed of this, gave orders to the Prince of Ponte Corvo, that it should be attacked; the ex-

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cution of which orders was committed to General Dupont, an officer of great merit, who on the same day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, attacked the Russian detachment, which was 10,000 strong, overthrew it with fixed bayonets, drove it from the town, and across the Passarge, took sixteen pieces of cannon, and two stands of colours, and made 2,000 prisoners.

On the side of Gutstadt, General Leger Belair, on receiving advice that a Russian column had arrived during the night at Peterswalde, repaired to that village at day-break on the 25th; overthrew it, took the general, Baron de Korff, who commanded it, with his staff, several lieutenant-colonels and other officers, and 400 men.

After the affairs of Braunsberg and Peterswald, for the encouragement of the French no doubt, particularly the conscripts for the year, whose services were now to be called for, though six months before the time fixed by the constitution, a statement was published of all the pieces of cannon taken from the enemy by the French, since their arrival on the Vistula. In the engagements of Pultusk and Golymin, they had taken eighty-nine pieces of cannon; at the engagement of Bergfried, four pieces; in the retreat of Allenstein, five pieces; at the engagement of Deppen, sixteen pieces; at the engagement of Hoff, twelve pieces; at the battle of Eylau, twenty-four pieces; at the engagement of Ostrolenka, nine pieces; and at that of Braunsberg, six pieces; in all, 175 pieces of cannon. It must be owned that an account of the cannon taken from the enemy was a more satisfactory proof of success, than of the numbers said to be killed and wounded: for the cannon could be produced, as vouchers of its accuracy.

The French gazettes accordingly stated how the cannon taken was disposed of.

The attempts of the Russians, on the Lower Vistula, being frustrated by the engagements of Bergfried, Deppen, and Hoff, and the great battle of Eylau, Bonaparte was at leisure to form the blockade, and to push the siege of Dantzic. The proper positions being taken, and works necessary for the complete investment of this place constructed, trenches were opened before it on the night between the 2d and 3d of April. But it was necessary, for carrying on the siege, to bring battering cannon from the fortresses of Silesia, upwards of one hundred leagues. Part of this artillery arrived on the 12th, and the rest on the 24th.

Bonaparte, that he might be nearer to Graudenz and Dantzic, had by this time moved his headquarters from Osterode to the castle of Finkenstein. The grand French army formed a semicircle around the corps under Le Febvre, employed in besieging those two fortresses; which corps was composed chiefly of Polanders, Hes-

sians, Badenese, and other troops of the confederation of the Rhine. The left wing extended from Elbing to Braunsberg, along the course of the Passarge, on which were constructed *têtes-du-pont*, as far as Gutstadt. The centre retired a little behind this line to Prussian Holland, Leibstadt, and Mohringen. From Gutstadt, the army extended by a chain of posts to Allenstein; and the left wing communicated through Ortelsburg, with the left of the corps of Massena, whose right was posted on the river Bug, and stretched from thence to the mouth of the Narew. The left wing of the French, for the whole extent of the line along the Passarge, was covered with a great number of entrenchments and batteries. In front of the centre and the right wing, were vast forests and morasses. For security against accidents in the rear, a post was occupied between the Passarge and the Vistula, and here were established some magazines.

The right wing of the allied army, composed of the wrecks of the Prussians, and who had not been engaged in the battle of Jena, extended from the Frisch-haaf along the right bank of the Passarge, as far as Wormditt. At this place, the channel of the river was both so shallow and so narrow, that deserters were in the practice of fording it. The Prussians were a fine body of men, loyal, brave, and well disciplined. They were under the immediate command of General Blücher.

The Russian army occupied Wormditt, and stretched from thence over Heilsberg, Bartenstein, and Schippenbell. Before the centre, and each of the wings of the Russian army, there was an advanced guard. The left wing was commanded by Platoff, hetman or chief of the Cossacks, who pushed detachments as far as Ortelsburg, where several actions took place; while on every other part of the line there was a tacit armistice. A considerable body of Russians, also a recent reinforcement, was stationed near the Narew.

Besides the grand French army opposed to the line of the Russo-Prussian, there was the corps of Le Febvre, before Dantzic and Colberg, already mentioned. There was an army also, noticed before, of Bavarians and Wirtembergers, under Prince Jerôme, in Silesia, occupied in completing the reduction of the fortresses. And, in addition to the whole, a grand army of observation had begun to assemble from different, and some of those very remote countries under the orders of Marshal Brune, in Pomerania, whose headquarters were established provisionally at Stettin. This army, when completed, was to be 80,000 strong, half French troops, the other half confederates of the Rhine, Hollanders, and Spaniards. The Germans that formed part of the army of observation, were furnished chiefly

by the King of Bavaria, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg. The King of Wirtemberg sent three new regiments to recruit the army, under Jerome, in Silesia. To the grand army was added a new levy of 15,000 Poles, 3,000 of which were cavalry. To the Saxon troops serving in the grand army, three new regiments were added, and fifteen men to each company of the old ones.

Marshal Le Brune, by an order, May 21, called the troops that were dispersed in the Hanse Towns, Hanover, and the duchies of Magdeburg, and Mecklenburgh, to Pomerania; they were replaced by 31,000 Spaniards, the flower of the Spanish army: of these 26,000, including 6,000 cavalry, came directly from Spain, under the command of the Marquis of Romana; the other 5,000 from Etruria. These last arrived in different columns on the Oder, between which river and the Elbe the grand army of observation was stationed, at the end of May, and in the beginning of June. But the whole, or part of this division, of the Spaniards, appear to have joined the grand French army. The former were distributed in the Hanse Towns, Hanover, and Mecklenburg, in the end of June, and beginning of July. The Queen of Etruria, too, made an extraordinary levy of 20,000 men, "for promoting the general end of the war, as well as for the defence of her own coasts." The Swiss, who had shewn themselves very backward to raise the 16,000 men, to be furnished, according to treaty, to the armies of France when demanded, were called on by a letter from Bonaparte to the Landamman, to furnish the troops without delay, under the pain of forfeiting the French alliance.

Not satisfied with all this host of auxiliaries, Bonaparte invited his people to send twelve regiments of the conscripts of 1807 to the theatre of war, six months before the time fixed by the constitution; and ordered the 80,000 conscripts for 1808, to be prepared and to hold themselves in readiness to march when called on.

While the commander of the French armies, and of France, was thus employed in repairing his loss by disease and by a series of hard-fought battles, particularly that of Eylau, the allies on their part laboured, though unfortunately with less success, to repair their loss, to increase their force, and oppose numbers to numbers. The court of St. Petersburg, which had been loudly importuned to take up arms in defence of Prussia, reckoned with confidence on the co-operation of Great Britain, not only in the way of a subsidy, but of an army, that should form a junction with the Swedes and Prussian insurgents, and occupy a portion of the French force, by a diversion on their rear. It was hoped that a combined army of Swedes and English would

oblige the French to raise the siege of Stralsund, and moving up along the left bank of the Oder, menace the rear of the French army, and lay siege to Stettin, which was but weakly garrisoned, and in a bad state of defence; the possession of which would open a communication with Berlin, the Elbe, and the rest of Germany. If the French should have remained in Poland, so considerable a force acting in their rear might have obliged them to evacuate that country, or at least to detach such a considerable portion of their force as might have rendered them, in point of numbers, inferior to the allies. Even if the French should have maintained themselves on the line of the Oder, this diversion would have been of the greatest importance, as it would have enabled the Russians to march with the greater part of their army into Silesia. It was the apprehension of such an auxiliary force, that determined Bonaparte to assemble so large an army of observation in Pomerania. Repeated and earnest applications for an English army, infantry and cavalry, were made in vain. A subsidy was granted of 500,000*l.*—but no troops were sent from Britain until it was too late: and the force then sent to the island of Rugen, in July, consisted only of the German legion, about 8,000 strong. But the King of Prussia made some, though small, atonement for the selfish, blind, and infatuated policy that had disgraced his reign, by the resignation, patience, and firmness of his conduct after the disastrous day of Jena; and the heroic, though romantic bravery of the King of Sweden, and his gallant little army, served, no doubt, both to enliven the hopes of the Emperor Alexander, and to excite his emulation.

This young monarch, having set out from St. Petersburg on the 28th of March, to join his army, accompanied only by Count Tolstoy, was met at Polanden, on the Prussian frontiers, by the King of Prussia, who conducted him to Memel, and accompanied him in his progress from thence to Koningsberg. The Archduke Constantine, with a reinforcement of 30,000 men, consisting principally of the imperial guard, arrived at that place about eight days thereafter, when the trenches were opened before Dantzic.

The force that lay before Dantzic was between 30 and 40,000 men: that before Graudenz 3,000. Dantzic was defended by double, and in some places, by triple rows of fortifications, by marshy ground, inundations, the fort of Weischelmunde, and a garrison consisting of 12,000 Prussians and 6,000 Russians: the whole under the command of the Prussian General Kalkreuth.

The siege of Dantzic was pushed on with great vigour and courage by the besiegers, and the defence of the place maintained with equal courage by the besieged. All the artillery re-

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A grand council of war was held at Bartenstein, a town on the Alla; at which the King of Prussia and the Grand Duke Constantine attended. The subject of their deliberations was the dangerous situation of the city of Dantzic. It was agreed that Dantzic could be relieved only in two ways. The first was to force a passage across the Passarge, attack the French line at different points, and hazard a general engagement, the result of which, if successful, would be to compel the French army to raise the siege of Dantzic; the second to throw succours into Dantzic by sea. The first plan was deemed too dangerous, as it might expose the Russian army to complete defeat and dispersion. It was therefore resolved to confine themselves to the plan of relieving Dantzic by water.

In pursuance of this plan, Lieutenant-general Kamenskoy, son of the field-marshal, embarked at Pillaw, with two Russian divisions, formed of twelve regiments, and several Prussian regiments. On the 10th of May, the troops were landed from sixty-six transports, under the convoy of three frigates, in the port of Dantzic, under the protection of the fort of Weischelmunde.

Bonaparte on this immediately ordered Marshal Lasnes, who commanded the reserve of the grand army, to advance from Marienburg, where he had his head-quarters, with the division of Oudinot, to reinforce the army of Marshal Le Febvre. The general arrived, after an uninterrupted march, at the very moment when the Russians were landing. On the 13th and 14th, the Russians made preparations for attacking the French. The opposite port of Weischelmunde was separated from the town of Dantzic, by a space from two to three miles in extent: this space was occupied by French troops.

The general of brigade, Schramm, who was at the advanced posts of the French by two o'clock in the morning of the 15th, had formed the troops under his command, consisting of the

second regiment of light infantry, a battalion of Saxons, and another of Poles, in order of battle, covered by the redoubts opposite the fort of Weischelmunde. The Russian General Kamenskoy, in the morning of the same day, and a little after the same hour, advanced at the head of his troops, disposed in three columns, from the fort, with an intention to penetrate to the town, along the right banks of the Vistula. An action took place, in which the Russians, who were superior in numbers to the French, and not inferior in bravery, would have overpowered General Schramm if he had not received opportune assistance.

Marshal Le Febvre repaired to the bridge, which is situated below the fort on the Vistula, and ordered the 12th regiment of light infantry, together with a battalion of Saxons, to cross over that way, to support General Schramm. General Gardanne, who was charged with the defence of the right bank of the Vistula, also pressed that way with the rest of his troops. Marshal Lasnes, with the reserve of Oudinot, was placed on the left bank of the Vistula, where it was expected, the day before, that the enemy too would make his appearance. But when Marshal Lasnes saw the movements of the Russian general disclosed, he crossed the Vistula, with four battalions of General Oudinot's reserve. After two hours hard fighting, the whole of the line and reserve of the Russians were thrown into confusion; and pursued to the palisadoes. A Russian column, which held out to the last, was put to the bayonet to a man. At nine in the morning, they were all shut up in the fort of Weischelmunde. The field of battle was strewed with dead bodies. The loss of the French, according to their accounts, was not more than 25 killed, and 200 wounded; that of the Russians 1,300 killed, 1,500 wounded, and 200 taken prisoners.

As soon as the Russian commander-in-chief was assured that his maritime expedition had arrived before Dantzic, his light troops began to reconnoitre and alarm the whole French line, from the position occupied by Marshal Soult on the Passarge, to that of General Morand on the Alla. They were received at the mouth of the musket by the voltigeurs, or sharp-shooters; lost a considerable number of men, and retired with precipitation. The Russians also presented themselves at Malga before General Zayoncheek, commander of the Polish corps of observation, and carried off one of his posts. The general of brigade, Fischer, pursued, routed them, and killed sixty men, one colonel, and two captains. They likewise presented themselves before the 5th corps, and insulted General Gazan's advanced posts at Wildenberg. This general pursued them several leagues. But they made a more

serious attack on the brigade of Omulew at Drenzewo. The general of brigade, Girard, marched against them with the 88th regiment, and drove them across the Narew. General Suchet arrived, pursued the Russians closely, and defeated them at Ostrolenka, where he killed sixty men, and fifty horses.

On the same day, May 13, the Russians attacked General Marrois at the mouth of the Bug. This general had passed that river on the 10th with a Bavarian brigade, and a Polish regiment. In the course of three days, he had constructed several *têtes-du-pont*, and had advanced to Wis-kywo, for the purpose of burning the rafts on which the Russians had been at work for six weeks. This expedition completely succeeded, and the foolish work of six weeks was destroyed in a moment.

This general attack on the French advanced posts, on the same day when General Kamen-skoy was to make his attempt on Dantzic, was no doubt intended to occupy the grand French army, in such a manner as to prevent them from reinforcing the besieging army. The project of carrying relief to Dantzic, by means of a maritime expedition, appeared very extraordinary to such military men as were acquainted with the ground and positions occupied by the French army, and at the same time informed of the works that had been constructed for intercepting the navigation of both the Vistula and the canal of Dantzic. An English brigantine, the Dauntless, with that thoughtless, but, on the whole, not unfortunate audacity with which a series of glorious successes had, at this time, inspired all British seamen, having 120 English for her crew, fifty Russian and Prussian soldiers, carrying twenty-four carronades, and laden with powder and ball, appeared on the Vistula, in full sail, with an intention to enter the port of Dantzic. On her near approach, however, to the French works, she was attacked, not only by the batteries from both the shores, but a heavy shower of musketry, and forced to surrender. An aide-de-camp of General Kalkreuth, who was on his return from the Russian head-quarters, and several English officers, were on-board the vessel.

On the 16th, a Russian division, of 6,000 men, under General Turkow, advanced from Brock to the Bug, and towards Pultusk, with a view to prevent the execution of some works, for strengthening a *tête-du-pont*. These works were defended by six battalions of Bavarians, under the command of the Prince Royal of Bavaria in person. The Russians advanced four times to the attack, and were four times repulsed, by grape-shot from the different batteries. The Russians, for this attack on Pultusk, had prepared a great number of rafts, in the same man-

ner as they had done in their attack on the works of General Le Marrois. Those rafts, prepared at so great an expense of time and labour, were burnt in two hours time. Those repeated attacks on works constructed with consummate skill, and defended by strong batteries, without a chance of success, were matter of astonishment to the French, and almost induced them to suppose, that the only purport of these attacks was to draw their attention from other parts of their line, to the right wing of their army. But the position of this was calculated for every imaginable ease, whether of attack or defence. Meanwhile the important siege of Dantzic was continued.

On the 19th of May, when every thing was prepared by Marshal Le Febvre, and the French were proceeding to the assault, General Kalkreuth demanded a capitulation, on the same conditions that he had formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence. It appeared to the French general, that the difficulties remaining to be surmounted, in bringing the siege to a conclusion, were such, that the besieged might hold out yet fifteen days longer. In these circumstances it was deemed expedient to grant them what they demanded, an honorable capitulation. It was agreed, among other articles, that the garrison should march out of the city with all the honors of war, and be conducted to the advanced posts of his majesty the King of Prussia, at Pillaw, by a march of five days.

The garrison engaged not to serve against the French army or its allies, for the space of a year, counting from the date of the capitulation, that is, the 20th of May. The prisoners of war confined at Dantzic, whether French, or allies of the French, to be exchanged.

As the garrison had not sufficient means for carrying off the whole of its baggage, a vessel was to be afforded for this purpose, to sail directly for Pillaw, under the command of a French officer. The magazines, and in general all that belonged, not to individuals, but to his Prussian majesty, to be consigned into the hands of the French government.

The Prussian officers, who were prisoners on their parole, living with their families at Dantzic before the blockade of the place, had permission to remain there if they pleased, till farther orders from his serene highness Major-general the Prince of Neuf-Chatel (Berthier). Nevertheless, in order to be entitled to this privilege, they were to produce a certificate, from the governor, that they had not taken any part in the defence of the place. The wives of the officers and others, that is, persons in civil employments or situations, were to be at liberty to remove from the city. The sick and wounded to be left under the care of Marshal Le Febvre;

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and, on their recovery, to be sent to the advanced posts of the Prussian army.

Marshal Le Febvre engaged to the inhabitants of Dantzic, to employ all the means in his power for the protection of persons and property. This capitulation was to be carried into execution at twelve o'clock at noon, the 26th of May. It was to be understood, that between the present and that period, the garrison of Dantzic was not to make any attack on the besiegers, in case of their being engaged in any action with the Russo-Prussian army without the city.

On the 27th of May, the garrison marched out of the city with General Kalkreuth at its head. This strong garrison, which consisted at first of 18,000 men, as before stated, and, at the opening of the trenches, of 16,000, was now reduced to 9,000, of which number 400, and among these some officers, deserted. The officers said, that they had no mind to go to Siberia. Several thousands of artillery-horses were given up to the French, according to the terms of capitulation, but most of them in a very bad condition; 800 pieces of artillery; magazines of every kind; more than 500,000 quintals of grain; well-stored cellars; immense collections of clothing, and spices and great resources of every kind for the army.

The Russian Lieutenant-general Kamenskoy, who, after his defeat of the 15th, retired under the fortifications of Weischelmunde, remained there, without making any farther attempts, and was a spectator of the surrender of Dantzic. When he perceived that the French were employed in erecting batteries for burning his ships, he set sail, and returned with his fleet to Pillaw. The fort of Weischelmunde, however, still held out. But when Marshal Le Febvre summoned it on the 26th, while the terms were only under consideration, the whole garrison advanced from the fort and surrendered at discretion. The commandant, thus abandoned by the garrison, saved himself by sea.

After the fall of Dantzic, a detachment was sent, closely to blockade and besiege, in form, the fortress of Graudenz, which, though strong, both by art and nature, could not be supposed to hold out long, hemmed in, as it was, on all sides, by the besieging and grand French army.

The last hope that remained to the allies of a favorable turn to the war, on the left, or western side of the Vistula, was Stralsund.

Marshal Mortier, having first plundered, introduced a regular system of exaction, and completely established the tyranny of France in Mecklenberg, Hamburgh, and Lubeck: and had orders, towards the middle of February, to enter Swedish Pomerania, and lay siege to the capital of that province. It was invested on the land side, but the siege was not pushed with vigour.

Marshal Mortier, being charged with the siege of Colberg, drew off 7,000 men to that place, leaving the siege of Stralsund in charge to General Granjeau.

In the mean time, while the operations of the besiegers were but languid, the besieged made several bold sorties, demolishing the batteries of the enemy, and spiking their guns. The garrison of Stralsund received considerable reinforcements; and troops were also landed at other points from the Swedish flotilla.

In the beginning of April it was thought proper to reinforce the army besieging Dantzic. The siege of Stralsund was raised; and the besieging troops, by degrees, began to march to the Lower Vistula.

As soon as the General Baron Van Essen, the governor-general of Swedish Pomerania, perceived that the French were filing off from that province, in small detachments, he determined to march against them, and compel them to abandon their entrenchments, and completely to evacuate Pomerania. His troops were divided into two columns; the first under his own orders; the second under those of Lieutenant-general Baron Armfeldt. Each column consisted of eight squadrons of hussars, a detachment of mounted artillery, and four battalions of infantry, with their proper divisions of chasseurs or hunters. These two columns, advancing in the same line of direction, came up with the enemy at Lussow, drove them from thence to Ruderhagen, and pursued them from thence to Voigdehagen.

In the mean time the French had abandoned their batteries and entrenchments at Stralsund, and entrenched themselves on the heights between Voigdehagen and Teschenhagen, on which they had mounted a battery of four pieces of artillery and two howitzers. This being silenced by the Swedish artillery, they endeavoured to take possession of a morass, skirted by a wood, but were forced to desist from the attempt, and continue their retreat from one post to another, which they did with admirable skill and courage, even according to the Swedish account. On the 3d of April, General Van Essen's column entering Demnin, made the garrison, after a slight resistance, prisoners, and sent out his light troops in pursuit of the enemy on the side of Mecklenburg. On the morning of the 4th of April, the column under Baron Armfeldt entered the town of Anclam, where he took 150 men prisoners. The military chest also, containing 3,000 crowns, fell into his hand. The loss of the French in this well-conducted retreat was not very considerable. But the prisoners made, during the retreat, by the two Swedish columns, were said to have been 10,000 men, and, among these, twenty officers.

After the retreat of the French from Swedish Pomerania, the Swedish army occupied a line of positions of very great extent, having the heads of its columns at Falkenwald, Stoltzenberg, Stadsfort, Belling, and Darkitz; that is, from the banks of the Oder to the confines of Mecklenberg Strelitz. Marshal Mortier determined to bear, with his whole force, on the centre of this dilated line, without giving himself any trouble about the other positions, being convinced, that by a rapid march on the river Peene, which the Swedes had inconsiderately crossed, he could throw them into the utmost confusion and consternation. Having assembled a part of his forces at Pasewack, on the evening of April 15, he advanced on the 16th, before break of day, on the road to Anclam, overthrew a Swedish post at Belling, and another at Ferdinandskaff, took 400 prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, entered Anclam at the same time with the enemy, and made himself master of the bridge on the Peene. Thus a Swedish column, commanded by General Cardell, was cut off. It remained at Nekermunde when the French were already at Anclam. General Armfeldt, one of the Swedish commanders-in-chief, was wounded by a grape-shot. All the magazines at Anclam were taken, together with all the Swedish sloops of war, on the lake adjoining to Anclam, and transports. The column of General Cardell, which was cut off from the other Swedish troops, was attacked on the 17th, by the general of brigade Veau, near Neckermunde, when it lost three pieces of cannon, and 500 men. Another column took possession of Demnin, and made 500 soldiers prisoners. The Swedes were driven back again behind the river Peene.

General Armfeldt, after informing the Baron Van Essen of his having been wounded, and that he had been obliged to make the infantry of his division fall back on Ranzien, retired to Stralsund. It was ordered by Van Essen to march to Grimm, and thereafter to the head-quarters of Van Essen, the commander of the other division, and who had now the supreme command of both at Griefswald. Here, April 17, he was joined by a detachment of hussars, belonging to the royal guard from Stralsund. Early on the morning of that day, he had sent a flag of truce to Marshal Mortier, of twenty-four hours, for the purpose of removing the sick and wounded to hospitals. It was not difficult to persuade the marshal, who knew how much his master wished to detach Sweden from the cause of the allies, to comply with his request. Soon after noon, the first adjutant of Marshal Mortier arrived with a flag of truce at Griefswald, with an answer to that which had been sent by the Swedish general.

Before mid-day of the 18th, another flag of truce arrived from Marshal Mortier, and an early hour was fixed for a conference between the two

generals at Sklatkow, within an English mile and half of Anclam, where an armistice was agreed on, not to be broken without ten days' previous notice. Besides this, which was the principal article, there were others, and these altogether in favor of the French. The Swedes were to restore the isles of Usedom and Wollin, which were to be occupied by the French garrisons, to be sent thither for that purpose, on the day after, that is, the 20th of April. The line of demarkation between the two armies was to be the Peene and the Trebel. But the French were farther to occupy a position beyond the Peene, and behind the barrier of Anclam. During the armistice, the Swedes were not to afford succours of any kind to the towns of Graudenz and Dantzic, nor yet to the troops of any of the powers at war with France or its allies. During the armistice, no troops belonging to any of the powers at war with France were to be landed at Stralsund, or any other part of Swedish Pomerania, or the isle of Rugen. If, however, there should be a debarkation of any troops at Stralsund, in consequence of superior orders unknown to General Van Essen, the general engaged, that they should not commit any act of hostility against the French.

Towards the end of the same month, (April,) Marshal Mortier and General Van Essen improved the terms of mutual accommodation into a more certain prelude to a permanent peace. It was agreed, April 29, that none of the parties should resume hostilities without giving a month's previous notice, instead of the ten days fixed by the armistice of the 18th.

When the King of Sweden was informed of the armistice, and the events that led to it in Pomerania, he determined to come thither, and take the affairs of this province, political and military, into his immediate management, and accordingly arrived at Stralsund early in May. Though he was far from approving of the armistices of the 18th and 29th of April, he was sensible that those armistices, which he considered as most disgraceful, were owing, not to any misconduct on the part of the general, Baron Van Essen, but to the imprudence and precipitation of General Armfeldt, in crossing and advancing too far with his column beyond the Peene. While General Van Essen, therefore, was appointed governor-general of Pomerania, and decorated with the grand cross of the Swedish order of the sword, General Armfeldt obtained permission from the king to resign his commission. These marks of favor were shewn to General Van Essen on the 14th of May, at a grand parade; when the officers of the different Swedish regiments stationed at Stralsund, and various places in the vicinity, were also presented to his majesty, by whom they were received in the most gracious manner. He expressed his entire satisfaction with their conduct in the last cam-

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BOOK VII. campaign in Pomerania. In the course of the campaign, the Swedes were joined by 2,000 Prussian officers and soldiers, under the command of General Hinning, and were placed among the troops in garrison at Stralsund. This officer was also presented to his Swedish majesty.

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While Gustavus was thus employed in reviewing and promoting his brave and loyal Swedes, he was himself not a little animated by the arrival at Stralsund of the English General Clinton, with assurances of speedy succours of all kinds from the British government, in the administration of which there had been, on the 24th of March, a great change.

This change was produced by the Catholic question. Lords Grenville and Howick being desirous of granting the wished-for relief, respectfully communicated to the king their sentiments; the next day they received an intimation from his majesty, that he must look out for other ministers. A new administration was accordingly formed, the great leaders of which were the Duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury, Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Eldon, lord chancellor, Lord Liverpool, secretary for the home department, Lord Castlereagh, war department, Mr. Canning, minister for foreign affairs, and Lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty.

CHAPTER VIII.

Bonaparte's Pacific Proposal.—Circumstances which led to those Offers of Peace.—Miserable State of France.—Campaign of ten Days.—Battles of Hielsberg and Friedland.—Peace of Tilsit.—Siege of Colberg.—War with Sweden.—Evacuation of Stralsund.

AFTER the battle of Jena, a proposition was made, either by Russia in concert with her allies to the ruler of France, or by the ruler of France to Russia and her allies, for a congress of all the belligerent powers, to be held for the purpose of a general pacification. The Russian government, keeping a steady eye on Constantinople, objected to the admission of the Turks into the congress. Bonaparte insisted on the admission of the grand-signior as the friend and ally of France, in return for which, Russia would be permitted likewise in the congress to make common cause with England. The basis of negotiation proposed by Bonaparte, between what he called the two belligerent masses, was equality and reciprocity, and a system of compensations. Though the negotiation had been interrupted by a series of hot actions, and the King of Prussia and the Russian generalissimo had declined to enter into any treaty for an armistice, or peace; after the battle of Eylau, Bonaparte, on the fall of Dantzic, made a direct proposal for renewing the negotiation to the Emperor Alexander, accompanied by a declaration that he was desirous of peace, above all things, and ready to listen to any reasonable overture for that end.

There is no doubt but that Bonaparte was sincere in the present pacific proposal. The progress of his arms from the Elbe to the Oder, and from the Oder to the Passarge, beyond the Vistula, and the commanding position of his army, strengthened by the reduction of Dantzic, enabled him to treat with advantage, and to return

to Paris with glory. On the other hand, the battle of Eylau, as well as that of Pultusk, and other engagements, proclaimed the uncertain issue of a decisive action with such an enemy; and in whose favor a powerful diversion might have been occasioned by a combined Swedish and English army landing in Pomerania, in his rear, and commanding the course of the Oder from Stralsund to Frankfort. The necessity, too, which would occur by a prolongation of the war, of drawing levy after levy of unfortunate young men and boys from their wretched families, could not be any other than a cause of most serious alarm and apprehension.

Since the commencement of the war against Prussia, that is, in the course of six or seven months, three several levies of conscripts had been raised. The last of these, by which the conscripts of September 1806 were called for in March 1807, created a melancholy bordering on despair. Although all correspondence relative to the position of the armies was rigorously interdicted, and no letters suffered to pass without scrutiny, it was impossible wholly to conceal the mortality and the hardships inseparable from the various movements of the troops, and the unaccustomed rigours of a northern winter. A third conscription was generally considered as an undertaking too bold for the internal administration, especially at a moment when a belief was current among all ranks, that the emperor would not be able to extricate himself from the embarrassments in which, after the battle of Eylau, he was supposed to be involved. The government, appre-

hensive of the danger, set themselves to prepare the public mind for the event, by employing emissaries to announce their intention in whispers through the circles, and three thousand coffee-houses of the capital. But an impression of terror was visible, even to a cursory observer, on the countenances of those who were either themselves exposed to the danger, or shuddered at the prospect of new revolutionary horrors, and of suspicion and joy, but half disguised in the lowering brows of the most resolute of the disaffected, constantly on the alert to improve the concurrence of opportunity, and who hailed this desperate expedient as a confirmation of their hopes. The orator of the government, Renaud St. Jean D'Angely, shed tears as he stated the necessity of the measure: and the senate received it, contrary to their usual practice, in silent acquiescence, and with every symptom of reluctance and dismay. In order to assuage the general grief, it was found advisable to qualify the new call for 80,000 men, by a clause enacting that they were *then* to be merely organized, and retained within the limits of the empire, as a national guard. Circumstances enabled them to adhere to this condition, which most certainly would have been violated, if the armies had sustained a defeat. In the midst of disquietude and fear, public festivals were multiplied, in order to give the administration at home an air of confidence: and an unusual degree of splendour brightened the court of the empress, who remained in Paris, and took a principal share in those mummeries of despotism.

It was not to be wondered at, therefore, if, all things considered, Bonaparte should be desirous of a pacification. There was no reception, perhaps no return for him to Paris, but in the character of a conqueror. Though, after the fall of Dantzic, the main army was increased by a disposable force of more than 30,000, and though there was neither truce nor armistice, he did not take any measures for immediately opening the campaign, and surprising the enemy according to his usual system, by the promptitude and the celerity of his movements, but manifested every symptom of a sincere and even somewhat earnest desire that hostilities might be, for the present, terminated by negotiation. Till this negotiation should be brought to some issue, he seemed determined to remain on the defensive. The ambassadors attending his court at Finkenstein were witnesses of the proud eminence on which he now stood, and abundant care was taken that they should fully understand the importance of his recent conquest, the great bulwark of the Vistula. When the ambassador of the porte (Seid Mahomed Vahid) was presented, on the 28th of May, by the Prince of Benevento (Maurice Talleyrand) to Bonaparte, he said to the ambassador, that he and the Sultan Selim would be for ever after as in-

separably connected as the right hand and the left. The offices and administration of the government were now transferred from Warsaw to Dantzic, which seemed at this time to be intended for the capital of the French dominions in those parts. This city was visited, on the 30th of May, by Bonaparte, attended by the greater part of his staff, his minister for foreign relations, and in short all his court. He reviewed his troops, and gave orders for the reparation of the works demolished in the course of the siege. General Rapp, a great favorite, was appointed governor, and Le Febvre created Duke of Dantzic. Each soldier engaged in the siege received a gratuity of ten francs.

From his imperial camp at Finkenstein, May 28, Bonaparte wrote to the conservative senate, that he had instituted duchies as rewards for eminent services done him, whether military or civil; and that, in pursuance of this system of encouragement, he had created, by letters patent, the Marshal Le Febvre hereditary Duke of Dantzic; not only in consideration of his late achievement, but because on, and ever since the first day of his reign, Le Febvre had rendered him the most signal service. It was his business, he said, to establish the fortunes of such families as devoted themselves without reserve to his service, and constantly sacrificed their own particular interests to his.

Though, before the fall of Dantzic, the Russians had avoided a general action, yet, fifteen days after the capitulation of that place, they made a vigorous attack on the French. June 5, the grand French army was attacked by the allies, at different points of its line. On the right of the allies, and the left of the French, twelve Russian and Prussian regiments, forming two divisions, attacked the *tête-du-pont* of Spanden on the Passarge, which was defended by a regiment of light infantry, strongly covered by entrenchments and redoubts. They were repulsed seven times, and as often renewed the attack. But immediately after the last assault, they were charged by a regiment of dragoons, that had come up to the assistance of the regiment of infantry, and forced to abandon the field of battle with a great loss in killed and wounded. Two divisions belonging to the centre of the allied army attacked at the same time the *tête-du-pont* of Lomitten, which was defended by a brigade of the corps of Marshal Soult. The Russian general, with 1,100, fell in the action; 100 were taken, and a great many wounded. The loss of the French, according to their bulletin, was no more than 120 men. This is incredible; and it is here stated merely as an instance of that extravagance of misrepresentation, which is sufficient excuse for not repeating, on all occasions, their gasconades of this kind. At the same time,

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also, the Russian commander-in-chief, General Benningsen, with the Grand Duke Constantine, the imperial guard, and three divisions of the other troops, attacked the positions of Marshal Ney, on the right wing of the French line, at Aldkirken, Gutstadt, and Wolsdorf. After a severe contest, Marshal Ney fell back, but in good order, to Ackendorf.

On the following day, June 6, the allies attacked the sixth corps of the French army, under the command of Marshal Soult and General Marchand, at Deppen, on the Passarge. The Russians in the action of this day lost, according to their own acknowledgment, if we may credit the French bulletin, 2,000 killed, and more than 3,000 wounded. The loss of the French, according to their statement, in killed and wounded, was extremely trifling, *as usual*. But they acknowledged the loss of 250 taken prisoners, for the most part by the Cossacks, who, on the morning of the attack, had got into the rear of the French army.

Bonaparte, informed of the movement of the allies, left Finkenstein on the evening of the 5th of June, passed the night of the 6th at Saalfeld, and that of the 7th in bivouac, (i. e. a guard at night performed by the whole army, which, either at a siege, or lying before an enemy, every evening draws out from its tents, or huts, and continues all night in arms,) with Marshal Ney at Deppen, and immediately took upon himself the command, and issued the necessary orders to the whole army. On the 8th, the fourth corps marched to Wolsdorf, where it fell in with the division of Kamenskoy, on its way to rejoin the main body. The French corps attacked and defeated it, and in the evening took its position at Aldkirken. At the same time, Bonaparte, with the corps of the Marshals Ney and Lasnes, his guard, and the cavalry of reserve, advanced to Gutstadt. Part of the rear-guard of the Russian army, comprising 10,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, took a position at Glottaw, and attempted to dispute the way. The Grand Duke of Berg, after some very skilful manœuvres, drove the Russians from all their positions. Three brigades of light, and a division of heavy cavalry, carried all before them; and the French having taken 1,000 prisoners, and all the positions and redoubts, of the Russians, between them and Gutstadt, entered that town, sword in hand, at eight o'clock in the evening.

On the 10th, the French army moved towards Heilsberg, and on its march took several of the enemy's camps. About a quarter of a league beyond these camps, it came up with the rear-guard of the allied army, consisting of from 15 to 18,000 cavalry, and several lines of infantry. It was immediately attacked by a division of French dragoons, the cuirassiers of another di-

vision, and a brigade of light cavalry. The French were repulsed again and again, and as often renewed the attack. At two o'clock the corps under Marshal Soult was formed. Two divisions marched to the right, while a third marched to the left, to seize on the edge of a wood, the occupation of which was necessary, in order to support the left, of the cavalry. Reinforcement after reinforcement, of both infantry and cavalry, was sent to the rear-guard from the main army, which was posted at Heilsberg; and many efforts were made by the Russians, who were defended by the fire of more than sixty pieces of cannon, to maintain themselves in their positions before that town in vain. Several of their divisions were routed, and at nine in the evening the French found themselves under the Russian entrenchments. The fusileers of the guard, commanded by General Savary, were put in motion to sustain the division of Verdier; and some of the corps of infantry of the reserve, under Marshal Lasnes, attacked the enemy at the close of the day, when it had begun to be dark, in order to cut off his communication with Lansberg, in which he completely succeeded. The ardour of the troops was such, that several companies of the infantry of the line insulted the Russians in their entrenchments. A number of them fell in the ditches of the redoubts at the foot of the pallisades.

Bonaparte passed the 11th on the field of battle. He there drew up the different corps and divisions of the army in order of battle, that the war might be terminated at once by a decisive engagement. The whole of the Russian army was assembled at Heilsberg, where the magazines were established, and it occupied a position strong by nature, and farther strengthened by the labour of four months. At four in the afternoon, Bonaparte ordered Marshal Davoust to change his front, and push forward the left wing of his corps; a movement which brought him upon the Lower Alla, and completely blocked up the road from Eylau. To every corps of the army was assigned its proper station. They were all of them re-assembled except the first corps, which continued to manœuvre on the Lower Passarge. Thus the Russians, who had been the first to recommence hostilities, found themselves blockaded in their entrenched camp, and were offered battle on the ground which they themselves had chosen. It was for a long time believed that they would make an attack on the 11th. At the moment when the French were making their dispositions, the Russians shewed themselves ranged in columns, in the midst of their entrenchments, fortified with batteries. But at ten o'clock at night they began to pass the Alla, abandoning the whole country to the left, and leaving their magazines and their wounded

to the disposal of the conqueror. On the 12th, at day-break, all the corps of the army were in motion, and took different directions.

In the several actions, from the 5th to the 12th, according to the French accounts, the Russian army was deprived of about 30,000 fighting men. The number of wounded left prisoners in the hands of the French amounted to between 3 and 4,000. The loss of the French, as stated by them, amounted to no more than 6 or 700 killed, 2,000, or 2,200 wounded, and 300 prisoners.

On the 12th, at four in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg, where they found in the magazines several thousand quintals of grain, and a great quantity of different kinds of provisions. A division of dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry, pursued the Russians to the right bank of the Alla. In the mean time, the light corps of the army advanced in various directions in order to pass the Russians, and get between them and their magazines, by cutting off their retreat to Königsberg. On the same day, at five o'clock P. M. the head-quarters of the French army had arrived at Eylau. Here the fields were no longer covered with ice and snow, but, on the contrary, presented one of the most beautiful scenes in nature. The country was every where adorned with woods, intersected by lakes, and enlivened by handsome villages.

On the 13th, while the Grand Duke of Berg and the Marshals Soult and Davoust had orders to manoeuvre before Königsberg, Bonaparte, with the corps of Ney, Lasnes, Mortier, the imperial guard, and the first corps, commanded by General Victor, advanced on Friedland. On the same day the 9th regiment of hussars entered that town, but was driven out of it again by 3,000 Russian cavalry. On the 14th, the Russians advanced on the bridge of Friedland, with the intent of pursuing their march to Königsberg, and at three in the morning a cannonade was heard. "It is a fortunate day," said Bonaparte, "it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo." Different movements and actions took place, by which the Russians were stopped on their march, and could not pass the village of Postenheim.

A mighty struggle was now unavoidable; and both armies prepared for a decisive battle. By five in the evening, the several corps of the French were at their appointed stations. Marshal Ney was on the right wing; Marshal Lasnes in the centre; and Marshal Mortier on the left wing. The corps of General Victor and the guards formed the reserve. The cavalry, under the command of General Grouchy, supported the left wing: the division of dragoons of General La Tour Maubourg, was stationed as a reserve behind the right: and General La Housaye's division of dragoons, with the Saxon cuirassiers,

formed a reserve for the centre. The whole of the Russian army was also drawn up in the best order that the place and circumstances seemed to the general to admit. His left wing extended to the town of Friedland, and his right wing a league and a half in the other direction. The position taken by General Benningsen on the left bank of the Alla was, apparently, one continued plain; but intersected by a deep ravin full of water, and almost impassable. This ravin ran in a line between Domnow and Friedland, where it formed a lake to the left of that place, and separated the right wing of the Russians from their centre. A thick wood, at the distance of about a mile and a half from Friedland, on more elevated ground, fringed the plain of the Alla, nearly in the form of a semicircle, except at its extremity at the left, where there was an open space between the wood and the river. In front of the wood, about a mile from the town of Friedland, and nearly opposite to the centre of the army, was the small village of Henrichsdorf. The field of battle lay between the left of this village and the Alla, to the south of Friedland.

Bonaparte having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, instantly determined to take the town of Friedland. Then suddenly changing his front and advancing his right, he commenced the attack with the first part of that wing; the firing of twenty cannon from a battery being the signal of battle. At the same moment the division under General Marchand, supported on the left by another division, advanced sword in hand on the enemy, his line of direction being pointed towards the steeple of the town. When the Russians perceived that Marshal Ney had left the wood in which his left wing had been posted, they endeavoured to surround him with some regiments of cavalry, and a multitude of Cossacks: but General La Tour Maubourg's division of dragoons rode up at full gallop to the right wing, and repelled the attack. In the meantime, General Victor, who commanded, as has been mentioned, a corps of the grand army, erected a battery of thirty cannon in the front of his centre; and his works pushing forwards more than 400 paces, greatly annoyed the Russians, whose various manoeuvres for producing a diversion were all in vain. Marshal Ney was at the head of his troops, directing the most minute movements with his characteristic intrepidity and coolness. Several Russian columns that had attacked his right wing were received on the point of the bayonet and driven into the Alla. Thousands were lost in that river, and some escaped by swimming. In the meantime, Marshal Ney's left wing reached the raveline which surrounded the town of Friedland. The imperial guard of Russia, both horse and foot, which had been placed there in ambush,

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rushed suddenly on Marshal Ney's left wing, which for a moment wavered. But Dupont's division, which formed the right of the reserve, fell on the Russian imperial guards, and defeated them with great slaughter. Several other bodies were sent from the centre of the Russian army for the defence of the most important position of Friedland: but the impetuosity, the numbers, and the prompt and skilful co-operation of the assailants with an immense artillery, prevailed. Friedland was taken; and its streets bestrewn with dead bodies.

The attempts of the Russians on the left wing of the French being defeated, they made repeated attacks on their centre. But all the efforts of both their infantry and cavalry, to obstruct the progress of the French columns, were exerted in vain. Marshal Mortier, who, during the whole day, had exhibited the greatest coolness and intrepidity, in supporting the left wing, advanced, and was in his turn supported by the fusiliers of the guard under the command of General Savary. The French columns pressed forward on the Russians, chiefly along the sides of the ravin; which was, thus, as advantageous to the French, as disadvantageous to the Russians. Victory, which had never, in the judgment of the French generals who drew up the bulletin, been for a moment doubtful, now declared decidedly in their favor. The French horse and foot guards, and two divisions of the reserve attached to the first corps, were not in the action.

The field of battle presented one of the most horrible spectacles of wounded, dying, and dead men and horses, that was ever beheld. The number of the dead on the side of the Russians was estimated by the French at from 15 to 18,000; and that of the dead on their own side at less than 500. But they admitted that the number of their wounded amounted to 3,000. Eighty cannon, and a great number of covered waggons and standards, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Russians were pursued in their retreat towards Koningsberg till eleven o'clock. During the remainder of the night, the cut-off columns endeavoured to pass, and part of them did pass the Alla at several fordable places. But next day covered waggons, cannon, and harness, were every where seen in the river.—“The battle of Friedland,” said the French bulletin, “is worthy to be numbered among those of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena. The enemy were numerous, had fine cavalry, and fought bravely.”

Next day, June 15, the Russians endeavoured to re-assemble on the right bank of the Alla, while the French army manœuvred on the left bank to cut them off from Koningsberg. The heads of the hostile columns arrived at Wehlaw, a town situated at the confluence of the Alla and

the Pregel, nearly at the same time. The Russians, at day-break on the 16th, passed the Pregel, and continued their retreat to the Niemen.—The French bulletin stated, that “having destroyed all the bridges, they took advantage of that obstacle to proceed on their retreat.” If there were several bridges on the Pregel, they must, however, have left one at least standing, till they had crossed the river themselves, though the French gazetteers insinuated, that they escaped only by means of the demolition of all the bridges.

The following account, which was given by an *eye-witness of the campaign of Poland*, appears faithful and consistent. “At Wehlaw the Russian army passed the Pregel, without any loss or even annoyance, on a single bridge. A detachment of 4,000 French troops watched their movements, but did not oppose their retreat. The bridge was then burnt: and the Russians continued their retrograde movement to Pepelken, where they were rejoined by the Prussian corps, under General Lestocq, and a Russian corps, under General Kaminskoy, who had been detached to Koningsberg on the 10th: for, after the defeat of the main Russian army, Koningsberg was untenable.” At eight in the morning Bonaparte threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took a position there with the army. Almost all the magazines which the enemy had on the Alla, had been thrown into the river or burnt. At Wehlaw, however, the French found more than 6,000 quintals of corn—possession was taken of Koningsberg by the corps under Marshal Soult. At this place were found some hundred thousand quintals of corn, more than 20,000 wounded Russians and Prussians, and all the ammunition that had been sent to the Russians by England, including 160,000 muskets that had not been landed.

The French bulletin concluded as follows: “It was on the 5th of June that the enemy renewed hostilities. Their loss in the ten days that followed their first operations may be reckoned at 60,000 men, killed, wounded, taken, or otherwise put *hors de combat*. They have lost a part of their artillery, almost all their ammunition, and the whole of their magazines on a line of more than forty leagues. The French armies have seldom obtained such great advantages with so little loss.”

The conduct of the Russian general, who had been so much extolled when his operations were supposed to have been successful, was now, as commonly happens to the unfortunate, very much censured.

General Benningsen did not attempt to conceal the real situation of affairs after the battle of Friedland, as he had done after that of Eylau: and he did not hesitate to give it as his opinion, that any farther contest with the French in the field of battle, would be, at that time, a hopeless

proposed. It was computed by the most dispassionate and competent judges that the French commenced this short campaign of ten days with 160,000 men, including all kinds of troops stationed between the Oder and the Alla; and that the allies had about 100,000 effective men, infantry and cavalry, besides Cossacks, Bashkins, and other irregular troops. It was acknowledged by the French officers, that from the 5th to the 14th of June, the grand army had lost, in killed and wounded, at least 20,000 men.

On the 19th, at two o'clock P. M. Bonaparte with his guards entered Tilsit. The Russians, pursued after the battle of Friedland by the Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of the greater part of the light cavalry, and some divisions of dragoons and cuirassiers, crossed the Niemen, burned the bridge of Tilsit, and continued their retreat eastward. The Emperor of Russia, who had remained three weeks with his Prussian majesty at Tilsit, left that place along with the king in great haste. On the 19th, an armistice was proposed to the chiefs of the French army, by the Russian commander-in-chief. In consequence of this proposition, an armistice was agreed on at Tilsit, on the 22d of June, by which it was settled that hostilities should not be resumed on either side without a month's previous notice of such an intention. That a similar armistice should be concluded between the French and the Prussian armies in the course of five days. That plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed by the different parties, for the salutary work of pacification; and that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners. The boundary between the French and Russian armies, during the armistice, was the Thalweg, or middle of the stream of the Niemen from the Kurisch-baff, where it falls into the sea to Grodno: and a line from thence to the confines of Russia, between the Narew and the Bug. Such was the formidable position of the French, while nothing remained to the King of Prussia but the small town and territory of Memel.

The first interview between Bonaparte, or the Emperor Napoleon as he was now called, and the Emperor Alexander, took place on the 25th of June, on a raft constructed for the purpose, on the Niemen, where two tents had been prepared for their reception by the French. Alexander and Bonaparte landed from their boats at the same time, and embraced each other. It was settled that half the town of Tilsit should be considered as neutral ground, and be occupied by the Emperor of Russia, with the officers of his household, and his body-guards. Great were the mutual courtesies and expressions of kindness and respect that ensued among French, Russians, and Prussians of all ranks: visiting, feasting, and all kinds of entertainment and festivity that could

be thought of. Human nature gladly relaxed from the miserable rage of war, and was eager to acknowledge, and emphatically express every sentiment of social and generous affection. A magnificent dinner was given by Napoleon's guards to those of Alexander and the King of Prussia. At this entertainment they exchanged uniforms, and were seen in the streets in a motley kind of dress, partly Russian, partly Prussian, and partly French. It is much in the same spirit that the chiefs of so many islands in the South-seas exchange names for a time, with persons to whom they wish to shew friendship, or pay a compliment. A stranger to the ways of Europe, witnessing at Tilsit such ardent love among those different tongues and nations, from the highest to the lowest, might have wondered what could possibly have impelled such good-natured and tender-hearted people to the most horrid scenes of war and bloodshed.

A treaty of peace was concluded between his majesty Napoleon, styling himself Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, at Tilsit, July 7. As the contest between Russia and France related not to any direct interests of their own, but wholly to those of their respective allies, there was nothing to be adjusted between these powers on their own account, farther than that there should be henceforth perfect peace and amity between their imperial majesties; that all hostilities between them should immediately cease at all points by sea and land; and that, for this purpose, couriers should be dispatched to their respective generals and other commanders. The great sacrifice to peace, was, of course, the kingdom of Prussia, which was reduced at once from the rank of a primary to that of a secondary, at best, power of Europe, and all that had been done for the augmentation and aggrandizement of the monarchy by the great Frederick, in the course of twenty years, undone in one day. The King of Prussia, by the peace of Tilsit, together with an immense territory, lost near the half of his yearly revenues, and 5,000,000 of his subjects.

The greater part of those provinces which formed a part of the kingdom of Poland, and had, at different times, been subjected to Prussia, were annexed to his majesty the King of Saxony, with power of possession and sovereignty, under the title of the Duchy of Warsaw, and was to be governed according to a new constitution or system of fundamental laws, that should secure the liberties and privileges of the people of the said duchy, and be consistent with the security of the neighbouring states.

This constitution, framed on the model of that of France, was presented, approved by Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Pro-

BOOK VII. *tector of the Confederation of the Rhine*, and signed by him, and counter-signed by his secretary of state, Maret at Dresden, as early as the 22d of July.

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The city of Dantzic, with a territory of two leagues around it, was restored to her former independence, under the protection of his majesty the King of Prussia and his majesty the King of Saxony, to be governed by the laws by which she was governed at the time when she ceased to be her own mistress. For a communication between the kingdom of Saxony and the Duchy of Warsaw, his majesty the King of Saxony was to have the free use of a military road through the states of his majesty the King of Prussia: this road, the number of troops to be allowed to pass at once, and the resting-places, with magazines, to be fixed by a particular agreement between the two sovereigns, under the mediation of France. Neither his majesty the King of Prussia, his majesty the King of Saxony, nor the city of Dantzic, were to oppose any obstacles whatever to the free navigation of the Vistula, under the name of tolls, rights, or duties. In order, as far as possible, to establish a natural boundary between Russia and the Duchy of Warsaw, a certain territory, heretofore under the dominion of Prussia, to be for ever united to the empire of Russia. This territory added several subjects to those of the Russian empire.—Their royal highnesses, the Dukes of Saxe-Cobourg, Oldenburgh, and Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, were each of them to be restored to the complete and quiet possession of their estates; but the ports in the Duchies of Oldenburgh to remain in the possession of French garrisons till a definitive treaty should be signed between France and England; for accomplishing which, the mediation of Russia was to be accepted, on the condition that this mediation should be accepted by England in one month after the ratification of the present treaty. Until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace between France and England, all the ports of Prussia, without exception, to be shut against the English.

His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine; his majesty Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples; his majesty Lewis Napoleon, King of Holland; and his imperial highness Prince Jerome Napoleon, as King of Westphalia; a kingdom to consist of the provinces ceded by the King of Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe, and other states then in possession of his majesty the Emperor Napoleon. These were the most generally important articles in the treaties. There were others relating to private estates and other property, more interesting, no doubt, to individuals. The time and manner in which the different stipulations in the treaties were to be carried into

execution, were fixed by a special convention between France and Prussia.

The Prussian fortresses in Silesia, that held out the longest against the besieging French, were Glatz and Silverberg. They capitulated at last about the end of the campaign, begun the 5th and ended on the 21st of June. Graudenz and Colberg, though vigorously besieged, still held out when a negotiation for peace was entered into at Tilsit. The siege of this last place was fatal to thousands of the French. If all the governors of Prussian fortresses, from the 14th of October, 1806, to the 14th of June, 1807, had been animated with the fidelity and persevering courage of General Blücher, the issue of the war might have been very different. It was at this siege that Colonel Schill, whose heroism, loyalty, and patriotism shone forth so conspicuously afterwards in the north of Germany, first attracted the attention and admiration of his countrymen. He was in the situation of a Prussian captain retired from service, when the misfortunes and dangers of his country called his courage and military skill into action. He was extremely successful, during the siege of Colberg, in harassing the French at the head of an irregular levy. It was this officer that took General Victor prisoner, on his way to Dantzic; when he also intercepted a treasure of 100,000 ducats belonging to the enemy. The King of Prussia, as a reward for his services, raised him to the rank of colonel, and gave him the command of a regiment.

Neither the loss of so much and so fine territory, nor of revenue, nor of population, was so severe a wound, at least a wound so severely felt by the Prussian monarchy, as the degrading conditions on which he was suffered to retain what remained; a military road across Silesia, for opening and maintaining a communication between the King of Saxony's German dominions, and his new Duchy of Warsaw, and the shutting up of all the Prussian ports against England; those very ports through which he had just received arms, and other succours.

The more attentively we consider the pacification at Tilsit, the more we must perceive the Machiavelian policy and deep-laid designs of Bonaparte.

The fine Duchy of Silesia would not, it may be presumed, have been restored to Prussia, if, in the hands of the Prussians, it had not been calculated to serve as a constant source of hostility between the courts of Berlin and Vienna. The military high-way across Silesia was, in like manner, calculated to foment jealousy and discord between the courts of Berlin and Dresden; while it was to be at the same time wholly under the mediation, that is, the control, of France. The confederation of the Rhine, strengthened by the creation of the new kingdom of Westphalia,

was rendered too powerful to be shaken by any aggression on the part of Austria on the one hand, or of Russia on the other. And this same kingdom of Westphalia, which it should seem was intended to be pre-eminent among the other members of the confederation, was to receive farther accessions of territory, by the annexion of any other states that might be thought proper by his majesty the Emperor Napoleon. And the Emperor of all the Russias engaged to recognize the limits—whatever they might be—that should be determined by his majesty the Emperor Napoleon in pursuance of the foregoing article. The combination of this article with a passage in Bonaparte's address to the senate about a month thereafter, gave rise to very serious reflection and anticipation. "If," said he, "the house of Brandenburg, which was the first to conspire against our independence, yet reigns, it owes this to my sincere friendship for the powerful emperor of the North. A French prince shall reign on the Elbe. He will know how to conciliate the interests of his subjects, with his first and most sacred duties." By the appellation of the Emperor of the North, it was understood by many to insinuate that the Emperor of Russia was not to extend his dominions any farther to the west or the south.

The young King of Sweden was now the only potentate on the continent of Europe that refused to bend his neck to the domination of Bonaparte. It has been already mentioned, that, on the 18th, an armistice was concluded between the Swedish and French generals at Skatklow, to be continued till ten days should have expired, after notice of an intention to resume hostilities: which term of ten days was afterwards, by an additional article, extended to thirty. But the King of Sweden, having himself assumed the command of his army in Pomerania, immediately declared his intention to acknowledge only the first stipulation of a term of ten days. In the mean time, notwithstanding the armistice, the Swedish navy held all the ports on the Baltic, in the possession, or under the influence of France, in the strictest blockade, and carried on hostilities at the mouth of the Trave, and against the corps of French and Germans besieging Colberg. Remonstrances were made on this subject, a correspondence ensued about the meaning and terms of the armistice, and, at the King of Sweden's request, a conference was held between his majesty and Marshal Brune, June 4, at Skatklow, which lies within the Swedish territory.

The marshal being admitted to the presence of the king, after a short silence, said, "I come here by order of your majesty." The king immediately told him, that he wanted to speak with the marshal himself, that they might come to a clear understanding respecting the additional article of

the armistice of Skatklow, and declared his unalterable resolution to recognize only the first armistice.—The conversation, after this, turned on the general situation of affairs in France; the allegiance due by the French to their legitimate king; the virtues and talents of that prince; and, in a word, the principal topics that are usually insisted on by the French loyalists. The king also brought under the marshal's consideration the instability of the present violent order of affairs in France; spoke of the king's proclamation, in which he promised to all the officers who should return to their duty, the continuance of their rank, and plainly attempted to shake his adherence to Bonaparte, and draw him over to the cause of Louis XVIII. his legitimate sovereign. In this conference, the king displayed extensive information and promptitude of understanding, as well as the sublimest sentiments of virtue and religion. The French general, though precluded by his situation from any display of honor, virtue, or religion, sustained the part he had to act, uniting firmness in his own cause, and quick recollection and good sense, with all due respect for the person of his Swedish majesty.

From the first day of the king's arrival at Stralsund, he had been indefatigable in his exertions for improving the fortifications of Stralsund, and for the erection of new works on the island of Rugen. His army at Stralsund consisted of about 13,000 Swedes and 4,000 Prussians, and he was in expectation of being soon joined by a large force from England.

Even after the peace of Tilsit, this heroic prince, too much, alas! in the spirit of Charles XII. of Sweden at Bender, issued from the fortress at Stralsund the following address to the German nation: "German soldiers! A German prince still speaks to you, who has never forgot what is due to honor and duty. Still his voice assails you, to remind you that ye are a nation destined to honor and independence; not to infamy and oppression. Your princes have forgotten the loyalty of their ancestors. They have forgotten that Germany is but one state, and the Germans but one nation. They have exposed you to the most infamous destiny; to promote the abhorred principles and designs of the Corsican Napoleon Bonaparte. Shake off, then, in God's name, the ignominious bondage. Never can a more favorable opportunity occur to turn your arms against the oppressors of your unhappy country. From the ramparts of Stralsund, the only independent burg remaining in Germany, and which has bid defiance to time, thousands will descend and unite with you for your deliverance."

At Putt, a town of Anterior Pomerania, eight miles SSW. from Stralsund, the Swedes were attacked in their entrenchments by a corps of the

BOOK VII. grand army of observation, under Marshal Brune. The Swedes, though bearing no proportion to the number of the assailants, made an obstinate, and, to the enemy, a destructive resistance. The loss of the French, or rather of their German and Dutch allies, was computed at 2,400 in killed and wounded; that of the Swedes at 1,500. A regiment of Hollanders was cut in pieces; one of Bavarians destroyed by a masqued battery. The Swedes, however, were driven under the walls of Stralsund; from whence they made frequent and vigorous sallies. They performed prodigies of valour: but these availed not against the army under Le Brune, composed of different nations to the amount of 70,000 men. The Swedish army found itself reduced to the necessity of evacuating Stralsund, which it did on the 19th of August, after destroying their magazines, spiking their cannon, and smashing their carriages, and throwing them into the ditches.

In the evacuation of Stralsund, his Swedish majesty shewed a good deal of finesse. The king being sensible of the impossibility of drawing any more troops, consistently with the safety of the kingdom, from Sweden, and of the necessity there was of strengthening the defence of Rugen, sent his adjutant-general, Baron Vegesack, chief in command at Stralsund, to the senate and deacons of the corporations of Burghers, to ask them if they were determined to stand a siege; in which case they might depend on all the assistance and protection to be expected from the valor of Swedish troops: or if, in order to avoid the calamities of a siege, they were inclined, agreeably to a former petition of theirs to the king, to treat with the enemy for peace? They humbly thanked his majesty for his gracious message; and, of the two options they had given to them, preferred the latter: in consequence of which, the fortress of Stralsund was on the same

day committed to their care, and measures were immediately taken for conveying the troops and stores to Rugen; which was effected in the night of the 19th and 20th of August. On the 20th, at three o'clock in the morning, the king leaving Stralsund, went to Altafer, to give all necessary orders respecting the operations going forward; and remained there during the passage of the troops. That the measure adopted by the Swedes might not be suspected by the enemy, an aid-de-camp, by orders of the king, presenting himself at the out-posts of the French, announced, that at any hour that should be appointed, a Swedish officer, General Peyron, would attend General Brune with some proposals relating to the fortress of Stralsund, and that, in the mean time, there should be a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours. The aid-de-camp was received by General Reille, and it was agreed on that Marshal Brune should see General Peyron at six o'clock in the evening. At that hour, deputies from the senate of Stralsund arrived at the French out-posts, and in a little time thereafter General Peyron, who had it in charge to declare, in the name of his master the King of Sweden, that as the fortress of Stralsund had been wholly given up to the management of the senate, the king had nothing to do with any military arrangements respecting it; and that he appeared, on the part of his master, only to see that the terms of capitulation should be just and reasonable. Early on the 20th, all the troops and stores were safely landed on the island of Rugen, where 8,000 Germans, in British pay, had arrived some weeks before, under the command of Lord Cathcart, but were by this time employed in another part of the Baltic. The small Swedish army capitulated early in September, and all the islands on the German coast of the Baltic were included in the capitulation.

CHAPTER IX.

Revolution at Constantinople.—Fruitless Expedition to the Dardanelles.—Capture, and subsequent Evacuation by the English, of Alexandria.—Unauthorised Expedition against Buenos Ayres.—State of Europe after the Peace of Tilsit.—Decrees of Bonaparte against the Commerce of England.—British Orders of Council.—Misunderstanding with the United States.—Character and Policy of General Christophe, Chief in St. Domingo.—Capture of Curaçoa.—Transactions in the East Indies.

THE designs of Russia on Constantinople have been already intimated in a preceding chapter. During her struggle with France, her attack on Turkey was so well-timed, that a revolution sud-

denly happened at Constantinople, by means of which Mustapha IV. was placed on the throne. The French attributed this to the influence of British gold, but it is much more probable that

it was occasioned by the resentment of the Janissaries, on account of some late innovations made by the government, supposed to be favorable to the Christians. Like his predecessor, the new Turkish monarch fell into the influence of France, which naturally resulted from the hostility of Russia, notwithstanding the Russians declared that it was only their wish to rescue the Ottoman empire from the hands of Bonaparte.

Early in this year, a British fleet was sent out under the command of Sir John Duckworth, consisting of seven sail of the line, two of them three-deckers, besides frigates and gun-boats. This was occasioned by the representation of Mr. Arbuthnot to the British government of the state of affairs, as well as by the advice of the Russian minister at St. Petersburg, and was intended to give weight to the negociation of Britain and Russia with the Ottoman Porte, for the purpose of concluding a peace. The British fleet cast anchor at the Isle of Tenedos about the middle of February, being joined by a British frigate from the harbour of Constantinople, in which Mr. Arbuthnot made his escape, from the dread of personal violence. The English fleet passed the Dardanelles (the Bosphorus Thracius of antiquity) on the 19th, and made no return to the fire of the Turks, as a token of forbearance. But while passing the narrow strait between Sestos and Abydos, they were under the necessity of answering a very heavy cannonade, which was opened on them from the inner castles. Sir Sidney Smith destroyed a small Turkish squadron, and the marines spiked the cannon of a formidable battery.

A fruitless negociation commenced after this, which continued for several days, during which time the Turks constructed very formidable batteries along the shore. From the highest to the lowest orders, the people of Constantinople were employed in this work, which they carried on with unbounded enthusiasm, mounting 600 pieces of artillery on batteries and breast-works. These were managed by French engineers, whom, at the commencement of hostilities with Russia, the sultan had procured from Dalmatia. The British admiral and ambassador offered, in the mean time, to withdraw beyond the Dardanelles, would the Porte deliver up its fleet and naval stores, although the amity of Britain and Russia should be declined; but should this be refused, they threatened to bombard the Turkish metropolis.

However, during the whole of the negociation, the British had it not in their power to put this threatening in execution, as they could not, through stress of weather, maintain a station sufficiently near for bombarding it. Had the Turks been allowed another week to complete their batteries, it is even doubtful whether the British

squadron would ever have returned home. From this perilous condition the admiral was glad to get away, instead of attempting to assault a city defended by 200,000 enemies, whose destruction, had it been even possible, would have been an extremely unprofitable act of vengeance. He weighed anchor to repass the Dardanelles on the 1st of March, which was not accomplished without loss and danger. Bullets and prodigious blocks of marble, one of which, weighing full seven hundred weight, cut the mainmast of the Windsor Castle man-of-war in two, and the ship herself was with difficulty saved. The loss in men, sustained by the British admiral, amounted to 250.

General Fox dispatched a force of 5,000 men from Messina, under General M'Kenzie, to take possession of Alexandria, which was accomplished with little difficulty or bloodshed on the part of the British; but unhappily, from a groundless dread of scarcity in the captured place, an attempt was likewise made to take Rosetta, and from the failure of expected assistance from the Mamelukes, as well as from the orders of the commander-in-chief being intercepted, which were sent to the storming party, a large force of the British were surrounded and cut off, in which affair about 1,000 men were killed, wounded, or lost. The commanding officers at Alexandria being now menaced with expulsion by the disaffection of the inhabitants, and with repeated attacks from the enemy, pouring down troops from Cairo, gave up all idea of defending the place, and agreed to the evacuation of Egypt, on condition that the Turks would restore the prisoners who had been taken at Rosetta. These terms being obtained, the British troops returned to Sicily.

The result of Sir Home Popham's unauthorised expedition to Buenos Ayres had left the remainder of the British troops in that quarter, at the close of 1806, in possession of nothing more than the solitary post of Maldonado. Not resembling the conduct of the ministry that succeeded them in respect of Alexandria, though the ministry of Lord Grenville did not approve of the expedition, they were unwilling that the glory of the nation should be tarnished, by being obliged to relinquish a conquest once made.

When the ministers received information of the recapture of Buenos Ayres, they ordered General Craufurd, who had been sent on an expedition to Chili, to give up that enterprize, and repair to the Rio de la Plata, after which the whole British force in the Plata amounted to 9,500 men. It was truly an unfortunate circumstance, that ministers sent out orders to General Whitlocke to take the chief command; and he proceeded to attack the city of Buenos Ayres, with 8,000 of these troops, some of them unquestionably the finest brigades in the service of Great Britain.

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Though provided with artillery, he marched the troops with unloaded arms, and iron crow's to force their way into the town, and burst open the houses with these porter-like weapons. Some of the British troops forced their way into the town, by their characteristic gallantry, but many of them were overpowered by irresistible numbers. Alarmed at the loss of 3,000 men, who fell as a sacrifice to this mad and desperate measure, he negotiated with the enemy for the restoration of the prisoners, and having agreed to withdraw his army from the river Plata, he returned to Britain, and was condemned to be dismissed from his majesty's service.

After the battle of Friedland and peace of Tilsit, all the continent of Europe lay prostrate before Bonaparte. But the island of Great Britain, mistress of the seas, still defied his power, and threatened to harass his extended coasts with never-ceasing aggression, which she seemed still able to continue by means of the resources opened by her vast commerce. Sweden and Portugal were willing, but not able, to maintain their independence: and Denmark was, above all things, desirous of avoiding the evils of war, either with France or England, by a strict and rigid observance of that neutrality which had hitherto protected her. But, the open country of Holstein opposed no barriers for its own defence and that of Jutland, while its richness and fertility both invited and facilitated the entrance of that army which had hovered long on its frontier.—It was against the commerce of England alone, that Bonaparte had now to make war: and as he could not do this at sea, his fleets having been almost annihilated, he conceived the extravagant, and almost frantic design of doing it at land, by shutting it out, not only from the ports of France, Italy, and Holland, but from all the ports of Europe.

The idea of opposing power at land to power at sea, and undermining the naval greatness of England, by excluding her trade from the great inlets of Europe, occurred to the Directory in 1796. In various publications issued by authority, the advantages to be expected from such a system were represented in glowing colours. But the impression they produced was very feeble.

By a decree dated at Hamburgh, 11th of November, 1807, and another at Milan, 27th of December, declaring the whole island of Great Britain to be in a state of blockade, Bonaparte prohibited and compelled all the other continental powers, even Portugal for a time not excepted, to prohibit commerce with any of the dominions of his Britannic majesty. No nation was allowed to trade with any other country, in any articles of the growth, produce, or manufactures of any of the British dominions, all of which, as well as the island of Great Britain itself, were declared to be in a state of blockade. He appointed commercial

residents in every trading country; and no ship was to be admitted into any of his ports without a *certification of origin*, that is, of the nature of the goods they carried, and that no part of these was English. The wants of men, not the less importunate that they were luxurious or artificial, having opened back-doors to various English articles, both manufactures and colonial produce, he enforced the execution of his decrees against English commerce, by means of new regulations, with greater and greater rigor.

In consequence of these decrees, the English commerce, during the months of August, September, and October, 1807, that part of the year in which the Berlin decree of November, 1806, was carried into full effect, was not only greatly cramped, but lay prostrated on the ground, and motionless, before a protecting and self-defensive system was interposed by the British orders in council. An order of council, January 7th, 1807, containing a measure of mild retaliation, had been evaded, and turned to the advantage of the enemy, in carrying on a circuitous trade to this country. Therefore new orders of council were issued on the 11th, and 21st of November, allowing neutrals to trade with countries not at peace and amity with Great Britain, on the condition of their touching at the ports of this country, and paying the customs or taxes imposed by the British government. The neutrals were thus placed between confiscation and confiscation. If they went to an enemy's port without first paying duty in England, they were to be captured by the British cruisers: and if they came to England and paid the duty, then they would be confiscated if they went to the ports of the enemy. The options were both of them hard. The American government prohibited, as far as their authority could have effect, the subjects of the United States from taking either.—The French certificates of origin were devised to prevent British colonial produce from finding a market. Now, however, under the operation of these orders, the whole of the colonial produce, French as well as English, being brought to this country, would be so mixed that it would be impossible for the enemy to distinguish the one from the other, and the produce of Great Britain could no longer be undersold. This was the general spirit or object of the orders of council. It was a kind of compromise between belligerent rights and commercial interests. It was a system that ran into great complexity; order upon order, in explanation, was issued respecting various cases. And on the whole, immediately after the orders of council were issued, trade began again to lift up its head, and to flourish: not perhaps so greatly as at its best former period; for the injurious and violent system of the enemy, though counteracted by the orders of council, could not be wholly fruitless. Mr. Stephen, in the house of

commons, observed: "Our commerce had been in a state of suspended animation; and to complain now, because it was not as flourishing as in its best former period, was just as reasonable as if a man, rescued from drowning, when his vital functions were suspended, should find fault with his deliverer next day, because he found himself weak and languid, or not so full of life and vigour as before he fell into the river."

A treaty of amity had been made by Lord Grenville, with America, on the 31st of December, 1806: but it was not ratified by the president of the congress. For an unauthorised act of force, committed against an American ship of war, spontaneous reparation had been made by Great Britain. But with this particular case, the American government attempted to connect the general question, respecting the right of searching for British seamen, and deserters; to abandon which, was considered by the British government as inconsistent with the maritime rights of Britain.

To balance, in some measure, the discouragements arising to commerce, from the misunderstanding with the United States, which was every day growing worse, a commercial and friendly intercourse was established between Great Britain and General Christophe, who, having defeated and destroyed the Emperor Dessalines, governed a great part of the island of St. Domingo, under the more modest title of the President of Hayti. He had been long opposed in arms by Petion, at the head of the Mulattoes. But in the decisive campaign of 1807, the Mulattoe party were broken and dispersed, and Christophe remained, though not without a competitor for the supreme power, yet without any formidable rival.

Christophe (who was born in St. Domingo, but of African parents) appears to have possessed, in a very eminent degree, the virtues of humanity, and a regard to the true interests of his country, as well as good sense, and military skill and courage. He declared it to be the great object of his government, to repair the havock and devastation of Hayti, by the establishment of just laws, social order, freedom of trade, and, above all, a commercial and friendly alliance with the only people that had stood forth in support of regular government and law, in so many countries subverted, and every where shaken. He had great confidence, and a predilection, for the personal character of the English. He spared the lives of the crowds of prisoners that had fallen into his hands, took great care of the sick and wounded, and assured all men, peaceably disposed, of his protection. This was his ultimate view, even when their mistaken conduct had reduced him to the necessity of opposing it by force of arms. "The friend of humanity," said he in his proclamations, "the man who loves his country, and is

submissive to the laws, demands to know what purpose the rebel Petion meant to serve, by exposing to massacre the miserable tools of his ambition. What would have been the destiny of those miserable people whom the fate of war had placed under the power of the president, if his clemency had not spared even those who had pointed their weapons against his person? Why should that CANNIBAL Petion shed such deluges of blood, if it was not on a plan of destruction, conceived on purpose to diminish the population of Hayti? A plan in perfect unison with the projects of their implacable enemies, a plan favored by a faction that had never made any account of the blood that was spilt, when it was to be subservient to the ambitious views of the commander."

Christophe, with the assistance of other men of enlarged views, had been employed for some time in the formation of a new *constitution* for Hayti; which was proclaimed on the 17th of February, 1807, the fourth year of independence. It was founded on a moral and religious basis; it breathed a spirit of moderation, justice, political wisdom, and enlarged views of the true interests of Hayti, in its foreign and in its internal relations, or concerns. Slavery was for ever abolished in Hayti. Every man was to find a sacred asylum in his own house: his person and property were secure, under the safeguard of the law. Assassination was punished with death. The first magistrate was invested with the title and quality of *president and generalissimo of the forces of Hayti, at land and sea*, and he was to appoint his successor out of the number of his general officers. The whole of the articles or clauses of the fundamental laws, or constitution of Hayti, fifty-one in number, were reduced under ten heads.—I. The condition of the citizens.—II. Government.—III. Council of state.—IV. Superintendent of the finances.—V. Secretary of state.—VI. Tribunals.—VII. Religion.—VIII. Public education.—IX. No attempts to be made on the neighbouring colonies.—X. General regulations, relating to service in the national militia; security of the persons and properties of foreign traders resorting to Hayti; uniformity of weights and measures in Hayti; marriage, and a rigorous prohibition of divorce; the heritage of children; agriculture, the first, the noblest, and the most useful of all the arts; public festivals for celebrating the national independence, and in honor of the president and his spouse.

The proclamation of the constitution was followed by an address from Henry Christophe, president and generalissimo of the forces, at sea and land, of Hayti, to the army and people. "The light comes to shine among us, and a beneficent constitution has foiled the intrigues and plots that had consigned you to destruction. At length a

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wise code of laws, consonant with our manners, our climate, our usages, springs as it were out of chaos, to make yet one effort more for fixing the destinies of Hayti.—You have all of you been witnesses, O my fellow-citizens! of the purity of my views, and the sincerity of my intentions. But have not abandoned wretches abused even that sincerity, in fomenting revolt, and kindling the flames of a civil war? Their machinations, however, could not intimidate me, nor divert me for a moment from pursuing, with steady aim, the good of our land. I have never ceased, night or day, to employ myself in devising means for the safety of our native country. What have I not done for the accomplishment of this object? What have I not suffered, in order to frustrate the secret intrigues and plots of faction?

“I have always been in the midst of you, and you can declare, if ever I have suffered views of ambition to influence my conduct, or tarnish my honor. Raised now to the possession of power, by the will of my fellow-citizens, and my brethren in arms, I have been obedient to their call; I have accepted the heavy as well as honorable load of duty, because it was their pleasure to commit it into my hands, and because by doing so, I might once more be of service to our country: happy if my efforts shall be crowned with success, and procure the felicity of my fellow-citizens!

“But for the attainment of this end, my efforts alone are not sufficient. Obedience to the laws is farther necessary, and a conformity with that constitution which has just been presented to you. Your rights, in this, have been religiously maintained. Every individual citizen will find there the safe-guard of his person, his property, and his family.

“The fatal consequences of the wars we have sustained; and, still more, the immoral example of the French had thrown religion into a state of languor, dejection, and depression. Morality was despised, and the corrupted youth abandoned themselves to all the licentiousness of which human nature is so prone at their time of life. Public education was vilified, and committed to the charge of mere mercenaries. It was necessary to restore religion to dignity, respect, veneration, and attachment; to elevate morality to honor, to impress on the minds of the rising generation the sacred principles of good morals, and of honor; and to convince the people that without morality and religion, human society cannot exist.

“Your interests are also guarded by tribunals: whose decisions will be dictated by equity and justice. It is, above all, by probity and good faith that it remains for the people of Hayti to make themselves known, and to be distinguished

in the world. As they are, from their local situation, and the peculiar nature of their manufactures, essentially a commercial people, it is their business, by equity, fair dealing, and good faith, as well as by the produce of the country, to draw to their territory merchants from all parts of the world. Commerce being to us the source of all kinds of riches, strangers who come to seek their fortunes in our ports, must receive the same protection we enjoy ourselves, and be treated with that hospitality they well deserve. To feed commerce, and raise it to a state of the highest activity; after restoring the dignity, and veneration due to religion, purified morality, re-established good morals, and encouraged agriculture and commerce, great exertions remain still to be made. It is not permitted to us to neglect the use of arms. The enemy watches our motions, and keeps an eye on our proceedings. The affections of our friends are yet without any guarantee. Treaties of alliance must connect us with the latter. With arms in our hands, we must always be ready to fight the former.—The politics of foreign nations, in regard to us, has not yet been openly displayed. Whatever it may be, let us place ourselves, without however assuming any bravadoing airs of defiance, in such a position as that we may have nothing to fear from hostile intentions. The states that may be desirous of forming political relations with us, or to enjoy the advantage of our commerce, will find us disposed to meet them half way, on principles of a fair reciprocity. To enemies we hold out nothing but battles and death.

“In the midst of all these subjects of attention, let us never forget that the only guarantee of liberty is arms. Though a part of our fellow-citizens be necessarily called to the occupations of agriculture, we ought never to forget that we are all soldiers, and that warlike nations alone have been able to preserve their liberties. Let us bear in mind, how a handful of Greeks confounded the rage of a million of Barbarians, who had come to subdue them to slavery. Let us swear to imitate their example; let us swear to observe ourselves, and make others observe, our sacred constitution, and rather to die than to suffer that, ever, in the smallest instance, to be violated.”—Given at head-quarters, at the Cape, 17th of February, 1807, fourth year of independence.

The character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, another native, who, after a short but brilliant career, fell into the hands of the French, as recorded in the eighth chapter of our fifth book, affords a strong parallel to the patriotism, talents, and virtues of Christophe, the whole of whose code displayed considerable moderation, fortitude, and wisdom. The tenth head, guaranteeing the neighbouring colonies, was a masterly stroke of

policy. "The government of Hayti declares to the powers possessing colonies in the neighbourhood, never to interfere in the government of those countries. The people of Hayti make no conquests beyond their own isle, and content themselves with the conservation of their own territory."

A number of turbulent persons in the southern part of Hayti had formed designs of revolt and revolution in Jamaica, and had sent emissaries there for that purpose. But General Christophe, who had been informed of the plot, and who were the principal individuals concerned in it, immediately denounced them, and they were arrested.—It was impossible for the British government to be otherwise than on good terms with such a neighbour. An order of council was issued at the court of St. James's, February 1807, authorizing all British merchant-men bound for Buenos Ayres, and La Plata, to proceed to any port in the island of St. Domingo, not under the power of France or Spain, there to dispose of their cargoes, to take the produce of the country in return, and either to bring such cargoes directly to any port of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or to ship them on-board neutral vessels, to be sold at any of the colonies of the enemy: the owners of the cargoes to return with the proceeds of such adventures on-board the neutral vessels to any of the ports of the United Kingdom.—This measure was certainly wisely calculated both for encouraging the trade of Hayti, and of Great Britain and Ireland.

Another event, fortunate for the British commerce, happened on the 1st of January, 1807. The island of Curaçoa was taken by a squadron of British frigates, commanded by Captain Brisbane, under the orders of Vice-admiral Dacres, with the loss of only three men killed, and fourteen wounded. Yet the harbour was defended by regular fortifications, of two tiers of guns; Fort Amsterdam alone mounted sixty-six pieces of cannon. The entrance was only fifty yards wide, and across it were moored two frigates, and two large schooners of war. A chain of forts on the commanding heights of Misleburg, and Fort Republique, deemed nearly impregnable, was within distance of grape-shot, and enfiladed the whole harbour. Soon after day-break, the British frigates made all possible sail in close order of battle. The vessels appointed to intercept their entrance, were taken by boarding; the lower forts, the citadel, and town of Amsterdam, by storm. The port was entered at a quarter after six in the morning. Before ten a capitulation was signed. The British flag was hoisted on Fort La Republique, and the inhabitants of the town, to the number of 30,000, swore allegiance to the British government.

Affairs in the East Indies were also prosperous,

though symptoms appeared of a lurking spirit of discontent, alarm, and daring enterprise, bred by the late horrors at Vellore, the unfortunate and frivolous causes in which they originated, and the repulse of the British arms, after two most desperate attempts on the strong, and it would appear almost impregnable fortress of Burt-pore. The pitiful alterations that had been so childishly introduced into the military dress of the Sepoys, were given up immediately after the insurrection and massacre at Vellore, in July 1806. But for several months after, a spirit of alarm, restlessness, and commotion, was discerned among different corps of native troops: nor did this immediately or fully subside, even after the judicious proclamation of the government of Madras.

A chief, named Dundie Khan, had received a tract of land in addition to that which he held of the company, for his neutrality during the war with Holkar and Scindiah. This man being called on to pay his tribute, said he was not then able to do it; alleging in excuse, that his ryots (tenants) had not brought into his treasury money sufficient to pay the demand. He was treated gently: but this year a complaint was again made against Dundie Khan to the judge and magistrate of the district, who sent him a subpoena, commanding his attendance in the court, by a hircarah, who is a messenger of the lowest class. This indignity was so offensive to Dundie's pride, that he ordered the man's head to be cut off. For this atrocious act of contumacy, he was again summoned before the civil tribunal, and again refused to make his appearance: whereupon a military force was called out, under the command of Major-general Dickens, and encamped before Comona, his principal fort. But, instead of attacking it immediately, as the general advised, the government procrastinated the siege, and allowed him one month to deliver himself up. During the interval, he employed himself in widening his ditch, strengthening his wall, and making every other preparation he could think of for a determined and resolute resistance. At the expiration of the month, he sent word that he would deliver up both himself and the fort to the general, provided he was assured that his life was safe: but he would never consent to appear before a judge; as his government was not subject to the civil jurisprudence of Great Britain.

In consequence of orders from the governor-general the place was invested. Tranches were dug, batteries erected, and a breach that had been made, reported to be practicable. On the 18th of November, about three o'clock, P. M. five companies of his majesty's 17th regiment of infantry, the same regiment that had been so severely handled in the mad attack on the fortress of Burt-pore, with some companies of sepoy, went down to the breach. At the same time, an attack was,

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made on a fortified garden, to the right of the fort; which was repelled with great slaughter on the side of the storming party. When the English descended the head of the glacis, they saw a ditch twenty-eight feet deep and forty-four broad; but found numberless obstacles in the way of their ascending to the breach, for, at the bottom of the ditch, the enemy had dug pits, which they had filled with powder: and on these, they threw lighted choppers; coverings for huts made of dry wood and straw, and cemented with pitch; by which numbers were blown up. Exposed to this furnace, while bastions, still entire, completely enfiladed the whole of the storming party, the troops remained for two hours, leaving nothing untried that the most determined bravery could suggest for getting into the fort, without effect. They were, at last, called off from this murderous scene, not without difficulty. Next

night the enemy evacuated the fortress of Comona, and proceeded to that of Ghurnowrie. The loss of the British at Comona was 35 officers, killed and wounded, and 700 men, of whom 147 were Europeans.

On the 24th of November, regular approaches began to be made to Ghurnowrie; and when these were sufficiently advanced, shells were thrown, which annoyed the troops of Dundie Khan, who had no garden to retreat to as at Comona, so much, that, about seven in the evening of the 10th of December, they abandoned the fort, and escaped across the Jumna. This attempt to take the fort of Comona, without either filling up or partly filling up the ditch, or destroying the bastions, seemed to exceed, in absurdity, and a wanton disregard to the lives of men, the attempt to reduce Buenos Ayres with iron crow's and bayonets.

CHAPTER X.

Extension of Hostilities.—War with Denmark.—Attempt to preserve Peace between Great Britain and Denmark by Negotiation.—Expedition under the Command of Lord Cathcart and Admiral Gambier.—Its Progress and Result.—Projected Partition of Europe.—Bonaparte's Measures for carrying his Design into Execution.—His Chicanery.—Journey to Italy, and Invasion of Portugal,

In contemplating the events of this year, the mind must be forcibly impressed by the very calamitous extension of the war in which Great Britain had, so many years, been almost uninterruptedly engaged. Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, Prussia and Denmark, were now added to the already-formidable host of England's enemies; and it is worthy of observation, with what indifference so large an accession of hostile agency was received by the British public, as well as by the governments into whose hands the management of the war was thrown.

The rupture with the four first of these powers was not, indeed, passed over without discussion or animadversion in the British public, or in the British senate. The circumstance attending, particularly the commencement of the war with Turkey, necessarily occasioned long and animated debates. Still, however, it is true, that the excitement of the national sensibility was chiefly reserved for the Danish war: a circumstance highly creditable to the national feelings and character, as it must be recollected, that Denmark was, with one exception, the weakest of the new adversaries, and that it was from hostilities against her only, that Great Britain derived those advan-

tages by which she succeeded in counteracting the designs of the more powerful of them.

The war with Denmark, and the military and naval measures by which it was commenced, offering the first grand feature of active and successful warfare that occurred in this year, as well as the first specimen of the politics of the new administration, it is the historian's duty to present this subject to his readers in one connected view; in order to which he must take a short retrospect of preceding events.

In the course of the negotiations which, from the unfortunate peace of Presburg, and the still more lamentable policy of the Prussian cabinet, terminated in the conclusion of the treaties of Vienna and Paris, between Prussia and France, repeated intimations were given by Bonaparte, when he found that the tide of fortune continued to run in his favor, that one of the first and principal uses he should make of his success, would be to cut off those channels of communication which Great Britain still preserved with the continent. As the concurrence, and even the co-operation of Prussia was necessary for this purpose, to her were these intimations first addressed. By a most unaccountable infatuation, and in-

veiled by motives which it were charity not to characterize, she was not long in acceding to those fatal measures which, ere many months elapsed, proved the cause of her own downfall. She took forcible possession of the king's German dominions, and excluded the British flag from her own ports, and from others to which her power or influence extended.

Previous, however, to the court of Berlin proceeding to this extremity, it was not consistent with Bonaparte's policy that his intentions on the subject should remain secret. It was, on the contrary, very generally rumoured, and as generally credited by the best-informed persons in the north of Europe, that the French ruler would proceed to the immediate execution of this long-threatened measure. He was, at the time, sure of Prussia: Denmark offered yet a feeble obstacle to his wishes; it was to overawe her that he next turned his attention. To engage her by fair or foul means to shut the ports of her German provinces, and to attempt to obstruct the commerce of England in its passage through the Sound, was the next step in his restless career. This was announced in no unintelligible terms, by the many official and unofficial agents which his active diplomacy employed in every court of Europe: the public newspapers were sometimes made the expounders of his will upon these topics.

The court of Denmark could not be the last informed of what was passing; her own interests, and the desire of Bonaparte that she should, at once, learn his determination, and the success he had met with in binding Prussia to it, speedily put her in possession of what she was to expect. She took the alarm. In hopes, perhaps, of obtaining some consolatory information, or in the still more delusive expectation of deriving some assistance by which to avert the impending storm, Count Bernstorff, the Danish minister for foreign affairs, undertook a journey to Berlin. That court, divided as it had been, for some months, between the honest but feeble endeavors of one minister, and the infamous intrigues of another, to regulate its concerns according to their respective views, had not yet thrown itself into the gulph from which it was never to arise. Its final and official consent to Bonaparte's proposal had not been given. He, indeed, knew what he had to depend upon; but the well-intentioned part of the Prussian ministry was still in hopes of preserving their own and their country's honor. To these men, Count Bernstorff directed his attention—on them his hopes rested; and as they did not despair of maintaining their own independence, they allowed him to believe, that they would assist in the support of that of Denmark. He accordingly did not hesitate to assert, that Denmark would resist any attempt upon her independence, from whatever quarter it came. At

that time, possibly, he believed it, and the events of the summer of the preceding year rather tended to confirm him in this belief.

The battle of Jena, however, and its immediate consequences, dissipated the delusion. Then Bonaparte became the absolute disposer of all the north and north-east of Germany: he placed garrisons in the Hans-towns; he violated the neutrality of the Danish territory, assumed, for the winter, a position so bordering upon it, held himself, and by his agents, such language, and authorized acts of such magnitude, that there could no longer remain, in the mind of any unprejudiced man, a doubt as to his future intentions. The first of these portentous acts was issued as soon as the suspension of military operations allowed a moment's repose. It was his decree of the 21st of November, declaring the British isles to be in a state of blockade, and rendering the circumstance of this pretended blockade, being violated by any neutral vessel, a ground of legal capture against such vessel.

This was a virtual declaration of hostility against every neutral power that was in habits of commercial intercourse with Great Britain.

When the British flag and commerce had been excluded from the Elbe and the Weser, and those rivers were, in consequence, blockaded by British squadrons, although little was said of the violation of all right, justice, and public law, by which this blockade was occasioned, yet the English government was incessantly harassed with complaints and remonstrances. Prussia, the power principally concerned, and which suffered the most from England's measures, acknowledged the justice of them nevertheless, Great Britain was importuned from day to day, for the interests of Gluckstadt and Altona, and called upon to give up a great measure of national policy for the benefit of the Danish herring-fishery. The consequence of these importunities was, the allowing of such modification in the exercise of the right of blockade as entitled England to the gratitude of Denmark. But this produced only an increase of angry and captious remonstrance. What had been conceded was taken only as a ground for asking more, and for aggravating the pretended injustice of withholding any thing. This also was the case in respect to the very mitigated measure of retaliation adopted by Great Britain, in consequence of the decree of the 21st of November. There, too, all the injustice was on her side. Remonstrances, in a tone little suited to the relative power of Great Britain and Denmark, were addressed by the Danish *chargé d'affaires* in London, to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, against his majesty's order in council of the 7th of January. They were answered by that minister with all the strength which the justice of his cause afforded him, with all the dignity which

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Although Denmark was the organ through which these remonstrances reached the British court, they doubtless originated in French councils, and they were recommended, by France, as a means of forcing England to recede from her public measures, or of embarrassing her in the execution of them. Other steps, soon after taken by Denmark, demonstrated, beyond all possibility of doubt, the existence of such an influence. The official documents of the Danish government on the foregoing subject, had not been long received, when others were presented, upon a topic, the very discussion of which would appear to be incompatible with the continuance of a friendly intercourse between the two countries. The epistolary correspondence still carried on between Great Britain and Denmark, as between countries at peace, and between the former and other continental states, had long been an object of jealousy and dissatisfaction to Bonaparte. The British packet-boats still arrived at Tonningen, delivered there the London mails for Denmark, and for other parts of Europe; and English messengers were sent as far, and as often as was thought requisite, in the same directions.

Although the French *bureau d'espionage* might have occasionally benefited by this intercourse, yet the desire of cutting off all Great Britain's communication with the continent was thought to overbalance this advantage; and Denmark was instructed to propose, that English packet-boats should no longer resort to the ports of Holstein or Sleswig; and that England should, by acquiescing in their exclusion, have the appearance of enabling Denmark to concede a point to Bonaparte, at which he was so much disposed to take umbrage. This was, at first, brought forward as a plan of amicable arrangement, by which Great Britain could, without injury or inconvenience to herself, disembarass Denmark from the importunities and threats of the French government. The proposal was afterwards maintained with more or less animation, according as hopes were entertained of the British government acceding to it: it was, however, rejected by that government; and served only to shew the obsequiousness with which, in every even the minutest particular, the court of Denmark was disposed to further the designs of France. There were, however, other co-existing indications of the malignity of those designs towards Denmark herself; and the sort of infatuation with which they, as well as every other means of intimidation employed against her were overlooked, convicted her government, if not of being wilful accomplices in Bonaparte's nefarious practices, at least of such

weakness and submissiveness to his will, as must of necessity produce consequences equally pernicious to Denmark herself, and to the general welfare of Great Britain and her allies.

The manner in which the French decree of the 21st of November was notified to the Danish court, conveyed a sufficient notice of the light in which that decree was to be regarded, and of the authoritative style in which it was meant to be enforced. The French *chargé-d'affaires* at Copenhagen, not satisfied with the accustomed channels of official communication, repaired to Kiel, to make known his master's will to the prince-royal himself, or to his principal minister.

The town of Hamburgh, where this decree excited more apprehension than at Copenhagen and Kiel, thought it advisable to send a deputation of its senate to Bonaparte, in the faint and delusive hope of persuading him to withdraw a decree which must be fatal to the commerce, and consequently to the independent existence of their town. These deputies were coolly received at the French head-quarters, then established at Posen, in West Prussia. Their having dared even to think of altering the resolves of the autocrat, had excited, in no small degree, his displeasure, which was announced in gestures as well as expressions. Of granting their request he evidently did not entertain an idea; on the contrary, he availed himself of the occasion, as a fit one, to frighten all other powers from hazarding a similar intervention, and, in particular, he addressed a direct and most intelligible menace to the prince-royal of Denmark. It was, perhaps, difficult to speak to the deputies of the commercial intercourse of Hamburgh, without some allusion to the neighbouring towns of Altona and Gluckstadt, and to the commerce which Great Britain carried on in those as well as other parts of the Danish provinces. He, therefore, specifically mentioned the conduct of the prince-royal, and, in a tone of the most despotic arrogance, added—"Let that little prince take care of himself."

It is evident that the Corsican despot was not satisfied with the conduct of Denmark; he exacted still further submission to his will than she had yet testified, and nothing short of the absolute surrender of her independence would satiate that domineering ambition, of which Denmark was not the accomplice, but the victim.

The treachery and audacity of Bonaparte being obvious, the British government sent to sea a powerful military and naval armament, consisting of about 20,000 men, and a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, and vessels of all other descriptions, to the number of near ninety pendants. But such had been the secrecy attending these preparations, that the whole force was nearly ready for sea before the extent of it was known

to the public, and it had actually left the ports of England many days before its destination was even suspected. A division of the fleet, under the immediate direction of Commodore Keats, was detached to the Great Belt, with instructions to allow no military force whatever to enter Zealand. That enterprising and judicious officer led his line-of-battle-ships through a little known and intricate navigation, without the smallest accident, and stationed his whole squadron in such a manner, as that, by the vessels being within telegraph distance of each other, nothing could attempt to pass them without a certainty of interception. The communication was entirely cut off between Zealand, the adjacent isle of Funen, and the main land of Holstein, Sleswig, and Jutland. No troops from any of the latter could pass into Zealand, which was thus placed, as to any military succour, in a complete state of blockade—a most wise and humane precaution, calculated at once to ensure the success of the enterprise, and to render it as bloodless as possible, if it should be ultimately necessary to have recourse to arms. The British army accompanied the main body of the fleet to the Sound, where it was reinforced by the troops that had been for some time employed at Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, as auxiliaries to the King of Sweden. Lord Cathcart, who was with those troops, was appointed to the chief command of the whole land force. Admiral Gambier, one of the lords of the admiralty, commanded the fleet.

Hitherto the warlike preparations of the British government appear as the most prominent feature of this undertaking. Much of its success was indeed expected to be derived from them; but it was, at the same time, understood, that with the exception of the above-mentioned eventual and precautionary order, to obstruct the passage of any troops across the Belt, the whole of the armament was to remain, in the first instance, inactive. No offensive operations were to be undertaken, until the result of a negociation was known, which was, at the same time, to be opened with the court of Denmark, in order to obtain, without hostility, and by an arrangement equally advantageous to both countries, the object which was considered of paramount importance to Great Britain.

To conduct this negociation, his majesty's ministers selected Mr. Jackson, who had, for several preceding years, resided at the court of Berlin, as envoy from Great Britain, and who was supposed to have become peculiarly well acquainted, in that and other high diplomatic situations, with the general politics of the north of Europe.

Upon the ground of Bonaparte's design to shut the ports of Holstein against the British flag,

and forcibly to employ the Danish navy against this country, Mr. Jackson was instructed to repair to the residence of the Prince-Royal of Denmark, and to enter into immediate and unreserved explanation with his royal highness respecting the views and sentiments of the British government. He was to use every argument in his power to induce the prince-regent to enter into these views and sentiments, as no less conducive to his royal highness's own interests and safety; and he was to endeavour, by every means, to establish, on terms of friendly accommodation, the measure which was to be the main object of his whole proceedings. This measure was the delivery of the Danish fleet into the possession of the British admiral, under the most solemn stipulation that it should be restored at the conclusion of the war between Great Britain and France.

Mr. Jackson was directed to urge, in proof of the necessity of taking this step, the belief which the conduct of the court of Denmark had created of her adherence to French, rather than to British interests. The tone assumed by her in the discussions relative to the French decree of blockade, and the reprisals of Great Britain, was to be particularly insisted upon as a sufficient motive of itself, for calling upon Denmark for an unequivocal declaration of her intentions, and for an infallible pledge of the execution of them, if not hostile to his majesty's interests. The recent events in the north of Europe rendered this indispensable, and left no option between exposing Denmark to great and immediate danger, and disarming France of the means on which she was known to rely for the formation of a grand maritime league against Great Britain. The removal of the Danish fleet was necessary, on account of the season of the year, which would soon impede naval operations in the Baltic, and give time and opportunity for the French troops being beforehand with the English in the arsenal of Copenhagen: for that reason, too, ordinary measures of precaution, such as might at other times, and under other circumstances, have been resorted to, were altogether insufficient. This demand, therefore, was to be steadily adhered to, and the British negotiator was directed, after having exhausted every endeavour to obtain the prince-royal's consent to it, as the foundation of a treaty of alliance and general co-operation between the two countries, to announce unequivocally to his royal highness the determination of the British court to enforce it by the operations of the powerful armament assembled in the Sound. In presenting this alternative, every possible stipulation was to be advanced, by which the present and future interests of the crown of Denmark were to be fostered by all the resources of the British em-

pire. Permanent alliance; guarantee, and even aggrandizement of their actual possession; every thing that the fleets and armies, and the treasury of England could afford, both for immediate support, and for future safety, was to be put at the prince-royal's disposal. Specific proposals were made to this effect; and whatever other conditions the Danish government might suggest, would, it was declared, be readily listened to, and, if possible, admitted on his majesty's part. If they feared the effects which an appearance of connivance at the views of England might produce in France, the former had an imposing force at hand, which would give to acquiescence an air of constraint, rather than of free-will, and the extent of the British armament was well calculated to put that construction upon it. In short, every possible stipulation, whether public or secret, that could be devised by either party, for the purpose of rendering the proposed measure acceptable to the feelings of Denmark, and propitious to her permanent interests, was to form a part of the agreement to be entered into upon this occasion: but, in the last resort, the prince-royal was to be informed, that if he failed to agree to them, the British commanders would forthwith proceed to hostilities.

Under these instructions, and with a charge to bring his negotiation to a speedy termination, Mr. Jackson left England on the 1st, and arrived at Kiel on the 6th, of August. The case was foreseen that impediments might be thrown in the way of his communication with the British mission at Copenhagen, and with the British commanders; and a period was therefore fixed, beyond which they were not to wait to hear from him, but were to suppose a constraint to have been put upon his person, and were to proceed in the execution of their instructions.

On reaching Holstein, Mr. Jackson found that a considerable degree of fermentation prevailed there, especially in the port of Tonnungen, on account of an order issued for the second time, under the sanction of the British minister, to the circle of Lower Saxony, enjoining the masters of all British vessels to quit that port, and to place themselves under the protection of the squadron blockading the Elbe. This order Mr. Thornton judged necessary, in consequence of the intelligence he had obtained, of its being the intention of the French General Bernadotte, at that time commanding the French troops in the neighbourhood of Hamburg, to proceed on a certain day to occupy the ports of Holstein and Sleswig. The Danish ministers not having received the same information, or not choosing to give credit to it, were highly offended at this step, which they termed precipitate and rash, and they furthermore asserted, that it did not

come within the limits of Mr. Thornton's functions.

It was under these untoward appearances, that, on the day after his arrival at Kiel, Mr. Jackson had to announce the purport of his instructions to Count Bernstorff, and to apply for an audience of the prince-royal, to whom he was directed to address his overture personally. It was understood, that the Danish minister exhibited much warmth of temper, and violence of expression, in the discussion; and that he inveighed, with unusual vehemence, against the general policy of England, which he described with the most unqualified terms of reprobation. —The prince, his master, on the contrary, remained calm and unruffled, during a long interview with the British minister, argued upon the proposals made to him with dignity, and in terms of strong, but decorous resistance, and finally declared his determination to reject them, and to adhere to the line of policy which he had hitherto pursued. It was then that Mr. Jackson had to execute the delicate and painful task of announcing the immoveable determination of his court to employ means of coercion.

The next day, he was informed by Count Bernstorff, that the prince had set out for Copenhagen, and that any proposals Mr. Jackson might have to make in the name of his court, would be sent there after him. Mr. Jackson deemed it, however, most conducive to the interests entrusted to him, whether with a view to the feeble hope he might still entertain of coming to a friendly accommodation, or to the more awful alternative of a rupture, to follow the prince to his capital, and to make, without the necessary interruption and delay of distant communications, a last effort to avert the calamities of war. He accordingly embarked in the bay of Kiel, with a prospect of reaching Copenhagen as soon as his royal highness; but a storm, and an extraordinary continuance of tempestuous weather, baffled this hope, and after a day and a half contending with contrary winds, he landed, and undertook the journey to Copenhagen, through the duchies.

A circumstance attending this journey is worthy of being recorded, as a proof that, in prosecuting the measures of rigour, and apparent harshness, which the interests of the country demanded, no opportunity was lost of shewing such acts of courtesy and conciliation as might induce a corresponding disposition in the minds of the Danish government. In the vessel in which Mr. Jackson crossed the Great Belt, were some twenty or thirty militia-men, going to join their regiments in Zealand. This vessel was boarded by boats from the British squadron, and at the same time another was stopped, in which were several officers belonging to the prince-royal's staff. The British naval officers were, conformably to their

instructions, about to send them all back to Funen, when Mr. Jackson interfered, and recommended that they should be allowed to proceed, because the officers were attached to the prince's person, and because it would be indecorous to commit any act of violence or hostility under the eyes of a minister, who was on his way to the seat of the Danish government, with the hope of accomplishing an amicable arrangement of existing differences.—They were accordingly allowed to pass.

In the afternoon of the 12th of August, Mr. Jackson reached Copenhagen; it was no doubt satisfactory to perceive that the secrecy with which the measures of his court had been hitherto pursued, and the vigilance of the squadron stationed in the Belt, had been so successful, that no progress whatever had been made in assembling an army in Zealand. The few militia-men that accompanied him, were the first that had come from without; some dozens were on the road from different parts of that island; a levy had been made in Copenhagen from amongst the populace: but without the walls of that city, and of Elsinour, there was not throughout the whole island a battalion of troops of any description. Not a gun was mounted on the ramparts of Copenhagen. Some fermentation prevailed amongst the inhabitants, occasioned by the prince-royal's sudden arrival there, the cause of which had not become generally or accurately known, although the appearance of the English men-of-war and transports in the Sound, and the secession of the French minister, and of others whose courts were dependent upon France, were thought to indicate that the pressure of the moment came from the side of England. The departure of Mr. Brook Taylor, who had been appointed to supersede Mr. Garlike, as resident minister at the Danish court, strengthened the belief that no friendly disposition existed on the part of England, and that little hope was left of the possibility of an accommodation, especially as it was known that he went off without notifying his intention to the minister for the foreign department, and consequently that no communication of a satisfactory nature could have taken place between them. The apprehensions therefore of the public, as to what was about to happen, were becoming gradually more and more general, when Mr. Jackson's appearance occasioned a momentary suspension of them, and renewed the hope that something might yet be done to avert the calamities which the operations of a large military and naval force could not fail to bring down upon a populous city. Accordingly, his proceedings were watched with the utmost anxiety, and every word that he was known, or supposed to have uttered, was noticed with eager-

ness by the crowd that soon surrounded the inn at which he had alighted.

Count Joachim Bernstorff, in the absence of his brother, who had not accompanied the prince-royal from Kiel, was charged, in the capacity of under-secretary, with the direction of the foreign department. To him the British negociator had been referred by the principal minister, and to him therefore he applied as soon as he reached the Danish capital, in order to renew his intercourse with the prince-royal, and to ascertain exactly what could be yet expected to result from his royal highness's determination. He was admitted without delay to an interview, and informed at the beginning of it, that the prince had stayed but a short time at Copenhagen, and was returned to Sleswig, whither he had directed all communications to be forwarded to him. The intention of the Danish government now became evident: their plan could only be to gain time, to amuse the British minister by an appearance of negotiation, the particulars of which, when he was at Kiel, were to be sent for decision to Copenhagen; and when he was at the latter place, to be returned back to Kiel. This sort of equivocating conduct, on the part of the Danish government, could not fail to be regarded as an unequivocal symptom of a studied disposition to avoid negotiation, and at the same time to prevent the British minister from forming that conclusion upon which the operations of the British forces were to be regulated. It therefore became necessary for him to state the case pointedly to Count Joachim, and to require an unequivocal answer, whether or not the prince-royal had left him any power and authority to negotiate upon the basis on which alone it was known to his royal highness that a rupture could be prevented. No distinct answer was for a long time given to this question; but upon being closely pressed, the Danish minister was under the necessity of acknowledging that he was at liberty only to take *ad referendum* the overtures that might be made to him, and to transmit them to Kolding; and that he had no authority whatever to conclude any arrangement upon terms at all compatible with Mr. Jackson's instructions. Upon this point then the negotiation broke off; and Mr. Jackson having taken his leave of the Danish minister, and being furnished by him with the necessary passports, which were accompanied by some expressions of personal courtesy and good-will to him, repaired that same evening on-board the advanced frigate of the British squadron at anchor within a few miles of the port of Copenhagen.

The next morning the British commanders were informed that all hope of a friendly accommodation had been frustrated, and that they were at liberty to proceed in their operations ac-

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According to the instructions with which they were for that case provided. The army landed, without opposition, at the village of Vedbeck, on the morning of the 16th of August; and, after some ineffectual attempts of the enemy to annoy its left wing, by the fire of their gun-boats, and to impede its progress by sallies which were always repulsed with loss, it closely invested the town on the land-side. The fleet removing to an advanced anchorage, formed an impenetrable blockade by sea; at the same time, a proclamation was issued by the commanders, notifying to the inhabitants of Zealand the motives of their undertaking; the conduct that would be observed towards them; and an assurance that at any time when the demand of his Britannic majesty should be acceded to, hostilities should cease.

On the evening of the 2d of September the land-batteries, and the bomb and mortar vessels, opened a tremendous fire upon the town, and with such effect that, in the course of a very short time, a general conflagration appeared to have taken place. The fire was returned but feebly from the ramparts of the town, and from the citadel and crown batteries. On the night of the 3d, the British fire was considerably slackened. This has been variously accounted for, some supposing that it was owing to the great expenditure of ammunition on the preceding night, and the apprehension that enough would not remain for the prosecution of the siege: others, that the British general expected that the impression already made would produce proposals for capitulation. It was probably because the enemy adopted the first of these suppositions, that the second was not realized: they, on the contrary, conceived some hope, and were encouraged in their resistance by the relaxation of the fire of the English, which was, however, resumed with so much vigour and effect on the night of the 4th, that the next morning a trumpeter appeared at the British out-posts with a letter from the commandant of the town, containing the proposal of a truce for twenty-four hours, to give time to negotiate a capitulation, which he was willing to conclude on the basis of no British troops being admitted within the city of Copenhagen. It should seem, however, either that that basis was not at first considered as admissible, or that it was accompanied by some other objectionable condition: for the capitulation was not signed until three days afterwards, viz. the 8th of September, when the British army took possession of the citadel, dock-yards, and batteries, dependent upon them. The British admiral immediately began rigging and fitting out the ships that filled the spacious basons where they were laid up in ordinary, and at the expiration of the term limited in the capitulation, they were all, together with the stores, timber, and every article of naval equipment

found in the arsenal and storehouses, conveyed to England, where, with the exception of one line-of-battle-ship, that grounded on the isle of Huen, and was destroyed, they all arrived safely in the latter end of the month of October.

It was understood that the capitulation was not altogether approved by his majesty's government, and it must be evident to every body, that the officers who concluded it, unless they did so in virtue of specific instructions, assumed powers that could belong to no commanders.—By stipulating to withdraw from Zealand in so short a time, they brought no small embarrassment upon their employers, if this expedition was to be considered not as a predatory attack upon an unoffending neutral, but as the first step of a great system of policy, calculated to thwart the views of France, and to maintain the just ascendancy of Great Britain; because, with a view to the latter purpose, the mere possession of the Danish fleet was insufficient to protect the navigation of the English flag, to influence the wavering councils of Russia, and completely to disjoin the confederacy that was apprehended; and upon the prospect of which this enterprise was originally undertaken, and subsequently justified, it would have been necessary to keep possession of Zealand. It was thought that proposals for so doing, even after the signature of the capitulation, and without violating its conditions, were in agitation; but, for some unknown reasons, these proposals were not acted upon, and whatever was afterwards done, or attempted in that quarter, bore the appearance of a languor and irresolution, and want of system, which seemed to indicate a change in the policy of the British cabinet, or at least a doubt as to the merits of that which they had hitherto pursued.

So far from taking advantage of the conquest thus easily made of all Zealand, (the small castle of Cronenbourg alone excepted,) the Danes were left at liberty to repair their losses, and to annoy the English again on that element from which they seemed, for a time at least, to have been driven. In the capitulation, no notice whatever was taken of the large quantity of shipping and naval stores that were in the merchant's docks: the consequence of which neglect was, that the English had scarcely left the waters of Copenhagen, before a considerable number of armed vessels was prepared to act against them, and actually drew up in line of battle, in front of the port of Copenhagen, when Admiral Gambier's flag-ship was still in sight of the town. The losses suffered by the British commerce, from this newly-created species of Danish naval force, were very considerable, and they were the more sensibly felt, because, under the apprehension of the turn which might be given, during the ensuing winter, to the politics of the court of St.

Petersburgh, large purchases of hemp, timber, and other naval stores, had been made; these were sent home in single ships, in the confident expectation of having no danger to fear till they cleared the Categat, or that they would obtain ample protection before they reached the Sound; instead of which, they were for the most part captured by small privateers, from the isle of Bornholm, and those which escaped in that quarter fell into the hands of the Danes off Draco Point, where no adequate force had been stationed for their protection.

It seems to have been the prevailing belief of the British government, that they could as easily allay, as they had excited, the animosity of the Danish court, and that it was therefore unnecessary to take any precaution to ward off the effects which that animosity might reasonably be expected to produce. Mr. Jackson, as soon as the capitulation was concluded, presented himself at the Danish out-posts, on the isle of Funen, in order to renew a negotiation to which he probably thought that the prince-royal might be more inclined, by the progress that had been made toward the conquest of his dominions. In this, however, he was disappointed, as, although the object of his appearance off Nyeborg was well known to the prince, he was not allowed to land; and so strict was the determination of the Danes to hold as little communication as possible with a British agent upon any subject whatever, that it was notified, about that time, to the officer commanding the squadron in the Belt, that he should not in future send his flags of truce within cannon-shot of the shore. Notwithstanding this rebuff, a fresh mission was afterwards sent to renew the attempt at negotiation, but with as little success; Mr. Merry, who was employed for this purpose, not having been able any more than his predecessor to draw the Danish government into any sort of intercourse with him.

As soon as the effect of the operation of the English forces was known, a declaration was published by his majesty's government, setting forth the grounds on which the expedition was undertaken, and the sentiments which were still entertained towards Denmark by his majesty. This declaration was afterwards laid before parliament, and became the ground-work of the defence set up by ministers when attacked, as they were most vigorously, on the policy of the whole undertaking.

This Danish war, though justifiable and commendable, was not improved to the extent of which it was capable. The terms of the capitulation of Copenhagen must be considered as highly impolitic—the attempt to negotiate with Denmark, after she had unequivocally expressed her determination to reject all terms of reconciliation, as undignified; and the abandonment of

the island of Zealand, as productive of nearly as much evil as the benefit derived from the original undertaking.

Though the Emperor Alexander was seduced by the promises and cajoleries of Bonaparte, the Russian nation remained friendly to the English; by an ukase, however, of the 10th of November, an embargo was laid on all English ships in the harbours of Russia. But through the favor of the inhabitants, and even the officers of the revenue, the English were apprised of this beforehand, so that they had time to set sail and make their escape: which they did, with a favorable wind, to the number of eighty sail, with their cargoes, and arrived, all of them, safely in British harbours.

It is certain, that a partition of Europe was carved out and settled between Bonaparte and Alexander in their conferences at Tilsit. Napoleon, in his speech to the legislative body at the opening of one of their sessions, in August, said: "France is united to the *people* of Germany, by the laws of the confederation of the Rhine; to those of the *Spains*, of Holland, of Switzerland, and the *Italies*, by the laws of our federative system. Our new relations with Russia are cemented by the reciprocal esteem of these two grand nations."—In the same speech, speaking of Alexander, he called him the powerful Emperor of the North. By this federative system, of which Bonaparte was the absolute head and ruler, all the west of Europe, with the isles belonging to Italy and the transmarine dominions of Spain, for this was implied in the *Spains* and *Italies*, belonged to himself. He made no mention of the sovereigns of those countries whose power was intended to be only temporary and nominal, but only of the *people*. What he called a *federative system*, on this occasion, he afterwards denominated the *great empire*. In short, according to Bonaparte's views and designs, there were but two independent nations in Europe,—two great empires;—the one under the dominion of the powerful Emperor of the North, and the other under his own. The arrangement agreed on at Tilsit was thus stated in a *Corunna* gazette, "Bonaparte, or, as he affects to be called, Napoleon, to seize all that part of the continent of Europe which would extend, in one line, from the mouth of the Vistula to Corfu, situate very nearly in the same longitude, and confined in the other directions by the Baltic, the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Adriatic. Russia was to hold the rest." In this statement of the partition, Turkey in Europe was not excepted: it is probable that Bonaparte, who was aware of the long entertained designs of Russia, and the eager desire of the Archduke Constantine to wear a crown, deemed it politic, for the present, to let the cabinet of St. Petersburg indulge its fancies.

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In pursuance of this project, it remained for Bonaparte to take possession of Etruria, the states of the church, the Hanseatic towns, and Denmark; and to subdue Spain, Portugal, and, finally, Austria. And, while he meditated the extension of his conquests, it was necessary, in the first place, to secure the possession of those he had already made, among which, France herself ought to be comprehended, and, by all means, to prevent insurrection and revolt both at home and abroad.—As to the French, he set himself to manage them by gratifying their national vanity and feeding their hopes, while he fastened, more and more, around their necks the rope of despotism. To shew that the interests of the capital still occupied a place in his mind, even amidst campaigns and battles, he issued a decree from his camp at Warsaw, January 13, for the construction of a new bridge on the Seine, in front of the Champ de Mars, the enlargement of quays, and the excavation of four common sewers, for receiving the contents of the other sewers of Paris. A triumphant arch at the Thuilleries was completed on the 1st of December, and, about the same time, a magnificent fount in front of the School of Medicine. Affecting to believe the professions of the French, when he was at the distance of 500 leagues, sincere, he said, in a remarkable speech to his senate, “You are a good and a great people;”—*vous êtes un bon et grand peuple*. He briefly stated, or rather hinted at, the measures that had been taken, and institutions established or to be established for the promotion of agriculture and the arts, the revival of commerce and general industry; leaving what was farther to be communicated on these heads to his ministers.

Mollien, the minister of the French treasury, or exchequer, in the printed budget for 1807, congratulated his emperor on this subject in the following terms: “Your majesty, sire, has protected your people from both the scourge and burthen of war. Your armies have added to their harvest of glory, one of foreign contributions, which has ensured their support, their clothing, and their pay.” This last compliment, indeed, had nothing in it of the exaggeration of flattery.

During the whole of the campaign, or rather campaigns of this year, in the north, the treasury of Paris was overflowing. A large sum, exclusive of the foreign or exterior exactions for the maintenance of the troops, the splendid establishments of the generals, and the gratification of private cupidity, was thrown into the lists of ways and means, in order to favor an idea that had been publicly insinuated, that foreign tributes would one day exonerate the masters of the world from the burdens they now bore; just as, in the history of the Romans, the military at all times, and at one period the whole states of Italy, were

exempted from taxation. In the budget of this year, the whole of the receipts of the treasury for the preceding year was stated at 986,992,539 livres; but this printed account was greatly short of what was actually collected: which had been estimated by some at fifty, and by others at not less than fifty-five millions sterling.

In the report of the minister of war, of July, 1807, the number of Prussian prisoners, taken by the French in the war with Prussia, 1806-7, was estimated at 5,179 officers, and 123,418 privates and subalterns: the number of killed at about 50,000. There was a very natural transition from this exulting report of the minister of war, to that of Visconti, one of the directors of the Imperial Museum of Arts. It recorded, as the spoil collected in the North by the *Protector of the Arts*, 350 paintings; 242 rare and precious MSS. many of them oriental; 50 statutes; 80 busts; 192 articles of bronze, armour, &c.

At the same time that Bonaparte used every means for flattering French vanity, and feeding the hopes of a sanguine and volatile people, he was anxious to destroy any remains they possessed of liberty, and to render the form of government purely monarchical. By a *senatus consultum* of the 19th August, communicated to the legislative body on the 18th of September, the tribunate was abolished, and the members of this, still retaining their former salaries undiminished, transferred into the legislative body: committees of which were thenceforth to do the business of the tribunes. It was possible that a conjuncture might arise, which might strike out a spark of liberty, and even kindle a flame of patriotism among the tribunes, a kind of representatives, or advocates of the people. But there was no danger of such an accident happening in the senate. The princes of the blood, that is, *the blood of Bonaparte*, were members of the senate by their quality: the great dignitaries of the state, officially. And to this body were associated the generals of division detached from foreign service: so that all these classes, taken together, possessed almost a numerical preponderancy in the senate. The meetings of the senate were always private. Strangers might be admitted to those of the legislative body, but not to those of the senate. This last, during the whole double campaign in the North, was not once assembled.

According to the constitution, the judges were chosen for life. But by a *senatus consultum* of the 12th of October this year, it was enacted, that they should undergo a probation of five years, and then be continued, or dismissed. A commission was also created for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of the judges in being; that the emperor might remove such as should be pronounced unfit for their stations. In all political cases, and all cases of alleged fraud and eva-

sion, the authority of the ordinary courts was superseded by special tribunals: one of which, consisting of three judges appointed by the emperor, was established in each department.

The common objects of fiscal regulations, and the political dominion of the conscription, and of espionage, placed all offices of profit or trust, throughout the empire, that is, France, Italy, and the Low Countries, in the hands of Frenchmen. In the countries nominally allied to France, which were treated with less lenity than the territories annexed to the empire, public authority was everywhere exercised by Frenchmen. Not only were the government and civil employments in the kingdom of Westphalia administered exclusively by Frenchmen; but the Napoleon code, or, a government on the plan of that of France, and the French language, established in its courts. In every thing France gave the ton, and was held to be a model of excellence. In one of the numbers of the Westphalian *Moniteur*, the French were called "*la noblesse du genre humain*." Clerks were draughted from the post-offices of Paris to conduct similar establishments in Hamburg and Dantzic. The custom-house officers of Bourdeaux and Nants regulated the whole southern coast of the Baltic. For the purpose of excluding the English commerce, as was given out, and probably still more for that of retaining those parts in subjection, French troops lined the whole coast of Holland. Lewis Bonaparte, acceding, of course, to the desire of his brother, in shutting the ports of Holland against the English, was nevertheless believed to be too indulgent to the trading nation on whom he was imposed. Napoleon, therefore, after a severe reprimand, ordered him not to let the fishing-boats, by means of which a smuggling trade was carried on with the English, go to sea, without having in each a soldier, who should make a report of their proceedings.

Bonaparte, for the establishment of his influence and dominion in Germany, demanded in marriage for his brother Jerome, whom he had torn from his American wife, a daughter of the Elector, or King of Saxony. The princess firmly resisted this project, and rejected the proposal with abhorrence. After this, Jerome was married to the princess Catharine of Wirtemberg.

In both Westphalia and Bavaria the men proper for bearing arms were organized into national guards, and drilled and trained with the greatest diligence and activity. Nor did Bonaparte hesitate to initiate the Bavarian generals in all the secrets or principles of the French tactics. He had great confidence in the king and court of Bavaria. He considered them as the rivals and enemies of the Austrians, against whom he designed in due time to employ them. For he could plainly perceive that Austria was not to be brought under

his subjection without a struggle. She was then, and had ever since the peace of Presburg been very actively employed in fostering a military spirit, and reviving public credit. The French troops were not withdrawn from Silesia, or other parts of Prussia. The Austrian fortress of Brannau, that had been retained contrary to the treaty of Presburg, was at last restored in October; but the Austrian territory on the right bank of the Ilonzo was not. In exchange for this, by a treaty concluded at Fontainebleau in that month, the Austrians found it convenient to accept the town and district of Montfalcone, on the left bank of that river; though, as the Austrians affirmed, this was not equal in value to the tenth part of the territory ceded on the right of the Ilonzo.

Some of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit were disclosed so early as the latter part of August. The mouths of the Cattaro were evacuated by the Russians, and put into the hands of the French; and French troops were carried by ships belonging to Russia, though yet professing peace and amity towards England, from Otranto to the Seven Isles on the Ionian sea, whose independence had been recognized in a treaty between the Sublime Porte and Russia. All the seaport towns of Italy, those of the ecclesiastical states not excepted, were occupied by French troops, under the pretence of preventing their commerce with England. On the same pretence of waging war with the commerce of England, and enforcing the continental blockade, for the purpose of compelling the common enemy to make a maritime peace, large bodies of troops were marched to Boulogne, to Toulon, to Bourdeaux, and above all to Bayonne.

The treaty of Tilsit was hardly concluded, when Bonaparte turned his eyes towards the west of Europe, and resolved on the subjugation of Portugal and Spain. Or, perhaps, it was at first his design, not directly or formally to subvert the thrones of these kingdoms; but, under the veil of alliance and union, to reduce them to the same total dependence on himself as the confederation of the Rhine, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. He fomented, through Beauharnois, his ambassador at the court of Madrid, discord in the royal family of Spain, that he might assure to himself the arbitration of their differences. The ambassador suggested to the Prince of Asturias the idea of intermarrying with a princess related to the Emperor Napoleon. The anxiety of the prince to avoid another connection, into which an attempt was made to force him, with a lady selected for him by his greatest enemy, the favourite at once of the queen and the king, and on that account alone the object of his aversion, induced him to acquiesce in the proposition of Beauharnois; with the reservation that it was to meet with the approbation of his royal parents; and he wrote a letter,

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signifying his wishes, to the French emperor. The clandestine communication between the Prince of Asturias, and other circumstances artfully prepared, gave colour to an accusation of the innocent prince. A few days after he wrote that letter, the Prince of Asturias was arrested and confined in the monastery of St. Laurence. On the 31st of October, all the members of the different councils of state being assembled, a declaration by the king was read, of a discovery that the Prince of Asturias had formed a conspiracy for dethroning him. He had been surprised, it was said, in his own apartments, with the cyphers of his correspondence; which were laid before the council of Castile, with instructions to them to investigate the whole matter. The whole Spanish nation instantly suspected that the pretended conspiracy was an infernal calumny fabricated by the *Prince of the Peace*, Don Emanuel Godoy, for the purpose of removing the only obstacle that then opposed his audacious ambition.

The imprisonment of the Prince of Asturias, and the decree fulminated against his royal person, produced an effect quite contrary to the expectations of the favourite; who now, being afraid, thought proper to recede, and to mediate a reconciliation between the royal parents and their son. He forged penitential letters, November 5, to both the king and queen, and made the Prince of Asturias, while a prisoner, sign them. There was nothing in the confessions of the prince of a very heinous nature; and all that they could be fairly supposed to allude to, was the step he had taken, in writing to Napoleon, without the king's knowledge, on the subject of the projected marriage. But a decree that had been addressed, November 3, to archbishops, bishops, prelates, and all the clergy, both secular and irregular, for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the king's deliverance, was calculated to preserve the idea that the prince had formed or entered into a conspiracy against his father's government, if not his life. On the same day that the prince's letters were received by the king and queen, November 5, a royal edict was addressed to the governor *ad interim* of the council of Castille, declaring that the voice of nature having disarmed the hand of vengeance, the king had been moved by pity, and the intercession of the queen, to pardon his penitent son, who had given information against the authors of the horrible design in contemplation.

Such was the state of affairs when a French courier arrived at the royal palace of St. Laurence, with a treaty concluded and signed at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, by Don Eugenio Isquierdo, as plenipotentiary of his Catholic majesty, and Marshal Duroc, in the name of the Emperor of the French. By this treaty it was agreed, among other articles, that the province of Entre Minho y Duero, with the city of

Oporto, should be made over in entire property and sovereignty to the King of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania. The province of Alentejo, and the kingdom of the Algarves, in entire property and sovereignty to the Prince of Peace, to be by him enjoyed under the title of Prince of the Algarves. The provinces of Beira, Tras los Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, were to remain undisposed of, until there should be a general peace. The kingdom of Northern Lusitania, and the principality of the Algarves, were to acknowledge, as their protector, his Catholic majesty, the King of Spain, and in no case to make peace or war without his consent. In case of the provinces of Beira, Tras los Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, held in sequestration, devolving at a general peace to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, Trinidad, and other colonies, which the English had conquered from Spain and her allies, the new sovereign of these provinces was to have, with respect to his Catholic majesty, the same obligations as the King of Northern Lusitania, and to hold them on the same conditions. His majesty the King of Etruria ceded the kingdom of Etruria, in full property and sovereignty, to his majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy. By a secret convention, it was agreed that French troops should be admitted into Spain, where they were to be joined by bodies of Spanish troops, and marched into Portugal. The troops to be subsisted and maintained by Spain during their march through that country, but to be paid by France. The main body of the army to be under the orders of the commander of the French troops: nevertheless, it was added, should the King of Spain, or the Prince of the Peace, think fit to join the said body, the French troops, with the general commanding them, were to be subject to their order. It is probable that Bonaparte was under no hesitation in paying them this compliment. Another body of French troops, to the number of 40,000, was to be assembled at Bayonne by the 20th of November at the very latest, to be ready to enter Spain, for the purpose of proceeding to Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements there, or menace it with aggression.

While bodies of French troops poured into Spain, or advanced towards it, Bonaparte set out on a journey to Italy from Fontainebleau, November 15, and arrived at Milan on the 21st. The intention of this journey had been announced in all his gazettes. It was preceded by great preparation and parade, and attracted the eyes of all Europe. And when this journey was combined with the occupation of the Seven Isles, from whence there is so short and easy a passage to Albania, and the mouths of the Cattaro, it was very generally imagined, that a concert had been entered into, between Napoleon and the Emperor

Alexander, for an immediate attack on Turkey, and fixing the destinies of Europe. But it appeared almost certain that he had no other object than to divert the attention of Europe from his designs against Spain and Portugal; for he did nothing in Italy suitable to the air of importance that was studiously given to his journey to that interesting peninsula—nothing of any consequence that might not have been done by his authority, without his presence. The Queen-regent of Etruria, as might well be imagined, acceded to the arrangement that had been made for the establishment of her family in Portugal, without a murmur. In a proclamation which she published in the name of her son, it was declared, that in consequence of an arrangement between the King of Spain and Napoleon, Emperor of France and King of Italy, the kingdom of Etruria had been disposed of otherwise than at present, and absolved the Tuscans from their oath of allegiance.

At Milan, Bonaparte received the homage of the Italians in every part of the peninsula. The inhabitants of Tuscany swore allegiance to Napoleon: under whose influence, it was stated in the gazette of Florence, Etruria might expect to be roused from that lethargy into which it had been sunk for some time. The aged elector, now King of Bavaria, including the Tyrol, with his spouse, came also to Milan; thus doing homage, as a kind of vassal, to Napoleon. Eugene Beauharnois, the viceroy, was appointed Bonaparte's successor in the kingdom of Italy, under some restrictions or reservations, in certain contingent cases closely connecting that kingdom with the crown of France. Count Melzi was created Duke of Lodi. From Naples, Bonaparte went to Venice, where he gave orders for some improvements, both for the defence of the city and the promotion of commerce. He returned to Paris in January, 1808, by the way of Lyons, under the title of the Count of Venice, bringing in his train the late Queen-regent of Etruria and her young son.

After the peace of Tilsit, Bonaparte demanded of the court of Lisbon, 1. To shut up the ports of Portugal against England. 2. To detain all Englishmen residing in Portugal. 3. To confiscate all English property; denouncing war in case of a refusal. And, without waiting for an answer, he gave orders for detaining all Portuguese merchant-ships that were in the ports of France. The Prince-regent of Portugal, hoping to ward off the storm, acceded to the shutting up of his ports; but refused to comply with the other two demands, as being contrary to the principles of the public law, and to the treaties that subsisted between the two nations. The court of Portugal then began to adopt measures for securing its retreat to the Portuguese dominions in South America. For that purpose, the prince-regent or-

dered all ships of war, fit to keep the sea, to be fitted out; and also gave warning of what was intended to the English, directing them to sell their property and leave Portugal; in order thus to avoid an effusion of blood, which, in all probability, would have proved useless. He resolved also to comply, if possible, with the views of the Emperor of the French, in case he should not allow himself to be softened down to more moderate pretensions. But Bonaparte peremptorily insisted, not only on the shutting up of the ports, but on the imprisonment of all British subjects, the confiscation of their property, and a dereliction of the project of a retreat to America. The prince-regent, when he had reason to believe that all the English, not naturalized in the country, had taken their departure from Portugal, and that all English property had been sold, and even its amount exported, adopted the resolution to shut up the ports against England, and even to comply with the other demands of France; declaring, however, at the same time, that should the French troops enter Portugal, he was firmly resolved to remove the seat of government to Brazil, the most important and best-defended part of his dominion.

It had been frequently stated to the cabinet of Lisbon by the English ambassador, Lord Strangford, that the King of Great Britain, in agreeing not to resent the exclusion of British commerce from the ports of Portugal, had gone to the utmost extent of forbearance; that, in making this concession to the peculiar circumstances of the prince-regent's situation, his majesty had done all that friendship could justly require; and that a single step beyond this line of modified hostility, must necessarily lead to the extremity of actual war. Nevertheless, the prince-regent, in the fond hope of preserving Portugal by conciliating France, on the 8th of November, signed an order for detaining the few British subjects, and of the very inconsiderable portion of British property that yet remained at Lisbon. On the publication of this order, Lord Strangford removed the arms of England from the gates of his residence, demanded his passports, presented a final remonstrance against the recent conduct of the court of Lisbon, and proceeded, November 17, to a British squadron, commanded by Sir Sydney Smith, who immediately, on the suggestion of Lord Strangford, established a most rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus. A few days after, the intercourse between the court of Lisbon and the British ambassador was renewed. Lord Strangford, under due assurances of protection and security, proceeded to Lisbon on the 27th: when he found the prince-regent wisely directing all his apprehension to a French army, which had entered Portugal, and was on its march to Lisbon, and all his hopes to an English fleet. The object of this march he was at no loss to understand: for Bo-

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naparte had declared in his journals, "That the house of Braganza had ceased to reign." Lord Strangford promised to his royal highness, on the faith of his sovereign, that the British squadron before the Tagus should be employed to protect his retreat from Lisbon, and his voyage to the Brazils. A decree was published, November 28, in which the prince-regent announced his intention of retiring to the city of Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace, and of appointing a regency to administer the government at Lisbon, during his royal highness's absence from Europe.

On the morning of November 29, the Portuguese fleet set sail from the Tagus, with the Prince of Brazil and the whole of the royal family of Braganza on board, together with many of his faithful counsellors and adherents, as well as other persons attached to his present fortunes. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, four large frigates, several armed brigs, sloops, and corvettes, and a number of Brazil ships; amounting in all to about thirty-six sail. While they passed through the British squadron, the English ships fired a salute of twenty-one guns, which was returned with an equal number. The friendly meeting of the two fleets, at a juncture so critical and important, was a most interesting and affecting, as well as a grand scene. Four English ships of the line were sent by the British admiral to accompany the royal family to Brazil.

The Portuguese fleet had not left the Tagus, when the French, with their Spanish auxiliaries, appeared on the hills above Lisbon, under the command of General Junot, who had formerly resided for several years at the court of Portugal, in the character of an ambassador from France.

Though the Portuguese had long been under an apprehension of a visit from the French, they were surprised by their sudden arrival. The court of Portugal had always considered the march of an army through the mountains of Beira as a matter of extreme difficulty, if not impracticable, especially in the winter season. They never dreamt that their invaders would advance by any other route than the course of the Tagus. The entrance of the French troops into Portugal was not known at Lisbon till their advanced-guard had reached Abrantes. The retreat of the royal family from Lisbon was, of course, a matter of extreme precipitation. Junot did not meet with any more opposition on his entrance into the capital, than when he passed, on his march, the Portuguese frontier. The greatest professions were made on the part of the French army, and nation, of friendship and affection for the people of Portugal. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Lisbon were disarmed; they were inhibited from assembling together to the number of more than ten at a time; cannon were placed in all the streets and squares; very heavy contributions were imposed for the support and maintenance of the French, with their Spanish auxiliaries: and, in a word, the French system of governing subdued countries was completely established.

After Portugal had fallen under the dominion of France, the valuable island of Madeira was committed to the protection of British troops; but to be restored to Portugal on the conclusion of a general peace.

A copious exposition of the French emperor's intrigues, for the purpose of subjugating Spain, shall be given in the succeeding book.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Bonaparte intent on the Subjugation of Spain and Portugal—Description of Spain, and its Inhabitants.—The Inquisition.—Bonaparte's Plan of Treachery and Force.—Arrival of the Grand Duke of Berg in Madrid.—Deplorable Situation of the Prince of the Peace.—Success of Murat's Intrigues.—King Ferdinand in Bonaparte's Power.

THE treaty of Tilsit was hardly concluded, when Bonaparte, agreeably to what had been agreed upon between himself and the Emperor Alexander, turned his eyes to the west of Europe and Portugal. In this he was, no doubt, actuated by a passion still more stimulative than his usual lust of conquest. His mind could never be quiet as long as the sovereignty of a neighbouring, great, and glorious peninsula resided in the house of Bourbon. The reduction of that noble country under his own power appeared to be necessary to the security of the thrones he had already usurped, and even to his personal safety.

Spain, in ordinary language, is considered as consisting of one extensive state or kingdom; and so it is in its foreign relations, and sundry other points of the greatest importance. But under the crown of Spain are united many states or kingdoms, which have gradually coalesced into one monarchy; each kingdom (formerly so called) retaining still, together with many particular laws and usages, a peculiar and distinct character, and some of them separate local interests: circumstances which, no doubt, presented to such a mind as Bonaparte's, hopes of being able to call to his aid the destructive power of division and discord. The northern districts, containing the kingdom of Navarre, the three provinces of Biscay, and the principality of Asturias, enjoy peculiar privileges, being governed in some sort by themselves, and by far the greater part of their contribution appropriated to the expenses of their own municipal establishments. These provinces, consisting chiefly of prodigious tracts of mountains, produce a race of hardy, active, and industrious people, who, for want of sufficient employment in the cultivation of the ground, or in the iron mines with which their country abounds, have naturally devoted them-

selves to the sea-service in various branches; and from those tracts of sea-coast, the Spanish navy draws the most energetic portion of its mariners.

The other parts of Spain are very unequally distributed into those belonging to the crowns of Castile and Arragon. To Castile belong the kingdom of Galicia, the provinces of Burgos, Léon, Zamora, Salamanca, Estramadura, Palencia, Valladolid, Segovia, Avila, Toro, Toledo, La Mancha, Murcia, Guadalaxara, Cuenca, Loria, and Madrid: to these are added, the four ancient Moorish kingdoms, composing the provinces of Andalusia, namely, Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and Grenada. To the crown of Arragon belong the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia, the county of Catalonia, and the kingdom of the island of Majorca. The states under the crowns of Castile and Arragon had their several cortes or assemblies of representation of the different orders of inhabitants; but those of the two crowns were never united into one body; and, indeed, since the days of Charles V. who resigned the government in 1555, the cortes were seldom convened.

The government, however, though in appearance despotic, and independent of the will of the nation, was, as is the case in even the most arbitrary European states, tempered by a complicated system of councils, in which, if judgment was tardy, it was commonly just.

The great and important Peninsula of Spain (including Portugal, naturally a part of the same country, and at various periods subject to the same sovereign) is most advantageously situated between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It commands the narrow strait of Gibraltar, the only communication between these seas, and occupies in some respects the centre of the habitable

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globe. This Peninsula, a name by which the Spaniards frequently designate their country, extends, where broadest, from west to east, about 640 English miles : and from north to south about 540 miles. The population of the whole Peninsula has been computed at between thirteen and fourteen millions : of which Portugal is supposed to contain two millions. The remainder, distributed over Spain, will afford only about seventy-four persons for every square mile, while the inhabitants of England are computed to exceed 150, and those of France 170, on a similar extent of territory ; many parts of the interior being almost destitute of springs and rivers ; and others being exceedingly mountainous. Indeed, on the first glance at the map of Spain, it appears to be a country shaped, and in a very great measure consisting in belts of mountains, ramifying from one another, and leaving intervals of various breadths between them, yet all of them linked to the same mass or stock. The sea-coasts of Catalonia, Valentia, Murcia, Grenada, and Andalusia, present scenes of amazing fertility, active industry, and crowded population.

The hardy, industrious, and adventurous mountaineer of the north ; the sedate and solemn inhabitant of the broad and arid plains of the two Castiles and La Mancha ; the pensive and taciturne Estramaduran ; the volatile and talkative Andalusian ; the laborious cultivator of the shores of the Mediterranean—these different descriptions of the population of Spain, resemble each other in so few points as to appear to be of very different descent, and indeed the production of very different countries and climates. In one important particular, however, the national character of the Spaniards might be traced in every corner of the kingdom. Entire and respectful submission to the authority of the sovereign was every where predominant. For while the Catalanian was proud to think, that the king was not *king*, but only Count of Catalonia ; and the Biscayan, that he was only lord of his mountains ; they both agreed in yielding most implicit obedience to his mandates, when promulgated in the customary forms of each respective district. That the Castilian and the Arragoneze should glory in their submission to the royal authority, is not surprising, as from the union of the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, sprang the family which in the course of time became masters of the whole country. Arragon and Castile had likewise embraced the interests of the house of Bourbon in the dispute with that of Austria in the beginning of the last century. That the Catalanians, however, should have evinced, in 1808, a decided attachment to the reigning family, against whom they had obstinately and long contended, and from whom they had received no favors, but many marks of dis-

like, having been disarmed, and experienced various other proofs of distrust from those in power—that the Catalanians should manifest, at this time, a decided and determined attachment to the interests of the house of Bourbon, can be attributed only to an inveterate aversion to their neighbours on the northern side of the Pyrenees, with whom, for ages, they had been in almost continued hostility, from whose inroads and devastations they had often severely suffered, and whose revolutionary doctrines, moral, political, and religious, as well as their actions, were calculated to inspire Spaniards with aversion and horror.

Another feature, strongly characterising all the provinces of Spain, and indeed all the subjects of his Catholic majesty in any quarter of the world, was an absolute devotion, not only to the doctrine, but to the policy of the see of Rome. In this absolute devotion to the church, the Spaniards, with perhaps the exception of the Portuguese alone, exceed all the nations of Europe. The church or secular clergy in Spain possessed immense revenues, even the third part, it has been computed, of the whole land. But it would be extremely erroneous to conclude that those revenues were appropriated to the sole enjoyment, application, or accumulation of the several incumbents. Of late years, it became the policy of government to grant pensions on the richest benefices, for the support of various public establishments ; so that even the metropolitan of Toledo, the most exalted dignitary of the kingdom, although nominally enjoying a revenue of perhaps 100,000*l.* sterling, could not, in reality, dispose of more than a fourth part of that sum. The opening of roads, the construction of bridges, the establishment of inns and schools, the reparation of churches and chapels, and various other works of public utility, which in Britain are carried on at the expense of the state, or more frequently of individuals and associations, in Spain are often imposed on those enjoying large ecclesiastical possessions ; and where such duties have not been imposed, the incumbents, from zeal to the public good, or even from a desire to imitate the conduct of their predecessors or contemporaries, have often charged themselves with that performance.

The attachment of the people to the church and its ministers was also warmly cherished by the exemplary deportment of the episcopal body, who, from the day of their appointment, immediately repaired to their respective dioceses, in which they uniformly resided, there devoting themselves entirely to the various duties of their station.

The abbeys and convents over Spain, appropriated to the reception of females, were some years ago calculated to contain about 34,000 persons, while those for the accommodation of

monks and friars, of all descriptions, were inhabited by nearly double that number; of this last description of persons, by far the greater number might certainly be considered as lost to the prosperity of the kingdom. But the benedictine, Bernardine, and some others of monks, might, in many respects, be considered by the population around, as eminent benefactors to the country. Continually fixed to one spot, in the midst of their possessions, they were naturally led to cultivate and improve their common heritage; and being destitute of the power of accumulation, they regularly expended their income in the quarter from whence it was drawn.

On the other hand, the great nobles and proprietors of land, with a very few exceptions, abandoning the care of their vast domains to agents and intendants, drained the country and its cultivators, to supply the exigencies of an idle and often dissipated life in the capital and other great towns. This injurious dereliction of the country is, no doubt, to be attributed in a great measure to the introduction of French manners, and a frivolous taste; and, above all, to the jealousy entertained by the first Spanish kings of the house of Bourbon, of the old nobles of Spain, who, in the war of the succession, had very generally, and very naturally, manifested a predilection for all the house of Austria.

A great and opulent lord, residing constantly on his own domain, was an object of displeasure to the court; of discountenance, and even molestation.

The noble spirit of the Spanish grandees in general, sunk in luxury, indolence, and vice, suffered a gradual depression. They were neither invited, nor ambitious to share in the employments of the state, so that, with the exception of a few ancient names in the church, of the army, and still fewer in the navy, the great body of the Spanish nobility ceased to be of any political importance in the kingdom.

It is extremely remarkable, that it was not among the great landed proprietors, who had, in the common phraseology, the greatest stakes, that the patriotism of the Spaniards shone forth with the greatest splendour: but among the commercial class, whose property was in some measure moveable, and the clergy, who at best were only life-renters. The nobility, in general, did not seem to feel the *amor patriæ*, the attachment to natal soil, so strongly as the clergy of all ranks, who resided in their own dioceses, parishes, and monasteries, nor even as that of the poor peasants.

The deep-rooted aversion to the French was not confined to the province of Catalonia, but pervaded all the northern and middle provinces of the kingdom.

From the earliest periods, down to the be-

ginning of the last century, the Spaniards and French were engaged almost without intermission in hostilities. Another reason for the peculiar dislike of the Spaniards to their northern neighbours, is found in the national character and deportment of the French, who not only affected or really felt some degree of contempt for the Spaniards, but commonly took very little pains to conceal or disguise their sentiments towards them. In this national dislike, persons of all nations, who entered Spain from France, were involved, until their real country was known.

As the Spaniards had their national aversions, so they had likewise their national attachments. It would, at first sight, be difficult to account for any partiality they should entertain for the British nation. But such a partiality they certainly did possess, and were eager to demonstrate. The two countries, it is true, were formerly closely connected by various ties, political and commercial; and those ties, notwithstanding the dissolution of the ancient intimacy, by the accession of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, still retained a firm hold of the steady and honorable character of the Spaniards. As men are never more intimately united than by a community of sentiments or feelings, and as the Spaniards believed the English to have no greater respect for the French nation than they had themselves, this warm-hearted people looked on a Briton as in some measure a sharer in his own existence. The Spanish traders, in general, had an opinion that in all commercial transaction, no nation came so near as the British to their own, in probity, punctuality, and fairness of dealing.

On the subject of religion, the Spaniards sincerely lamented the defection of the English from their ancient professions of faith. But this sorrow was attended rather by a hope, that, at some future period, Britain might return to what they considered as the right way, than by any aversion to their company, or their opinions on other subjects: whereas the natives of Ireland, formerly more numerous in their service than of late years, who professed to be in communion with the church of Rome, were, in many instances, subject to the suspicion of a temporizing policy.

The frequent wars between Britain and Spain unquestionably kept alive a spirit of estrangement in the Spanish nation. But that great portion of the people who pretended not to inquire into the secret causes of political events, were in the habit of attributing those public enmities rather to the predominating influence of the French counsels in the administration of national affairs, than to the existence of any just cause of complaint immediately between Great

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Britain and Spain. The epoch and the manner, however, of the commencement of hostilities on the part of Britain, had materially affected the general feelings of the Spanish nation with regard to their ancient ally.

Although, in estimating the sum of happiness possessed by any nation, calculations ought not to be founded merely on the theoretic system of their public constitution, yet where such a constitution is as perfect as human wisdom can devise and virtue carry into effect, the people have, *cæteris paribus*, the greatest chance of happiness in every sense of the word. It may, therefore, appear surprising to a British subject, that a nation once so distinguished as the Spaniards in science and in arms, for so considerable a lapse of time as that between the abdication of Charles V. of Austria and Charles IV. of Bourbon, should have been contented with a system of government presenting so few positive advantages, and producing so many real evils to the various classes in the state. The Spanish nation, however, had been for more than two centuries in a state of gradual decay, so that the deterioration was scarcely perceptible in its progress; and it was only by comparing the situation of the country at different periods, that its decay could be ascertained. It is not by any single act, but by an accumulation of facts, examples, customs, precedents, and laws, that a nation loses its liberty. What is considered by the present generation, at the worst, only as a mist, is seen by succeeding ages as a dark and portentous cloud.

The personal character, too, of a sovereign or of a minister, has a very powerful influence in even the best organized constitutions on the happiness of a state. The general dispositions and conduct of some late sovereigns of Spain had, consequently, a strong tendency to attach a people, naturally honorable and loyal, and of great sensibility, to their government in general, and to incline them to attribute what hardships they endured to the malign influence of corrupt counselors, rather than to the dispositions or intentions of the prince. These observations, however, are applicable only to the mass of the Spanish people; for an improved system of things, both civil and religious, had been long and earnestly wished for by many of the ablest and most enlightened individuals in the state. Others there were also, who, infected with the philosophy of modern times, secretly longed and waited for a general dissolution of the administration in church and state, in order to raise, in its stead, an edifice more conformable to their conceptions of a perfect government.

When it is considered that all public discussion of matters, relating to either religion or government, was almost entirely prohibited throughout the Spanish dominions; and that men, desi-

rous of information on these points, had no other resource than secretly to avail themselves of the writings of authors living under more liberal systems of government, it may be easily conceived, that an aversion, and a degree of hostility too, must naturally have been produced, in the minds of even good men, to an administration by which such restraints were imposed on the exercise of the human faculties, on subjects the most congenial and important to the nature of mankind. Such men may, for various reasons, carefully observe the rules of exterior submission; but their wishes for a change must, in the end, produce an alteration in their language, and also in their conduct. In such a case, how happy it is for the country of which the established constitution acknowledges the duty, and allows the means of improvement, and when reformation may supersede the necessity of revolution!

The dread tribunal of the inquisition in Spain had, for many years back, been gradually withdrawing from public notice. Its powers, however, though seldom exerted were not diminished. The unfortunate OLAVIDE, the founder of the establishments for peopling the *Sierra Morena*, sunk under the power of the holy inquisition, though as much, probably, for his political as his religious offences. In the beginning of the French revolution, when neither pains nor cost were spared, clandestinely to introduce and disseminate, throughout Spain, publications adapted to excite disorders in the state, the formidable weapons of the inquisition were actively and successfully wielded in defence of the established system of government; for any assault on the rights of the temporal sovereign of the kingdom was regarded as a direct attack on the paramount authority of the spiritual head. The alliance between church and state in Spain was extremely close; or, rather, the political and ecclesiastical authorities were, in a great measure, identified. The kings of Spain were the great champions of the church, and the most brilliant era in the history of the Spaniards is that, when they proceeded, by degrees, to take possession of the munificent donations of the pope, with the sword in one hand and the cross in the other. And, in fact, it was not less by the religious zeal of the missionaries than the heroic valor of the military order, that the vast transmarine empire of Spain was established.

The steady devotion of the Spaniards to the church is not, therefore, founded in a greater propensity to piety than is felt by other nations only, but in part, by a recollection of former times, when they were exalted to so high a pitch of glory by the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. The high-minded pride of the Spanish nation, finding no support in recent, turns to the contemplation of events long past; to the victories of

Pavia, Lepanto, and St. Quintoin, to their contests with the Moors and with the Romans.

In the combined plan of treachery and force which Bonaparte determined to pursue for the attainment of his present object, his first care was to foment discord in the royal family of Spain. The Prince of Asturias had transmitted to his father a sketch of the administration of the Prince of the Peace, charging him with a notorious attachment and subserviency to France. Bonaparte, apprized of this, stimulated the minister to the proceedings at the Escorial, in the autumn of 1807; and then it was his policy to take the part of the oppressed prince against the ministerial oppressor. He set himself, by nourishing the ambition of the son, to excite the resentment of the father, and rendered them mutual objects of mistrust, jealousy, and hatred; to disarm the father from taking precautions against the son, while he still encouraged the son in his views of immediate succession; to seduce to his side all that was most respectable in Spain, or by infamous propositions and surmises, to subject them to popular suspicion; and, in a word, by striking a mortal blow at the head of government, and getting into his power, or under his influence, or debasing the great lords to whom the public eye might, at a great crisis, be naturally turned, to tear asunder all the bonds of the social compact, and plunge the defenceless nation into anarchy and confusion.

Bonaparte, during his affected journey to Italy, thought it now time to give an answer to letters he had received from the King of Spain, detailing the particulars of the mysterious arrest and release of the Prince of Asturias. In his answer he denied his knowledge of that affair, or that he had ever received any letter from the prince: though this answer did not accord with that afterwards transmitted by Bonaparte to Ferdinand, in which he formally declared that he had received it. He yielded his consent, however, to the king's proposal of a marriage between the heir-apparent and a French princess of Bonaparte's family, well foreseeing that this would afford a pretext for interfering in the private concerns of the royal family; and, at any rate, that it would withhold or withdraw their attention from ulterior measures for the fulfilment of his designs in the Peninsula. By this conduct, also, he hoped to gain the good-will of the Spanish nation in general, as it had a tendency to convince them of the sincerity of his friendship for persons to whom they were so firmly attached. It was further calculated to give credit to the insinuations of his emissaries in Spain, that Bonaparte was secretly inclined to favor the cause of the Prince of Asturias: while, through other channels, the minister, and favorite, Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, whose ambitious views must soon have been discovered by a per-

son of Bonaparte's penetration, was privately encouraged to look forward to the protection of France, in the accomplishment of his nefarious projects.

By this mysterious conduct, Bonaparte threw the king, the queen, the Prince of Asturias, and the favorite, into extreme disorder. And while they were, all of them, under this distraction, the French troops were suffered to spread themselves over a great portion of the Spanish territory. So far did this infatuation prevail in the administration, that orders were issued for receiving and treating the French on a more liberal scale than even their own troops.

The French forces assembled on the borders of Spain remained but a short time inactive. Early in the year a corps entered Catalonia, and, on the 16th of February, obtained possession of the town and citadel of Barcelona, with the impregnable position of Monjuich. It had been industriously spread through Spain, that the French troops were destined to assist in defending the coast against any insult from the British army or navy. Advantage had been taken of the national feelings to lull the Spaniards into security, by asserting, that one great object of their powerful allies would be the reduction of Gibraltar, and its restoration to its ancient and natural masters. Whispers and surmises, too, were industriously circulated of an intended invasion of Algiers and Morocco.

The mask was, however, soon thrown aside, and the French army, which had advanced to Barcelona, pretended only to halt for a few days for refreshment, before they should proceed on their march to the southern provinces, and, availing themselves of the alliance between the two nations, of the unsuspecting confidence of the inhabitants, and even of the garrison of the place, seized without bloodshed and without difficulty, the citadel, Monjuich, and every other important post. The garrison of Monjuich, reported to have amounted to about 6,000 men, retired and made way for the French without a struggle; a fascination hardly credible; and, indeed, the whole conduct of the Spanish commanders at Barcelona remains involved in mystery and suspicion.

The fortress of St. Sebastian and Figueras were seized by the French in a similar way. At Pampeluna, however, they experienced a different reception. On the arrival of a French officer at the head of a body of troops from Bayonne, before Pampeluna, demanding admission and possession of the place, the governor, whose garrison had, for different reasons, been much reduced, refused to comply with this demand, until orders should arrive from his own government.—The French commander then brought

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The French armies that had entered Spain, instead of proceeding to their pretended destination, remained inactive on the banks of the Ebro, many miles from Madrid. Messengers passing to and from that place indicated the existence of negotiations, but their object was unknown. The Spanish troops recalled from Portugal, were rapidly advancing towards the capital. The court seemed in the greatest anxiety and uncertainty, the orders of one day being uniformly countermanded by those of the following. The administration of public affairs seemed to be arrested in its course.

Many important posts in Spain, as well as the whole of Portugal, being now in the possession of the French, Bonaparte transmitted to the King of Spain a complaint, that no further steps had been taken in the affair of the marriage of the heir-apparent with his relation. To this Charles replied, that retaining the same sentiments, he was desirous that the marriage might take place immediately. Some further proceedings were necessary to the maturation of Bonaparte's project, and not being willing to commit these to writing, he thought he could not find a fitter instrument than Don Eugenio Izquierdo, whom he had detained in Paris, in a state of great dejection and terror, artfully impressed upon him, that he might thereby be induced the more effectually to execute his commission, by inspiring the royal parents and the favorite with the same feelings. Izquierdo was ordered to repair to Spain: which he did in a very mysterious and precipitate manner. According to his verbal statements he did not bring any proposal with him in writing. On his arrival, under these circumstances, at Aranjuez, one of the royal residences, situate on the banks of the Tagus, twenty-three miles to the southward of Madrid, the favorite conducted him to the presence of the royal parents, and their conferences were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was impossible for any one to discover the object of his mission. But soon after his departure from the Spanish capital, their majesties began to shew a disposition to abandon both the metropolis and the Peninsula, and to emigrate to Mexico.

The recent example of the determinations taken by the royal family of Portugal (which, as some conjectured, was not uninfluenced by secret communications from France) induced Bonaparte to form a hope that the example of the court of Lisbon, in the present perplexing and alarming posture of affairs, might be followed by that of Spain. But scarcely had the first reports gone abroad of the intentions of the royal family of Spain to abandon the place of their residence, a resolution

unequivocally indicated by the preparations which were going on, when discontent and fear were exhibited in the most lively colours in the features of all the inhabitants of the capital, and of all ranks and classes of persons. This alone was sufficient to induce their majesties to refute the rumour, and to assure the people that they would not abandon them. Nevertheless, such was the general distrust, such the magnitude of the evils which must have ensued, and such and so many the symptoms of a fixed determination to emigrate, that every one was on the alert, and all seemed to be impressed with the necessity of preventing a measure fraught with so many mischiefs. The danger increased, and with this the fears of the people. A popular commotion burst forth at Aranjuez, on the 17th and 19th of March, like a sudden explosion; the people being actuated by a sort of instinct of self-preservation. The favorite, who, without the title of king, had exercised all the functions of royalty, and who favored the scheme of emigration, in the hope of withdrawing himself, and some portion, at least, of his enormous treasures from the vengeance of an oppressed and outraged people, was thrown into prison. Scarcely had this tempestuous scene taken place, when the royal parents, finding themselves deprived of the support of their favorite, the Prince of Peace, took the unexpected resolution, which, according to Cevallos, they had for some time entertained, of abdicating their throne. According to a French newspaper, (and at this time no newspaper was published in France not correspondent to the ideas and views of Bonaparte) one party in Spain accused the Prince of Peace of entering into a project with the queen herself, with whom he was universally believed to be a very particular and most intimate favorite, for the ruin of her son, the heir-apparent, under the pretence of his having engaged in a plot for the dethronement of his father. The Prince of Asturias, it was added, had been drawn into this conspiracy by the suggestions of his princess, his own cousin, a daughter of the king of the Two Sicilies, by a sister of the ill-fated Maria Antoinette of France. This princess, feeling the degraded situation in which her husband was held through the influence of the favorite Godoy over the sovereign, took, it was said, little pains to suppress her sentiments on the subject.—Her aversion to the French nation could not be a matter of surprise, when we reflect on the indignities and miseries brought by them on her parents, and many other near relatives at Paris, at Milan, and at Florence. The queen could, besides, discover in the Princess of Asturias, only a rising rival and a future mistress, of whose sentiments respecting her own conduct, public and private, she probably was not ignorant. Whatever might have been the cause, the queen and the princess had been for some

time on no very amicable terms; so that when this young princess was snatched away by death, in her early years, persons were not wanting to surmise that she had fallen a sacrifice to the arts of the queen, the favorite, and the French partizans at Madrid.

During the popular alarm of March 16, the king issued a proclamation, thanking his subjects for the marks they had shewn of attachment to his person, and explained the objects of the French troops, which had entered his dominions with the most friendly purposes, to assist in defending the country against the common enemy. The assembling of his guards, it was stated, was solely for the purpose of protecting his person and family, and not for accompanying him on a journey, which none but evil-minded persons could suppose to have been projected. The king closed this very extraordinary publication, with directing the people to conduct themselves as they had hitherto done towards the troops of his great and good ally.

On the following day, March 17th, when the Spanish guards were to leave Madrid, the inhabitants crowded round them, beseeching them not to abandon their native country, for the purpose of securing the flight of a prince who sacrificed his subjects to private considerations. "Do you think," said they, "we have no more spirit than the people of Lisbon?"

Some of the ministers themselves, who opposed the king's retreat, distributed circular notices in the neighbouring villages, informing the inhabitants of what was going forward, and of the danger to which the country would consequently be exposed.

On the 18th of March, the people poured along the road to Aranjuez. Relays for the king's carriages had been provided on the way to Seville. The village of Aranjuez was crowded with troops; and the baggage of the court lay already packed up in the apartments of the palace. The preceding night had been busily spent in preparation. The residence of the Prince of the Peace was protected by his proper guards, (for to such a point of dignity he had been exalted) with a peculiar countersign, while those of the palace had another. At four o'clock in the morning of the 19th, the people rushed in crowds to the favorite's hotel, but they were driven back by his guards, who, in their turn, were driven back by the king's body guards, that had ranged themselves on the side of the people. Godoy's doors were forced; the furniture was broken; the apartments were laid waste; the princess, his spouse, daughter of Don Antonio, and niece to the King of Spain, appeared on the stairs, and was conveyed, by the people, with all the respect due to her birth and rank, to the king's palace. The favorite himself had disappeared, and his brother,

Don Diego Godoy, commandant of the king's body-guards, was arrested by his own troops.

Their majesties, who had not retired to rest during the night, were, early in the morning, visited by the French ambassador, and soon after appeared a proclamation, in which the unfortunate sovereign was made to say, that having resolved to take upon himself the command of his forces by land and sea, he had thought it proper to relieve Godoy of the duties of generalissimo, and permit him to retire to whatever place he might choose.

When this was known in Madrid, the people attacked the houses of Godoy, and of certain ministers of state attached to his party, and destroyed the furniture without opposition, on the part of either the magistrates or the two Swiss regiments in the Spanish service, then quartered in the town. The Prince of the Peace was at last discovered in a garret, where he had been concealed for six-and-thirty hours, and committed to the closest custody in the common jail.

In the midst of these disorders the king, on the 19th of March, at Aranjuez, published a declaration, signed, as usual, by himself, stating, that on account of his constant infirmities, and of the necessity he felt of withdrawing himself from the burthen of public affairs to a private life, in a climate better adapted than that of Madrid to the state of his health, he had, after the most deliberate consideration, resolved to abdicate the crown in favor of his well-beloved son and heir, the Prince of Asturias. It was likewise directed, that this decree of his *free* and *spontaneous* abdication should be instantly and punctually obeyed by all his subjects. Cevallos laboured to shew that this abdication was, in truth, free and unconstrained; but this has very reasonably been made a question.

The first act of the new king, Ferdinand VII. was to publish a manifesto, declaring his own innocence and that of his ministers, and stating the nature of the papers and cyphers found in his apartment at the Escorial, in the month of October last. Among his first acts, also, was one confiscating all the property, of every description, belonging to the Prince of the Peace.

At the same time, he appointed the Duke of Infantado, a wealthy and popular nobleman, of the first class, and particularly attached to the interest of the new sovereign, and of England, to the important station of the president of the great council of Castile, the first tribunal of the kingdom. To him, also, he committed the command of the Spanish life-guards. Many salaries and pensions, which had long remained unpaid, were instantly discharged out of the funds of the late favorite.

Bonaparte, ignorant of this sudden event, and, perhaps, never supposing that the Spaniards were

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capable of such resolution, had ordered his brother-in-law, styled by him Prince Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, to advance with his army towards Madrid, under the idea that the royal family were at this time on the coast ready to embark; and, that, far from meeting the slightest obstacle on the part of the people, they would receive him with open arms as their deliverer and guardian angel. He conceived that the nation was in the highest degree dissatisfied with their government, not reflecting that they were only dissatisfied with the abuses that had crept into the administration of it.

The instant that the Grand Duke of Berg was apprized of the occurrences at Aranjuez, he advanced with his whole army to occupy the capital of the kingdom: intending, no doubt, to profit by the occasion, and to take such steps as should seem best calculated to realize the plan of making himself master of Spain.

Meanwhile the mysterious project of Bonaparte, the proximity of his troops, and the ignorance in which Ferdinand VII. was of the real object of Bonaparte's approach, as was given out, to Madrid, induced this prince to adopt such measures as appeared best calculated to conciliate his goodwill. Not satisfied with his having communicated his accession to the throne in the most friendly and affectionate terms, the king, Ferdinand, appointed a deputation of three grandees of Spain to proceed to Bayonne, and in his name to compliment his imperial majesty. He also appointed another grandee of Spain to pay a similar compliment to the Grand Duke of Berg, who had already arrived in the vicinity of Madrid.

One of the contrivances to which the French agent had immediate recourse, was, to assure the king, and to spread the rumour in all quarters, that his imperial majesty's arrival in Madrid might be expected every moment. Under this impression, the necessary orders were given for preparing apartments in the palace, suitable to the dignity of so august a guest. And the king wrote again to the emperor how agreeable it would be to him to be personally acquainted with his majesty, and to assure him, with his own lips, of his ardent desire to strengthen more and more the alliance which subsisted between the two sovereigns.

The Grand Duke of Berg had, in the meantime, entered Madrid at the head of his troops, March 23, and begun, without a moment's delay, to sow the seeds of discord. He spoke in a mysterious manner of the abdication of the crown, executed amidst the tumults of Aranjuez, and gave it to be understood, that until the emperor acknowledged Ferdinand VII. it was impossible for him to take any step that should appear like an acknowledgment, and that he was under a necessity of treating only with the royal father. This pretext did not fail to produce the effect which the grand

duke intended. The royal parents, the moment they were informed of this circumstance, availed themselves of it to save the favorite, who remained in confinement; and in whose favor Murat professed to take an interest, for the sole purpose of flattering their majesties, mortifying Ferdinand, and leaving fresh matter of discord between the parents and the son.

The following note was transmitted to the Duke of Berg by the queen, Maria Louisa:

"Neither the king nor myself would be troublesome to the grand duke, who has so much to do; but we have no other friend, no other support than him and the emperor; in whom all four of us, the king, our intimate friend, who is also a friend of the grand duke, the poor Prince of the Peace, my daughter Louisa, and myself, place our hopes. The letter I received from Louisa last evening, containing an account of what the grand duke had said to her, has penetrated and filled us all with the liveliest feelings of gratitude and consolation, and hopes of every thing from these two sacred and incomparable persons, the grand duke and the emperor. But we would not that the duke should remain ignorant of any thing we know; although no one says any thing to us, and although no answer be given to our demands of necessities. But nothing of this kind gives us any concern. The only thing in which we are interested, is the welfare of our sole and innocent friend, the Prince of the Peace, who, in his person, amidst the most barbarous treatment, even before this conspiracy took place, always called, with the greatest emotion, the grand duke his friend. If I were so happy as to have him here, and the grand duke were near, we should have nothing to fear. He wished for the grand duke's arrival, pleasing himself with the hope, that his highness would accept his house to lodge in. He had some trinkets to present him. In short, he thought of nothing else than of that happy moment when he should appear in the presence of the grand duke and the emperor. We are under perpetual apprehensions lest they should kill or poison him, if they should suspect a design to save him. Is it not possible to take some measures for preventing this? The grand duke might march his troops without saying for what purpose, enter the place where the poor Prince of the Peace is confined, and without leaving a moment's time for any one to fire a pistol, or to do any thing else to him, remove his guards, (who would think it glorious, and have a pleasure in taking his life) and substitute his own troops, who should be under his own immediate orders, in their place. For, if he be suffered to remain in the hands of those base traitors, and under the orders of my son, the grand duke may be assured that he will be killed. Yes, so long as he is in those sanguinary hands, the head body-guards

of my son, we cannot but tremble for his life. For though both the grand duke and the emperor are desirous to save him, they will not give them time. For heaven's sake, we implore of the grand duke to take measures for the accomplishment of what we request; for if any time be lost, his life is in danger. He would be safer in the paws of blood-thirsty lions and tygers. My son was yesterday after dinner closeted with Infan-tado Escocquitz, that wicked priest, and St. Charles, the most malignant of the whole. They remained shut up together from half-an-hour after one to an half-an-hour after three o'clock. The gentleman who goes with my son Charles, is a cousin of St. Charles's; he is a man of parts, and not ill-informed: but he is a vile American; and, like the same St. Charles, extremely hostile to us: though they all profess friendship for the king my husband, and claim the patronage of the Prince of the Peace, to whom they say they are related. All the others that go (to Bayonne) with my son Charles; are of the same faction, extremely well qualified to do all possible mischief, and to set forth the most horrible falsehoods in the light of truth. I entreat the grand duke to pardon my wretched composition; for I am very apt to forget some French words and idioms, having been accustomed to speak nothing but Spanish for forty-two years. I came here to be married when I was only thirteen years and a half old; and although I speak French, it is not with fluency. But the grand duke will comprehend my meaning, and know how to correct the defects of my style."

There were five other notes sent to the Grand Duke of Berg, written in the hand of Queen Louisa, in which the Queen of Spain expressed the same anxious concern for the Prince of Peace, and spoke with as much freedom of the Prince of Asturias. There were two letters on the same subject, (the deplorable situation of the Prince of Peace) addressed to the Grand Duke of Berg by Charles IV. and the Queen of Etruria.

In this state of things, the new king made his public entry into Madrid, March 25, without any other parade than the most numerous concourse of the capital and its environs, the strongest expressions of love and loyalty, and acclamations which sprung from the joy and enthusiasm of his subjects—a scene, said Cevallos, truly grand and impressive, in which the young king was seen like a father in the midst of his children, entering his capital, as the regenerator and guardian of the monarchy. Of this scene the Grand Duke of Berg was a witness: but far from abandoning his plan, he resolved to persevere in it with greater ardour. The experiment upon the royal parents produced the desired effect. But whilst Ferdinand, the idol of the nation, was present, it was impossible to carry the plan into

execution. It was therefore necessary to make every effort to remove this prince from Madrid. To accomplish this object, the grand duke was extremely assiduous in spreading reports of the arrival of a fresh courier from Paris, and that the emperor might be expected speedily to arrive in the Spanish capital. He set himself, in the first place, to induce the infant Don Carlos to set out to receive his Imperial Majesty Napoleon, on the supposition that his royal highness must meet him before he should have proceeded two days on his journey. His majesty, Ferdinand, acceded to the proposal. The grand duke had no sooner succeeded in procuring the departure of Don Carlos, than he manifested the most anxious desire that the king should do the same, leaving no means untried to persuade his majesty to take this step, assuring him that it would be attended by the happiest consequences to the king and the whole kingdom.

At the same time that the Grand Duke of Berg, the French ambassador, and all the other agents of France, were proceeding in this course, they were, on the other hand, busily employed with the royal parents to procure from them a formal protest against the abdication of the crown. His majesty, Ferdinand VII. being incessantly urged to go to meet the French emperor, painfully hesitated between the necessity of performing an act of courtesy, which he was assured would be attended with such advantageous results, and his reluctance to abandon his loyal and beloved people in such critical circumstances.

Cevallos declared, that in this embarrassing situation, his constant opinion, as the king's minister, was, that his majesty should not leave his capital until he should have received certain information that the emperor had actually arrived in Spain, and was on his way and near to Madrid; and that even then he should only proceed to a distance so short as not to render it necessary to sleep one night out of his capital. His majesty persisted for some days in the resolution of not quitting Madrid, until he should receive certain advice of Napoleon's approach; and he would have probably continued in that determination, had not the arrival of General Savary added greater weight to the reiterated solicitations of the grand duke, and the Ambassador Beauharnois. General Savary was announced as the envoy from the emperor, and in that capacity he demanded an audience from the king, which was immediately granted. Savary professed that he was sent by the emperor merely to compliment his majesty, and to know whether his sentiments with respect to France were conformable to those of the king his father; in which case the emperor would forego all considerations of what had passed, in no degree interfere in the internal concerns of the kingdom, and immediately re-

cognize his majesty as King of Spain and the Indies. The most satisfactory answer was given to General Savary, and the conversation was continued in terms so flattering, that nothing more could have been desired. The audience terminated with an assurance, on the part of Savary, that the emperor had already left Paris, that he was near Bayonne, and on his way to Madrid.

Scarcely had General Savary left the audience-chamber, when he began to make the most urgent applications to the king to meet the emperor, assuring him that this attention would be very grateful and flattering to his imperial majesty. And he affirmed so repeatedly, and in such positive terms, that the emperor's arrival might be expected every moment, that it was impossible, (Cevallos observed,) not to give credit to his assertions. The king at length yielded. The day appointed for his departure arrived. General Savary, affecting the most zealous and assiduous attention to his majesty, solicited the honor of accompanying him on his journey, which, at the farthest, according to the information which he had just received of the emperor's approach, could not extend beyond Burgos.

The king, during his absence, supposed to be only for a few days, left at Madrid a supreme junta of government, (an assembly or board of commissioners,) consisting of the secretaries of state, usually five in number, the president of which was his uncle, the infant Don Antonio.—General Savary, in a separate carriage, followed the king to Burgos. But the emperor not having arrived there, the king, urged by the earnest and pressing entreaties of General Savary, proceeded to Vittoria. The general, convinced that his majesty had resolved to proceed no farther, continued his journey to Bayonne, with the intention, no doubt, of acquainting the emperor of all that had passed, and of procuring a letter from him, which should determine the king to separate himself from his people. At Vittoria, his majesty received information that Napoleon had arrived at Bourdeaux, and was on his way to Bayonne, where, in fact, he arrived with his spouse, on the 15th of April. While the French troops were making suspicious movements in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, General Savary appeared in that city, with the following letter to Ferdinand, from the Emperor of the French, dated at Bayonne, April 16.

“ My Brother!—I have received the letter of your royal highness: in the papers which you have received from the king, your royal highness's father, you must have found a proof of the interest which I have always felt for you. You will permit me, under the present circumstances, to speak to you with truth; and I wished, by my

journey to Madrid, to draw over my illustrious friend to some necessary ameliorations of his states, and also to give a certain satisfaction to the public feelings. The removal of the Prince of the Peace appeared to me to be necessary for the prosperity of his majesty, and that of his subjects. The affairs of the North had retarded my journey. The events at Aranjuez took place. I pass no decision on what had previously fallen out, nor upon the conduct of the Prince of the Peace; but I know well that it is dangerous for kings to accustom their people to shed blood, or to seek to redress themselves. I pray God, that your royal highness may never feel this by your own experience. It is not the interest of Spain to injure a prince who has married a princess of the blood-royal, and who for a long time directed the affairs of the kingdom. He no longer has any friends; your royal highness will possess them no longer than while you shall be fortunate. The people willingly revenge themselves for that homage which they pay us. How also can the process be drawn up against the Prince of the Peace, without involving in it the queen and the king your father? This process would give nourishment to hatred and factious passions, the issue of which would be fatal to your crown. Your royal highness has no other right thereto than that which you derive from your mother. If this process degrade her, your royal highness destroys your own right. He who has lent an ear to weak and disloyal counsels, has no right to pass sentence on the Prince of the Peace. His misdeeds, if he can be reproached with them, go to destroy the rights of the crown. I have frequently expressed a desire, that the Prince of the Peace should be removed from affairs; the friendship of King Charles has often induced me to remain silent, and to turn away my eyes from the weakness of his conduct. Unhappy mortals that we are! Weakness and error, these are our mottoes; but all may be arranged; namely, that the Prince of the Peace should be banished from Spain, and I should invite him to a place of retirement in France. As to the abdication of King Charles the Fourth, that has taken place at a moment when my troops were traversing Spain; and in the eyes of Europe, and of posterity, I should seem to have sent so many troops solely for the purpose of pushing from his throne my ally, and friend. As a neighbour sovereign, it is fit that I should know this abdication, before I acknowledged it. I say it to your royal highness, to the Spaniards, and to the whole world, if the abdication of King Charles has proceeded from his own will, if he was not driven to it by the insurrection and uproar at Aranjuez, I make no scruple to accede to it, and to acknowledge your royal highness as King of

Spain. The circumspection which I have observed for this month past, must be a security to you for the support which you shall find in me, should ever party differences disturb you, in your turn, upon the throne.

"When King Charles made us acquainted with the events of last October, I was very much affected by them; and I think that by my efforts the affair of the Escorial received a happy issue. Your royal highness was much to blame—I have no need of any other proof of this, than the letter which you wrote to me, and which I shall always desire to consider as not having come to me. Your royal highness must distrust all popular commotions and insurrections. A few of my soldiers may be murdered, but the subjugation of Spain shall be the consequence of it.

"I see with pain, that some persons at Madrid have disseminated certain letters of the Captain-general of Catalonia, and have done every thing to excite disturbances among the people. Your royal highness perfectly comprehends my meaning. You perceive that I have touched slightly upon many points, which it would not be proper to enlarge upon.

"You may be assured that I will conduct myself in every thing towards you, in the same way as to your royal father. You may rely upon my desire to arrange every thing, and of finding an opportunity of giving you proof of my perfect regard and esteem.

"Herewith accept," &c.

To the contents of this letter, General Savary added so many and such vehement protestations of the interest which the emperor took in the welfare of his majesty and of Spain, that he even went so far as to say, "I will suffer my head to be cut off, if, within a quarter of an hour after your majesty's arrival at Bayonne, the emperor shall not have recognized you as King of Spain and the Indies. To support his own consistency, he will probably begin by giving you the title of highness, but in five minutes he will give you that of majesty, and in three days every thing will be settled, and your majesty may return to Spain immediately." The king, after some hesitation, determined to proceed to Bayonne.

Scarcely had the King of Spain set foot on

the French territory, when he remarked, that no one came to receive him, until on his arrival at St. Jean de Luz, the mayor, attended by the municipality, made his appearance. The carriage stopped, and the mayor addressed his majesty in the most lively expressions of joy, at having the honor of being the first to receive a king, who was the friend and ally of France. Soon after he was met by the deputation of three *grandses*, who had been sent off by Ferdinand before to meet the French emperor; and their representation, with respect to the intentions of Napoleon, were not of the most flattering nature. He was now, however, too near Bayonne to think of changing his course; wherefore he continued his journey. There came out to meet the king, the Prince of Neufchâtel, and Duroc, marshal of the palace, with a detachment of the guard of honor, which the citizens of Bayonne had formed to attend his majesty Napoleon, and they invited his majesty to enter Bayonne, where a place had been prepared for his residence; which he did on the 20th of April.

The residence prepared for the king appeared to all, and was, in reality, but little suited to the guest who was to occupy it. This remarkable and expressive neglect formed a striking contrast with the studied magnificence which the King of Spain had prepared for the reception of his ally at Madrid. While the king was taken up with doubts concerning the meaning of a reception he so little expected, he was informed that the emperor was on his way to pay him a visit. His imperial majesty arrived, accompanied by a number of his generals. The king went down to the street-door to receive him, and both monarchs embraced each other with every token of friendship and affection. The Emperor of the French staid but a short time with his majesty, and they embraced each other again at parting. Soon after, Marshal Duroc came to invite the king to dine with the emperor, whose carriages were coming to convey the king to the castle of Marrac, about the distance of a mile and an half from Bayonne, where his imperial majesty resided, which accordingly took place. Napoleon came as far as the steps of the coach to receive his majesty; and having embraced him again, led him by the hand to the apartment provided for him.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

1808.

CHAPTER II.

Suspicious Occurrence at Barcelona.—Patriotism of Count Espellata.—Popular Indignation at the Journey of Ferdinand VII. to Bayonne.—Demands for the Release of the Prince of Peace.—His Release, and Anecdotes of the Arrival of Charles IV. and his Queen at Bayonne.—They dine with Napoleon and his Spouse.—Bonaparte's Message to Ferdinand, desiring him and Family to renounce the Crown of Spain.—Conference between their Ministers.—Interrupted by Bonaparte.—Ferdinand discovers himself in a State of Arrest.—Charles declares to Ferdinand his Determination to renounce all Rights to the Crown of Spain.—Ferdinand's Conditional Renunciation in Favor of his Father.—The Queen of Spain bastardizes her own legitimate Son in the Presence of her Husband.—Bonaparte's Threat to Ferdinand.—The latter consequently agrees to an Absolute Renunciation.—The Spaniards in a State of Agitation.—Insurrection and dreadful Massacre at Madrid.—Inhuman Policy of the French General.—The Duke of Berg appointed Viceroy of Spain.—His Proclamations.—The Bishop of Orense's poignant Letter.—Joseph Bonaparte made King of Spain.—The Royal Family hurried into the Interior of France.—Bonaparte's Justification of his Conduct.

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ABOUT the middle of March an occurrence took place at Barcelona, which, if the hostile designs of the French government against Spain could possibly have appeared unequivocal before, rendered them more apparent. General Dubesme, commander-in-chief of the French army of observation of the Eastern Pyrennees, had been for some time busily employed in throwing great quantities of ammunition and provisions into the forts of Barcelona and Monjuich. The Count of Espellata, captain-general of Catalonia, in a letter dated at Barcelona, the 18th of March, thus remonstrated with the general on this suspicious and alarming movement.

"The troops that occupied the citadel and the fortress of Monjuich, might have considered all the houses of Barcelona as so many magazines, and the provisions they contained as their own. There was no enemy to excite apprehension; nor any thing to be expected in which the inhabitants of the town were not as much interested as the troops in garrison. Your excellency occupied the fortresses in the name of the emperor and king as an ally; and it was only on the faith of this that the Spanish government consented to its occupancy. It was under the same impression, that the town opened to you and your people its treasures, and resources of every kind, which you have received in the bosom of our families. The city gave you an honorable reception, and shared with you the provisions destined for their own use. Military law prescribes the mode of provisioning garrisons when engaged in actual hos-

tilities, or besieged, or when the country is threatened with famine. In such cases the general is under a necessity of taking measures of precaution for the subsistence of his troops, by the formation of magazines. But where circumstances of this kind do not exist, such measures are calculated only to excite suspicion and mistrust. Neither my conduct, nor the constant moderation of my troops, nor the favorable reception accorded to the French army, is calculated to give any ground of alarm.

"The town is provided with necessaries of every sort, as you will see by the official statements signed by the intendant; and, even if we should fall short of some articles, your excellency has given me the strongest assurance that preparations are at this moment going on in the ports of France for supplying this place with provisions free from all duties. When his majesty the emperor and king, whose great name inspires us with confidence, at the same time that our fortresses are occupied by his troops, shall be informed of our pliability and honorable principles, it will not be with pleasure that he will be told, that this city, in return for its deference and conduct, has been alarmed by terrible menaces and preparations. Your excellency will be pleased to learn from his imperial majesty, what he thinks of your design before you carry it into execution, accompanying your request with this explanation of my sentiments on the subject; as I also, on my part, shall lay the whole of this matter before the king my master, without whose orders I can-

not accord to your excellency what the forts occupied by the Spanish troops have not themselves.

"If, before receiving orders from the emperor, your excellency should see any reason for living with precaution, and under the influence of fear in fortresses to be considered, at present, as forming part of the city, then indeed it may be proper to have recourse to the measures you propose. But as, at present, there was no necessity for any such measure, I wish to impress your mind with a conviction, that to establish magazines, and form considerable depôts of provisions in the forts cannot serve any good purpose; that such an intention is remarkable, calculated to rouse attention, and offensive; and that it may not perhaps be in your excellency's power, nor mine, to remedy the consequences which such a fermentation must excite among the inhabitants."

This letter of Count Espellata, copies of which were handed about in Madrid, and over all Spain, met with general sympathy and applause, and contributed very much to raise and heighten the national sentiment of resentment and indignation against the French and the French party.

The state of affairs at Barcelona must have been known to the Spanish court a considerable time before the departure of Ferdinand from his capital to meet Bonaparte. This journey excited in all the villages and towns through which his majesty passed, the greatest discontent and liveliest indignation; which were not appeased by the proclamations that preceded his progress, declaring that he had the most positive and satisfactory assurances, that nothing but the most profound respect would be shewn to his person; without which assurances he would never have accepted the Emperor of the French's invitation, and that within four or five days, with the assistance of his good brother and ally, the affairs of Spain would be settled to his own satisfaction, and also to that of his subjects.

At Vittoria, when the people learnt, even from the authority of the king, that Bonaparte was suffered to interfere in those affairs, there was a general fermentation among the inhabitants, who, April 19, crowded about the royal residence, in the most tumultuous manner, giving vent to their sentiments without restraint.

A new proclamation was issued, and the Duke of Infantado endeavoured to impress the assertions contained in it, in harangues to the people. He assured them, that the intention of the new king was, to represent to the French emperor, the antipathy of the Spanish people to the French troops that had been sent among them, and to demand their immediate recal. The tumult was somewhat assuaged; but voices were heard here and there, muttering, "That both the king and the Duke of Infantado might do with Napoleon what they pleased; that Spaniards would

never be slaves: and that the nation would maintain its independence without them."

From the moment that Murat set his foot on the Spanish territory, he did all in his power to impress the Spaniards with a conviction, that he had come among them for their good, by bringing about certain reforms in the government, giving it to be understood withal, that he was on the side of the Prince of Asturias, and in opposition to the Prince of the Peace, who was universally detested; nor did he fail to throw out hints and allusions to the influence of the queen in the great affairs of the nation; thereby to ingratiate himself with the people: but, true to his purpose of division and distraction, he was no sooner informed of what had passed at Aranjuez, on the 19th of March, than he made a shew of taking a very warm interest in the fate of Don Manuel Godoy, with whom, though personally unacquainted, he had kept up a confidential and intimate correspondence.

Whilst Ferdinand halted at Vittoria, he was informed by the supreme junta, that the Grand Duke of Berg had made a formal, and even an imperious demand of the release of Godoy. This application Ferdinand, who had solemnly promised to bring Don Manuel to judgment according to the laws, directed the junta to resist. Bonaparte had himself, by letter, made a similar application to Ferdinand; who, in reply, represented the invincible necessity he was under of bringing Godoy to trial. But as his imperial majesty was pleased to take an interest in the life of Don Manuel Godoy, he gave him his word, that if the prisoner should, after mature examination of the charges laid against him, be condemned to death, that punishment should be remitted, in consideration of his majesty's intercession.

When the French emperor received this answer from Ferdinand, he flew into a great passion, and, with his accustomed falsity, immediately wrote to the Grand Duke of Berg, that the Prince of Asturias had placed the prisoner at his disposal, and ordered him to demand the release of Godoy, in the most energetic manner. The grand duke, who was naturally violent and impetuous, sent a very haughty note to the junta, in which he reminded them, that the Emperor of the French, at the same time that the authority of the Prince of Asturias was stated as a ground of procedure to them, acknowledged no other King of Spain than Charles IV. He demanded anew the person of the Prince of the Peace to be sent to France. To this note Murat added many verbal threats of force, which, being reported, so intimidated them, that they ordered the release of Godoy, who was immediately conveyed to Bayonne.

The junta, to cover their own weakness, gave

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out, in two gazettes extraordinary, that Don Manuel had been released by order of Ferdinand VII. They attempted, by disguising and garbling, to justify such an interpretation of his letter; though nothing could be plainer than that it was the king's intention not to screen Godoy from trial, but from the last punishment in case of condemnation.

The joy that was excited by the imprisonment of the Prince of Peace, with his principal officers, in all the provinces of Spain, is not to be described. At Salamanca, and several other towns, the bells of the churches were rung; and at Salamanca six hundred monks, and as many licentiates, danced in the market-place; young women, married women, and old men, mixed with the monks in this demonstration of their joyful transports. The Spanish newspapers, which had begun to assume a tone of great freedom, styled Don Manuel the prince of injustice, the generalissimo of infamy, the grand-admiral of treason, and the ruin of the nation.

Although the history of all absolute monarchies presents many instances of sudden and surprising elevations to great power and wealth, and as sudden and unexpected falls, there is perhaps none so striking as that of Don Manuel Godoy. He was accounted by far the wealthiest and most powerful subject in Europe. Indeed he had all the power, and in a great measure all the wealth of the Spanish monarchy, at his command. While several of the old imposts had come to be alienated from the crown, and were appropriated by certain great families, through the improvident and profligate favor of the court, the people were oppressed with new and arbitrary taxes, burthensome in themselves, and rendered more so by the mode of their collection. But the odium of the common people against the prime minister and the favorite would never have wrought his fall, if there had not been a very general combination against him among the nobility, whom he so greatly eclipsed in splendour, patronage, and favor, and to whom a predominant favorite at court is a greater nuisance, perhaps, than to the nobles of any other country in Europe.

Don Manuel Godoy, in his retreat, was accompanied by an escort of two hundred horsemen, which appeared necessary for his protection from the fury of the people. He arrived at Bayonne, April 26. A castle in the environs of Bayonne was appointed for his residence; and he was in all respects treated by Bonaparte as a person of distinction and consequence.

The determined interference of Bonaparte for the liberation of the Prince of Peace, was owing to the resolution of the king and queen not to quit Spain for France, though called thither by

Bonaparte, unless the favorite should be permitted to do so also, and to proceed on his journey before them.

King Charles IV. and his Queen Louisa arrived on the 27th of April at Burgos, and on the 28th at Vittoria. A detachment of the body-guards, to the number of one hundred, who had accompanied the Prince of Asturias to Bayonne, happening to be in this town, placed themselves, according to custom, in the palace to be occupied by their majesties. But when the old king set his eyes on them, with a degree of energy that surprised every one, he ordered them to be gone—"You betrayed your trust at Aranjuez; I want none of your services, and I will have none."—The guards were obliged to retire.

On the 29th of April, their majesties remained all night at Tolosa; on the 30th they came, about noon, to Irun, where they received letters from Bonaparte, and two hours after entered the walls of Bayonne, where they were treated with all public respect and honor.

When the roaring of cannon announced the arrival of the old King and Queen of Spain, Ferdinand, with his brother, Don Carlos, went to meet them. All the Spaniards that were at Bayonne also waited on their majesties, and went through the ceremony of kneeling and kissing hands. It was a scene of constraint and awkwardness on both sides; the king seemed as much dissatisfied with them as he had been with his body-guards at Vittoria. He did not speak a word to any one but Count Pignatelli, of Fuentes, an unprincipled courtier, whom Bonaparte had appointed to insinuate himself into the confidence of the Prince of Asturias, for the purpose of watching and betraying him.

When the ceremony of kissing hands was over, their old majesties, being fatigued, retired to their apartments; the Prince of Asturias was going to follow them, but the king stopped him, saying, "Prince, have you not yet sufficiently outraged my grey hairs?" The prince and the Spaniards who had accompanied him to Bayonne, at these words were thunder-struck, and withdrew in great perturbation. At five o'clock, P. M. their majesties were visited by the Emperor Napoleon, who remained with them a long time. The conversation turned on the injuries that had been done to the king and queen, the perils in which they had been involved, the ingratitude of men on whom they had lavished favors; and, above all, on the ingratitude and rebellion, as they said, of their son. The officers of King Charles's household were appointed by Bonaparte, all of them Frenchmen.

On the 1st of May, the King and Queen of Spain dined at the castle of Marrac with Napoleon and his spouse Josephine. May 2, at

four o'clock, P. M. Josephine went to pay a visit to the king and queen, and staid a long time with their majesties.

The newspapers printed at Bayonne, under the immediate inspection of Talleyrand and Bonaparte himself, and which came every day under the eye of the Prince of Asturias, took the side of the dethroned king and the Prince of Peace. The Bayonne gazette of the 25th of April, the day of Ferdinand's arrival, contained various statements in contradiction of the reports that had been spread of the prince's having immense treasures in foreign funds, extenuated the instances of his mal-administration, adverted to many benefits that resulted from his ministry, and above all, entered into elaborate arguments to shew that the abdication of Charles IV. was not voluntary but compulsory. In this manner Bonaparte endeavoured to prepare the mind of Ferdinand and his party for the catastrophe that awaited him. At the same time it was the common talk at the court of Bayonne, and re-echoed from thence by the numerous emissaries of Bonaparte, in every province in Spain, that a strong hand alone could save the monarchy.

The Prince of Asturias, as he was still styled by the French, or Ferdinand VII. according to the general voice of the Spanish nation, had no sooner returned from dining at the castle of Mar-rac to his residence, than General Savary came to inform him, that the Emperor of the French and King of Italy had irrevocably determined that the Bourbon family should no longer reign in Spain; that it should be succeeded by his; and, therefore, that his imperial majesty required Ferdinand, in his own name, and that of all his family, to renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies in favor of the dynasty of Bonaparte. That such a proposition should be made, and that the bearer of such a proposition should be the identical Savary, who, until that moment, had given such solemn and repeated assurances to the Spanish prince, of the honorable and friendly sentiments of Bonaparte towards him, struck the new king and the Spanish chiefs, who had accompanied him, with a degree of surprise and consternation not to be described, and opened their eyes to the horrors of their situation.

Bonaparte, having now thrown off the mask, proceeded without delay to carry his project into effect. On the following day he summoned to his palace Cevallos, who, as already observed, had been first secretary of state to King Charles, and now occupied the same station with Ferdinand, and was much in his confidence. In the palace Cevallos was received by M. de Champagne, Bonaparte's minister for foreign affairs. Cevallos began the conference with complaints of the perfidious artifices practised on his royal

master to inveigle him into France, and added, that he had been instructed to declare, in the most formal manner, that he neither would nor could renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in favor of any individual or family whatever, to the prejudice either of himself, or of the other branches of his house; and that no person could be called to the throne, but by the voice of the nation itself, in virtue of the national right it possessed to select a new family in the event of the extinction of the family then on the throne.

The French minister, in return, insisted on the necessity of the required renunciation, chiefly on the ground that the abdication of King Charles had not been spontaneous. Cevallos protested against the opinion, that Bonaparte had any right to interfere in the internal arrangements of Spain, and cited the example of the French government itself, which, in the beginning of the revolution, had positively rejected, as inadmissible, the request tendered by the King of Spain in favor of his unfortunate cousin, Louis XVI. Having stated various circumstances in proof that the late king, in his abdication, had acted entirely from his own free choice, Cevallos was told, that while the house of Bourbon reigned in Spain, France never could be secure, in the case of war again breaking out in the north of Europe.

In opposition to this argument, Cevallos reasoned with Champagne as follows:—Ever since the restoration of peace between the two countries, Spain had adhered to her engagements with France with unshaken fidelity. The political conduct of Charles IV. since the treaty of Basle, afforded a recent proof that sovereigns had little regard to family interests, when these were in opposition to the interests of their dominions; that the friendship between France and Spain was founded in local and political considerations; that the topographical situation of the two kingdoms was of itself sufficient to demonstrate, how important it was for Spain to preserve a good understanding with France, the only state on the continent of Europe with which she had direct and very extensive relations. The only circumstance by which the fidelity could be staggered, would be an attempt on the part of France to assail the independence of Spain, or the honor of her sovereign. Such an attempt might re-open an intercourse with England, which had already endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, necessarily to be followed by measures essentially prejudicial to France. What confidence could Europe place in treaties with Bonaparte, were it discovered that he had broken through the sacred engagements contracted by him but six months before, with Charles IV. in the secret treaty of Fontainebleau?

The conference between the French and

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Finding, however, Cevallos inflexible in the principles he professed, Bonaparte put an end to the interview with these characteristic expressions; "I have a system of policy of my own; you ought to adopt more liberal ideas; to be less rigid on the point of honor; and not to sacrifice the prosperity of Spain for the interests of the Bourbon family."

Despairing of success in a negotiation with Cevallos, Bonaparte required Ferdinand to entrust his concerns with some other minister. That no difficulty might arise on this score, Don Pedro Labrador, who had been minister at the court of Florence, was selected to conduct the negotiation on the part of Ferdinand, and instructed to declare, that his master neither would nor could consent to the renunciation of his rights, or those of his family, to the throne of their ancestors. Labrador's demands of the production of the French ministers full powers to treat with him, and for an authenticated statement of the proposals of Bonaparte, were evaded by Champagny, as matters of merely official form. Champagny added an insinuation, that Labrador might, by falling in with the emperor's views, secure the prosperity of Spain, and at the same time promote his own private advantage. Labrador required that Ferdinand should be instantly permitted to return to Spain. But he was told, that matters could be arranged only by the two sovereigns, either by letters or in a personal interview.

This answer, added to the other circumstances, left no doubt in the mind of King Ferdinand, that he was actually under arrest. However, in order to establish beyond a doubt the certainty of this fact, Cevallos, by his majesty's order, sent a note to the French minister for foreign affairs, telling him, that the king was determined to return to Madrid, to tranquillize the agitation of his beloved subjects; and to provide for the transaction of the important business of the kingdom; assuring M. Champagny, at the same time, that he himself would continue, in order to treat with his imperial majesty, on affairs reciprocally advantageous.

Bonaparte finding Ferdinand inflexible, had recourse to other expedients for effecting his object. It was with a view to this, that the old king and queen were invited to repair to Bayonne, for the purpose of a final arrangement of affairs.

Scarcely had Charles reached Bayonne, when he was employed to demand, that his son should resign the crown so lately assumed, signifying, at the same time, his resolution not to remount the throne himself, but to renounce all his rights, and those of his family, in favor of France. Ferdinand VII. overawed, a prisoner, and controlled by circumstances, on the 1st of May transmitted in writing a conditional renunciation of the crown in favor of his august father. In that paper Ferdinand observed, that though his father had personally declared his abdication to be voluntary, it now appeared, that it was his secret intention to resume the crown when it should become advisable. It now also appeared, that it was not his design either to remount the throne himself, or even to return to his dominions; at the same time, that the rightful heir was directed to renounce his claims to the succession.

Notwithstanding the inexplicable contrariety in Charles's conduct, Ferdinand consented to resign all present pretensions to the throne; but upon certain conditions, calculated to prevent the alienation of the sovereignty to any foreign power. He proposed that Charles should return to Madrid, whither he would attend him as a dutiful son; that the Cortes, or, at least, the great council of the kingdom, should be assembled; that his present resignation, with his motives thereto, should be duly and regularly recorded; that Charles should dismiss from his presence the persons who had so justly incurred the detestation of the nation; that if Charles, as it was understood, declined to resume the reins of government, Ferdinand would undertake the administration, either in the name of his father, and as his lieutenant, or in his own name.

On the following day, May 2, the old king, in a long answer, evidently dictated by the great usurper, declared his abdication to have been compulsory, and attributed his present distressful situation to the inveterate hatred of Ferdinand against France, of which evidence in his own letters had been communicated by the emperor. Charles concluded with asserting his conviction, that the disorders of Spain were to be remedied only by Bonaparte, whom, from long experience, the aged monarch said he knew to be incapable of forming any design hostile to the honor and interests of the royal family of Spain.

Ferdinand's reply to this communication, dated the 4th of May, together with many powerful representations to his father, on the future si-

tuation of the kingdom, contains many strong arguments for believing the abdication of the 19th of March to have been voluntary, although the consequences to be apprehended from the popular commotions might have had a commanding influence on Charles's mind.

On the same day, May 4, when this reply was sent by Ferdinand to King Charles, (whether before or after it was received cannot be ascertained, and is perfectly immaterial) he announced to the council of Castile, his abdication of all his claims on the Spanish kingdoms, in favor of his friend and ally, the Emperor of the French, by a treaty which had been signed and ratified, and which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Spanish kingdoms, and the preservation of the holy catholic religion, not only as the predominant, but as the sole and exclusive religion in Spain. He had thought proper to send this letter, that they might conform themselves thereto, publish its contents, and make every exertion in favor of Napoleon; "Display," said King Charles, "the utmost frankness and friendship towards the French; and, above all, direct your care to preserve the country from insurrections and tumults."

But before this letter of abdication should be delivered, he had dispatched a proclamation, dated on the same day, the purpose of which was, to prepare the public mind, in some degree, for what was so soon to follow; in conformity with the usual policy of Bonaparte, who, on all occasions, was not less attentive to moral influence than to physical force. Charles, evidently adopting the sentiments, and very style of Bonaparte, told his "Dear Subjects," that perfidious men sought to mislead them, to arm the Spaniards against the French, and the French against the Spaniards; but the devastation of Spain, and calamities of every kind, would be the consequence. In this critical juncture, he had concerted with his ally, the Emperor of the French, measures for their welfare. All those who spoke against France thirsted for their blood. They were either the enemies of the Spanish nation, or the agents of England, who sought, by their intrigues, to sever the mother-country from her colonies; to effect a separation of her provinces; or to involve the country for a long course of years in trouble and disaster. "Spaniards," said he, "be guided by my experience, and yield obedience to the authority which I derive from God, and my ancestors. Follow my example, and be assured, under the present circumstances, there is neither prosperity nor safety for the Spaniards, but in the friendship of the grand emperor our ally."

The negotiation between the father and the son, for the purpose of procuring the unconditional and absolute renunciation of all right on the part

of Ferdinand to the Spanish throne, did not keep pace with the ardor of Bonaparte; who, therefore, adopted measures for bringing it to a conclusion in his own peculiar way.

At four in the afternoon of the 5th of May, his imperial majesty went to visit the old King and Queen of Spain. At this interview there were present, besides their majesties, the Infant Don Carlos, Godoy, the grandees of Spain, who had accompanied the new king in his journey to Bayonne, and the Spanish minister Don Pedro Cevallos. After a conference, which was continued above an hour, Ferdinand was called in by his father, "To hear," said Cevallos, "in the presence of the emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating that I dare not record them." The scene to which Cevallos alluded was this. The queen, in a transport of passion, addressing Ferdinand, said, "Traitor, you have for years meditated the death of the king your father; but thanks to the vigilance, the zeal, and the loyalty of the Prince of the Peace, you have not been able to effect your purpose; neither you, nor any of the infamous traitors who have co-operated with you, for the accomplishment of your designs. I tell you to your face, that you are my son, but not the son of the king. And yet, without having any other right to the crown than those of your mother, you have sought to tear it from us by force. But I agree and demand, that the Emperor Napoleon shall be umpire between us: Napoleon, to whom we cede and transfer our rights, to the exclusion of our own family. I call on him to punish you and your associates, as so many traitors, and abandon to him the whole Spanish nation."

This scene of the queen bastardizing her own legitimate son in the presence of the king, his legitimate father; and proclaiming her own infamy before her husband, is something so new, surprising, and singular, that it would not have gained universal and undoubted credit as it had done, if it had not been attested by so many witnesses. It was supposed by some, on no improbable grounds, to have been not merely an effusion of passion, but preconcerted between her majesty and Bonaparte.

Certain it is, that on the side of the French court there was the utmost subtlety and blackest perfidy; on that of the Spanish court, if not treachery, a stupidity bordering on idiotism.

There seemed to be no end to the queen's reproaches and rage, when Napoleon interrupted her, by saying, "No! I give to Ferdinand the crown of Naples, and to Charles that of Etruria, with one of my nieces in marriage to each of them. Let them declare if they be willing to accept this offer."

After a short silence, Don Carlos replied, "Emperor, I was not born to be a king, but an

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infant of Spain." Ferdinand was silent. Bonaparte, after a short pause, said, "Prince, il faut opter entre la cession et la mort."—Cession or death; and six hours were allowed him for coming to a determination. King Charles seconding the threat of Bonaparte, ordered his son to make an absolute resignation of the crown, under pain of being treated, with all his household, as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his father. To this proposition, Ferdinand being desirous not to involve in his misfortunes the number of persons comprehended in the threat of Charles IV. assented. The next day, in a letter to his father, after stating the circumstances of constraint in which he was placed, he made the resignation which was commanded. After this, Ferdinand was deprived of his coach of state, and sword of honor. He had no other attendant than the commander of the party that watched him; a Jew, belonging to the militia or national guards of Bayonne.

On the same day, (May 5,) a treaty of abdication was agreed to, and signed by the Prince of Peace, on the part of King Charles IV. and Marshal Duroc on that of Bonaparte. The motives by which Charles was actuated in this extraordinary transaction were stated in the preamble to have been to save Spain from the agitation of faction and war, both internal and external; to preserve, together with the colonies, the unity of the monarchy; and to join the means of France with those of Spain, for the purpose of obtaining a maritime peace. In the first article, Charles ceded to his majesty, the Emperor Napoleon, all his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies; all things had come to such a pass, that he alone could re-establish social order. But this cession was made on the two following conditions. 1st, That the integrity of the kingdom should be maintained; that the prince whom his imperial majesty should think fit to appoint to the throne of Spain should be independent, and that the limits of Spain should not undergo any alteration. 2dly, That the Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman, should be the only religion of Spain, as heretofore, and that no toleration should be granted to any sect of the reformed religion, much less to infidelity. This act or treaty of abdication and cession, as it was called, contained a number of articles, providing for the establishment of the king and queen, and infants of Spain, within the French territory, and also for settling the rank they were to hold, which was to be the same with that which they possessed in Spain. By the act of cession, of the Prince of Asturias, signed at Bayonne, May 10, the Emperor of the French secured to him the title of royal highness, promised to cede to him the domain of Navarre in Normandy, and grant him besides, an annual revenue in money, the title of royal highness, the engagement of their respective commanders in

Spain, and yearly pensions to Don Antonio, the uncle of Ferdinand, Don Carlos, and his nephew, Don Francisco, provided they should accede to the treaty.

In the meantime, there was, as might be expected, an action and re-action between what was going on at Bayonne, and what came to pass at Madrid. The public mind in Spain had never been in a state of perfect tranquillity since the middle of March, when it was suspected that Charles IV. intended to remove to Seville, with all his family. The deposition of the Prince of the Peace, the abdication of Charles, and the accession of his son Ferdinand, events which took place on the same day, produced a general satisfaction throughout the nation. But multiplied reports of the insolence of the French, and particularly the letter of the Count de Espellata, the Governor-general of Catalonia, stating the hostile proceedings of Duhesme at Barcelona; the arrival of French troops at Madrid; the surrender to Murat of the sword of Francis I.; the departure of the king for Burgos; the deliverance of Godoy to the French; and, finally, the determination of Ferdinand to pass the frontier, or to put himself into the hands of the French at Bayonne. All these circumstances raised a fermentation, which every moment threatened some terrible explosion, and it was not without difficulty that the junta of government, at the head of which was Don Antonio, were able to calm the alarms of the people, so far as to restrain them from insulting the French and treating them with violence.

A courier extraordinary arrived every evening at Madrid, with news of the proceedings at Bayonne. This news was not published in the gazette, but circulated under the form of letters from particular persons in the suite of the king. These bulletins were at first satisfactory, as they were full of nothing but the honors done to Ferdinand, and the friendly reception he met with at Bayonne from Bonaparte. By and by it was surmised that affairs at the castle of Marrac wore but a gloomy aspect; and, soon after, it was perfectly known that it was intended by the ruler of France to compel Ferdinand to resign his crown.

The courier expected on Sunday, the 30th of April, did not arrive; and the mail looked for hourly was still due on the evening of the 1st of May, when several thousands of the inhabitants of the capital assembled at the port of the Sun, and other streets near the post-office, on the lookout for the arrival of the post. The French garrison of Madrid rested all night on their arms, and on Monday, the 2d of May, the sun rose on many an unfortunate inhabitant, who was never to behold the dawn of another day.

This was the day fixed for the departure of the Queen of Etruria, daughter of King Charles, and her son, Don Francisco, for Bayonne, to

join the rest of the royal family: for it was determined by Bonaparte, that not a branch or scion of that family should remain in Spain. Great numbers of the people crowded to the place that was in front of the palace, to see her going away; and among these, many wives and children, to bid adieu to their husbands, and their fathers, belonging to the family and the escort of the queen, and to bewail their unhappy lot, in being left behind, without any provision being made for their future subsistence. As the first carriage drew up to the gate, a report was circulated by several individuals among the people, that Don Antonio, president of the junta or provisional government, was also going to abandon them: and this mistake produced a tumult. The populace cut the traces of his carriage, and forced it back into the court of the palace. But, on satisfactory assurances that Don Antonio was not going to quit Madrid, they permitted the horses again to be put to the coach, which drove without obstruction to the palace-gate.

In the midst of this fray, an aid-de-camp, sent by Murat, to mark and give an account of what was going forward, made his appearance; the people shewed an inclination to insult this officer and treat him rudely, but he was extricated by some Spanish officers who were present, and suffered to return to his chief. After this, the carriages with the Queen of Etruria, and her brother, were permitted to set out. The infant Don Francisco manifested unequivocal tears of reluctance to leave the palace. He was observed even to weep bitterly, which affected the people prodigiously, and raised their indignation and resentment to the highest pitch. At this instant, the same aid-de-camp returned with a detachment of French soldiers, and immediately there commenced a scene of carnage and horror. It is not fully ascertained whether the populace or the French troops were the first aggressors. But the French were the first to let fly volleys of musketry, and many innocent spectators were killed, and others wounded. A beautiful child, eight years old, fell dead at a window, on the first discharge, which was made about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The news spread over the whole city with the rapidity of lightning, and, in less than an hour, every individual of the lower classes, who possessed the means, appeared on the ground in arms.

At first the Spaniards had the best of it in the greater part of the city, although the Spanish troops had no share in the engagement, having been confined by their officers to their barracks. A great number of the French were killed, and their arms supplied such of the Spaniards as had none of their own. But as soon as the dispositions directed by Murat began to be carried into effect, the advantage was decidedly on the side

of the French. All the French troops in Madrid were set in motion. Each column had one or more pieces of flying-artillery, with which they scoured the streets as they moved onward, and which were afterwards placed at the spots from whence they would do the greatest execution. The French poured volleys of musket-shot into the streets as they crossed or passed by the ends of them, aiming particularly at the windows and balconies. For the Spaniards, when they were driven from the streets, retired to their houses, from which they fired on the French columns. In many places, the French burst into the houses by force, and put to the sword, men, women, and children.

The place where the Spaniards made the most glorious defence was the store-house of artillery of Monteleone House, which, besides ammunition, contained arms for 10,000 men. Thither Murat sent a detachment to take possession of the artillery and ammunition, but he found it occupied by a small number of the inhabitants of Madrid and Spanish artillery-men, under the command of two brave artillery-officers, of the names of Doaize and Velayde. A twenty-four pounder, charged with grape-shot, placed at the gate of the store-house, in front of a long and narrow street, and duly pointed and levelled, made such havoc among the French column as it advanced by this street, that the commander was obliged to send to Murat for a reinforcement. Two other columns were dispatched with all speed to his succour. The French columns attacked this small garrison on both flanks from the windows and tops of the adjoining houses, and repeatedly summoned it to surrender, but the brave and resolute commanders refused to listen to any proposition of this kind, and their constancy remained unshaken to the last moment of their existence. Velayde was killed by a musket-shot. Doaize, after his thigh-bone was broken by a cannon-ball, continued to give his orders as he supported himself leaning with his elbow on the ground, with the greatest composure, till he received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his glorious career. The command of the little arsenal now devolved on a corporal of artillery, who, sensible that nothing good was to be expected from further resistance, offered to capitulate. This offer the French general readily accepted. But while the articles were drawn up, a Spanish officer, the major of the warlike store-house, appeared on horseback, waving a white handkerchief, and proclaiming peace; on which the French were suffered to take possession of the place.

The loss sustained by the French in this point of attack was not exactly ascertained. It was reckoned to be very considerable, as twenty-six round of grape-shot were fired on the first co-

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lumn as it advanced through the long and narrow street just mentioned. In about two hours, the firing in every part of the town ceased; an effect produced by the personal interposition of the members of the council of Castile, and the other tribunals, who flew from one street to another on horseback, accompanied by several Spanish noblemen, with some French generals, and escorted by parties of cavalry, consisting of Spanish bodyguards and troopers belonging to the French imperial guards, mixed together.

The inhabitants of Madrid now flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end. But in the afternoon, Murat issued general orders to his army for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which General Grouchy was appointed president. Before this tribunal all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the early part of the day, or found in the street with any kind of arms about them, or any implements whatever, that might possibly have been used, or by any construction considered as a weapon: those who were found with muskets, swords, penknives, and even scissors, were all of them considered as equally guilty, and ordered to be instantly shot; and the sentence was executed without a moment's delay. Several other persons were condemned to be shot on the day after the next.

The whole of the French troops employed against Madrid, on the horrible 2d of May, was computed not to have exceeded 10,000 at most. And it was supposed that if the Spanish troops in France had been suffered to join the people, not one of those 10,000 would have escaped. But it was fortunate, no doubt, for the Spanish capital, that this was not the case; for besides those 10,000 there were 50,000 more French troops encamped or in cantonments in the territory round Madrid, who would have immediately been set in motion: the result of which would have been the sack and destruction of Madrid.

It was said, in various periodical publications, that Murat and his principal officers studiously sought for an occasion of quarrel and hostilities, with a view to forfeitures and confiscations; and even that such means of gratifying the army were looked to by Bonaparte. It will be recollected, however, that Bonaparte had recourse to every method he could devise for conciliating the favor of the Spaniards.—It may, however, be affirmed with certainty, that it was the inhuman policy of Murat, which he well knew would be approved of by his master, to crush, if possible, the rising spirit of Spain in the bud, by a dreadful example.

The whole city of Madrid, by order of the junta, was disarmed.

By a royal edict, dated at Bayonne, May 4, the Grand Duke of Berg, whom Charles called his cousin, was appointed lieutenant-general, or

viceroy of all Spain. And the council of Castile, and the captains-generals, and governors of provinces, were directed to obey his orders, which was intimated to the junta of government and of war. This decree may be considered not only as a preparatory measure, but an actual transference of all power, military and civil, to the French. As the grand duke was commander-in-chief of the troops belonging to his ally, the Emperor of the French, Charles judged it necessary, he said, to make him Lieutenant-general of Spain, in order to give the whole force within his kingdom, for the preservation of peace and property, the "same direction:" plainly insinuating, that without such an arrangement, the forces of the different nations might receive opposite directions. It was also decreed by the royal edict, that the Grand Duke of Berg, in quality of governor-general, should be president of the junta of government. But in this the junta had been as forward as his majesty: for, on the same day, May 4, the junta having declared that there was not a moment to be lost for preventing the evils to be threatened by disrespect to the constituted authorities, made a tender of the precedence of that council to the Grand Duke of Berg, which was accepted. Don Antonio, as well as every other branch of the royal family, was called to Bayonne.

The Grand Duke of Berg, May 6, issued a proclamation to his army, in which he said, that the "2d of May had forced them to draw the sword; that they had acquitted themselves to his satisfaction, and that he would not fail to report their praise-worthy conduct to the emperor; but order and tranquillity were restored; the guilty had been punished; the men who had been misled, acknowledged their errors; in short, a veil was to cover all that had passed, and that confidence ought now to return. He exhorted his soldiers to return to their old relations of friendship with the inhabitants of the capital. The conduct of the Spanish troops was worthy of eulogy. He bade the inhabitants of Madrid to banish from their minds all uneasiness and apprehension, and to see nothing in the soldiers of the grand Napoleon, the *protector of Spain*, but friendly troops, and faithful allies. The inhabitants, of all orders and degrees, might wear their cloaks according to their usual fashion. They would not, on that account, be any longer arrested, or otherwise molested.

He also published another proclamation, addressed to "the brave Spaniards," to the same effect, but of greater length. He set out with saying, that the "2d of May would be a day of sorrow to him, as it was to them. The common enemy to him and them, after behaving in such a manner as might have wearied out his patience, had finished their provoking conduct

with exciting the people of Madrid and of the adjacent villages to excesses, that had reduced him to employ the irresistible force under his command.—With what horrid joy would not the enemies of France and Spain think of the day when the generous French were obliged to hurt the misted Spaniards? They hoped to obtain other triumphs not less horrible in other parts of the kingdom. But their hopes would be disappointed by his own frankness and the sound judgment of the Spaniards. Charles IV. and his son were concerting at that moment at Bayonne, with the Emperor Napoleon, the best measures for settling the affairs, and fixing the fate of Spain. But the emperor did not think that he ought to delay until the decision of that important question, to make known the sentiments that glowed in his breast in favor of a magnanimous nation, whom he wished to preserve from the crisis of a political revolution, and to establish such political institutions as were most analogous to their character. He had it in charge to declare, in the name of his imperial majesty, that the integrity of the Spanish monarchy should be preserved inviolate, and that it should not be dismembered of the smallest portion of its territory, no, not so much as of a single village; nor should it be subjected to those contributions which are authorized by the laws of war in conquered countries: which laws could never be thought applicable to an ally. The interests of the army which he commanded, were the interests of all such as had titles, privileges, or property to preserve. The nobility, proprietors of estates, merchants, and manufacturers, were called on to exert all their influence for the suppression of sedition; the ministers of religion, who knew the secrets of consciences, and possessed so great authority to undeceive the people: and the civil and military authorities, to recollect their responsibility, and to crush insurrections in the cradle. These authorities, if French blood should be shed anew, would be responsible to the Emperor Napoleon, whose anger or clemency had never been moved in vain. But he promised himself better things, hoping that the ministers of religion, magistrates, the *grandees*, and other nobles of Spain, and, in short, all classes, would make it their study to avert those troubles that might obstruct the amelioration intended. To all the generals and other officers employed in the different provinces of the monarchy, the line of conduct observed on the melancholy occasion alluded to, by the household troops, the garrison of Madrid, and the military in the service of the court, presented an excellent model for imitation."

On the same day a circular letter was addressed by the council of supreme and general inquisition, to all the courts of the kingdom.

This venerable body becoming a tool in the hands of Murat, without hesitation or reserve imputed what the Spanish nation called the massacre of the 2d of May, to the people of Madrid. "The melancholy consequences," said they, "of the disgraceful tumults in this capital, on the 2d instant, by the violence of the people towards the troops of the Emperor of the French, have rendered the most active vigilance necessary on the part of all the magistracies and all the respectable bodies of the nation, in order to prevent the renewal of such excesses, and to preserve tranquillity in every community actuated by a due attention to its own interests, no less than by the laws of hospitality towards *friendly* officers and soldiers who *injure no person*, and who, *up to this moment*, have given the strongest proofs of good order and discipline, by punishing those who have been guilty of excesses, or who have ill-treated any Spaniard in his person or property." They proceeded, in the usual strain of the French on the same subject, to state their suspicion of evil intentions, disguised under the mask of patriotism. They represented the consequences of being governed by the blind impulsion of ignorance, and the dreadful consequences of tumultuous proceedings, which only served to throw the country into a state of convulsion, by tearing asunder those bonds of association on which the peace of the community depended, by destroying the feelings of humanity, and annihilating all confidence in the government, to which alone it belonged to give an uniform direction and impulse to the sentiment of patriotism. These most important truths could not be impressed by any upon the minds and hearts of the people with more beneficial effect, than by the ministers of the religion of Jesus Christ, which breathed nothing but peace and brotherly love among men; and subjection, honor, and obedience, to all who were in authority. And as the holy college ought to be, and always had been, the first to give an example to the ministers of peace; they conceived that it accorded with their office and their duty to address that letter to the subordinate courts of the holy inquisition, that, on perusing its contents, they likewise should co-operate in the preservation of public tranquillity. And they were required to notify the same to all the subordinate officers of their respective courts, and also to the commissioners of districts, that all and every one of them should, with all possible zeal, vigilance, and prudence, co-operate for the attainment of so important an object. This doctrine of passive obedience to whatever power happened to be uppermost at the time, accorded perfectly with that of Bonaparte, who, turning the tables on the assertors of the *jus divinum* of hereditary kings, maintained that he was com-

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missioned by God, in the course of providence, to reform the world by new political institutions, as plainly appeared by his possessing "both the power and the inclination to surmount all obstacles." Such was the language of Bonaparte's proclamation to the people of Spain.

The council of Castile, too, by publishing and proclaiming, sanctioned by the authority of their name all the decrees of Bonaparte, and the Grand Duke of Berg, his lieutenant.

The proclamation of Murat to the Spaniards, May 6, in which he told them that the fate of Spain was under the deliberation of their own princes, in concert with the great Emperor Napoleon, within the precincts of France, was followed up by another, May 19, for convening the notables, who were called on to send deputies to a junta to be assembled at Bayonne, for the purpose of settling some plan that might secure the tranquillity and happiness of Spain. And on the 25th of May a proclamation was issued, in which Bonaparte insinuated to the Spaniards, that he had received a commission from heaven to reform their government, and to make them again what they had been before, a great, glorious, and happy nation. "Your princes have ceded to me their rights to the crown of the Spains.—Your nation is old; my mission is to restore its youth."

The public mind, it was presumed, was now sufficiently prepared for the reception of an imperial decree, which was communicated to the council of Castile, May 29, informing the council of the measures which the emperor, by virtue of his rights to the crown of Spain, which had been ceded to him, had taken for fixing the basis of the new government of the kingdom, of which the Grand Duke of Berg was to continue in the meantime to be viceroy; and the council of Castile were required to affix the said imperial decree on the usual places, that no man might pretend ignorance of the same. The decree ordered, 1. That the assembly of the notables, which had already been summoned by the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, should be held on the 15th of June, at Bayonne. The deputies were charged with the sentiments, desires, and complaints of those they represented; and also to fix the basis of the new government for the kingdom. 2. Napoleon's cousin, the Grand Duke of Berg, was continued to fulfil the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. 3. The ministers, the council of state, the council of Castile, and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities, were as far as requisite confirmed. Justice was to be administered under the same forms, and in the same manner as usual. This decree was published by the council of Castile, as they were ordered and directed.

The object of Bonaparte, in convoking this

assembly, is obvious. Blinded as he was by the extravagance of his ambition, he could yet discern how easily those acts of renunciation, on which he had founded his pretensions to the crown of Spain, might be evaded.

He named, to constitute this assembly, about 150 Spaniards of different classes, conditions, and corporations; but only about ninety were convened. A part of these, representing some cities, tribunals, or other public bodies, brought with them instructions in the nature of powers given them by those whom they represented, but altogether insufficient to answer the purpose intended. The ministers of the council were without any powers or instructions whatever; a precaution adopted by this tribunal in conformity to the judgment of its commissioners, in order to avoid all involuntary compromises. Most of the deputies had no other powers than merely to take their departure, and many of them did not belong to any public body, or acknowledged class of the community. Bonaparte fully expected, from the acquiescence of these individuals, a mask for concealing his usurpation, but he was utterly deceived. Instead of finding weak men convenient for the designs of his mercenary ambition, he was met by ministers incorruptible; grandees worthy of their rank, and representatives who were faithful defenders of the interests and honor of their country. They all, with one accord, informed him, that the powers they held were greatly restricted; that they were not the legitimate representatives of Spain, and that they could not compromise her rights.—Among the deputies chosen by the notables to represent them in the junta at Bayonne, was Don Pedro Quevedo y Quitano, Bishop of Orense. The bishop excused himself from accepting this trust, in a letter to the Grand Duke of Berg, the president, and the other members of the supreme junta of government, which was published in all the Spanish newspapers, and afforded to Bonaparte a foretaste of what might be expected from the literary genius of the Spaniards, awakened by the greatest and most animating occasion that could be presented to any nation. It was fraught throughout with the purest morality and most accurate reasoning, covered with a veil of exquisitely fine, and what may indeed be called a kind of sublime irony. He did not question, but assumed an air of believing, that the great Emperor of the French was animated with an ardent zeal to exalt Spain to the highest pitch of prosperity and glory. "Being seventy-three years of age, and under infirmities, and not able in so short a time to acquire the knowledge necessary to come to a decision on the points to be discussed, he sent the present letter.

"That those renunciations, on which all the

authority of the emperor and king, with regard to Spain, depended, might be valid and clear, and not an object of suspicion to the whole nation, they ought to be ratified by the kings and infants of Spain, not under constraint and terror, but in a state of perfect freedom. And nothing could contribute so much to the glory of the great Emperor Napoleon, who had interested himself so much in the affairs of Spain, as to send back its august monarchs and all the royal family, that having assembled the general cortes, they might consult, deliberate freely, and concert with their vassals and subjects what might be expedient for the welfare of the kingdom.—Who had appointed his serene highness the Grand Duke of Berg, Governor of Spain? Was not the appointment made in France? By a king pious indeed, and worthy of all respect, but not only under an ascendant influence, but under constraint and coercion? Was it not a strange and unnatural chimera to name, for the lord-lieutenant of his kingdom, a general who commanded an army that menaced and compelled him immediately to resign his crown?"

In conclusion he said, "the nation saw itself without a king, and did not know what hand to turn. The renunciations of its kings, and the nomination of a governor of the kingdom, were deeds done in France, and under the eye of an emperor who had persuaded himself that he could effect the felicity of Spain, by giving it a new dynasty, deriving its origin from a family so fortunate as to believe itself incapable of producing any other princes than such as should possess equal or greater talents for government than the invincible and victorious, the legislator, and the philosopher, the great Emperor Napoleon. He requested, with all due respect, that what he considered as well-grounded fears, might be brought under the consideration of the supreme junta of government, and even laid before the great Napoleon, to be weighed by the natural rectitude of his disposition and purity of his heart, free from ambition, and far removed from all guile and political artifice. And, the bishop hoped, that the emperor, after matters should be thus candidly considered, would admit that the safety of Spain could not consist in slavery, and that he would not think of effecting her cure by putting her in chains, seeing she was neither in a state of *lunacy*, nor *furiously mad*. These were sentiments which he was not afraid to avow to the junta of government, and even to the emperor himself. This expression of them was demanded by his love for his country, and the royal family, and by his character of counsellor to his sovereign in the quality of a bishop of Spain: nor did he consider the sentiments he had expressed as useless, if not necessary to the true glory and felicity of the illus-

trious hero who was the admiration of all Europe, and to whom he had the pleasure of taking the present opportunity to pay the tribute of his humble, obedient, and submissive respects."—
Orense, May 29, 1808.

The Bishop of St. Andero's letter on the same subject, and on the same occasion, though quite in another style, was as much admired and as widely circulated. To Bonaparte, who had invited him by letter, to attend at Bayonne, the bishop replied, "I cannot make it convenient to attend, and if I could, I would not."

The junta at Bayonne held their twelfth meeting on the 7th of July, the day appointed for the acceptance of the new constitution. In the chamber where they sat, were erected a magnificent throne, and a richly-decorated altar, the service of which was performed by the Archbishop of Burgos. Joseph Bonaparte, to whom Napoleon had transferred the crown of Spain, being seated on the throne, delivered a speech to the "gentlemen deputies," in which he told them, that he was desirous of presenting himself in the midst of them, previously to their separation from each other.—"Assembled," said Joseph, "in consequence of one of the extraordinary events to which all nations in their turn, and at particular junctures, are subject; and in pursuance of the dispositions of the Emperor Napoleon, our illustrious brother.—Your sentiments have been those of his age. The result of these sentiments will be consolidated in the constitutional act which will be forthwith read to you. It will preserve Spain from many tedious broils, which were easily to be foreseen from the disquietude with which the nation had been long agitated." He proceeded to touch on the great standing topic, the *intrigues of the enemies of the continent*, who hoped to sever Spain from her colonies; but, "if the Spaniards were disposed to make the same sacrifices with him, then should Spain be speedily tranquil and happy at home, and just and powerful abroad."—The act of constitution was read over in a loud voice, and the members of the junta, on the question being put, unanimously declared their acceptance of it.

The president of the junta delivered a short address, in answer to the speech of King Joseph; after which, the several members took the following oath:—"I swear obedience to the king, the constitution, and the laws." The junta then attended his majesty's levee, to pay him their respects on the occasion.

The Viceroy of Spain, Murat, was present at the inauguration of King Joseph. He was called by Bonaparte, and arrived at Bayonne on the 6th of July. It was deemed expedient by Bonaparte, before the departure of Joseph from the capital, to have some conversation with the lieutenant-general, concerning the present state of

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Spain and disposition of the Spaniards. It was judged political wisdom that Joseph should attach a number of the Spanish nobility to his interests, by appointing them to offices of dignity, (as was conceived) trust, and emolument. On the 1st of July, there was a nomination of eight ministers, viz. Don Louis Mariano de Urquijo, secretary of state, Don Pedro Cevallos, minister for foreign relations; Don Joseph de Aranza, minister for the Indies; Admiral Don Joseph Massaredo, minister of marine; Don Gonzalo O'Farrel, minister of war; Don Gaspar Melchior de Jovellanos, minister of the interior; the Count Cabarrus, minister of finances; and Don Sebastian Pinuela, minister of justice.—Two captains of the body-guards, viz. the Duke of Park, a Grandee of Spain, and the Duke of St. Germain, also a grandee of Spain.—Two colonels of the guards, viz. the Duke of Infantado, colonel of the regiment of Spanish-guards, and the Prince of Castel-Franco, colonel of the Walloon-guards, grand officers of the crown. The Marquis of Ariza, great chamberlain; the Duke of Hajar, grand master of the ceremonies; and Count Fernando Nunez, grand huntsman. Chamberlains; the Count Santa Collona, the Duke of Ossuna, Count Castel Florida, and the Duke of Sotomayor, all grandees of Spain.

Immediately after the abdications, the royal family of Spain was hurried into the interior of France. When they had proceeded as far as Bourdeaux, May 12, the Prince of Asturias, and the infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos, subscribed a long proclamation addressed to the Spaniards, in which they were made to repeat their former renunciations of all their rights of succession to the Spanish crown, and to detail the most prominent circumstances in the state of the nation, as well as their own situation under which they had come to that resolution. The unhappy princes were obliged, in that elaborate address to their countrymen, to state in the strongest colours the calamities to be apprehended from the enmity, but the mighty advantages to be expected from the friendship of France, and even, what was a cruel mockery and insult to the princes—to hold forth their dereliction as the greatest possible proof of their affection for the Spanish nation. "Their highnesses conceived that they afforded the most undoubted proof of their generosity and affection towards this nation, by sacrificing to the utmost extent of their power, their individual and personal interests for its benefit, and by that present instrument to assent, as they had already assented by a particular treaty, to the renunciation of all their rights to the throne. They accordingly released the Spaniards from all their duties relating thereto, and exhorted them to consult the common interests of their country by conducting

themselves in a peaceable manner, and by looking for their happiness in the power and wise arrangements of the Emperor Napoleon. The Spaniards might be assured that by their zeal in conforming their conduct to those arrangements, they would give their prince and the two infants the strongest proof of their loyalty; in like manner as their royal highnesses had given them the greatest instance of their paternal affection, in renouncing all their rights, and sacrificing their own interests, for the happiness of the Spaniards, the sole object of their wishes."

The King and Queen of Spain arrived on the 20th of May, at Fontainebleau, where he was immediately accommodated with a complete equipage for the chase. From thence they removed on the 22d to Compiegne. The Prince of the Peace resided now and then, when he did not attend the king and queen, in a villa in the environs of Paris. The Queen of Etruria, and her son, were placed under *proper care* at a house in the village of St. Mendez, near Paris. The unfortunate Ferdinand, with his uncle and brother, arrived, May 19, at Vallency, a small town in the province of Berry, where they were lodged in a castle belonging to Talleyrand. The princes sought consolation in a strict observance of the ordinances of the catholic religion. They attended mass twice every day, and enjoyed, for hours together, the soothing strains of sacred music. The incomes promised by treaty to the royal family of Spain, were not more regularly paid than pensions commonly are to princes in confinement or exile: which reduced the princes to great inconvenience.

King Joseph set foot on the territory of Spain on the 9th of July, escorted by a guard of 4,000 Italian troops, and followed by upwards of an hundred coaches, carrying his suite, and the members of the Bayonne junta. This guard gradually increasing, amounted, by the time Joseph arrived at Madrid, to ten thousand; but his true guard was an army of eighteen thousand men, under Marshal Bessieres, properly posted for that purpose. Napoleon accompanied him as far as Trun, twelve miles distant from the frontier. In all the towns and villages through which Joseph passed in his way to the capital, a sullen silence prevailed. Few of the men went out of their houses, or interrupted their ordinary employments; and some of the women appeared at the windows and balconies, crying out *viva Fernando VII.* On the 20th of July, King Joseph made his public entry into Madrid.—On the same day Bonaparte, with Josephine, set out from Bayonne, and arrived at St. Cloud on the 16th of August.

Bonaparte had hitherto, in all his interferences and aggressions on independent states and kingdoms, given, in declarations of war, his reasons

for his conduct; which, though they did not justify, explained his views, and were a kind of homage to the sentiments of men and nations.

For his conduct to the Spanish nation, which was base and treacherous beyond all example, he made no apology to Europe; but afterwards, when he found he was opposed, both by the pen and the sword, with a keenness he little expected, he published a kind of justification of his conduct towards Spain, which appeared in the form of a report from the ministers of external relations and of war, presented to the conservative senate on the 5th of September, and published in the *Moniteur*, September 7. It was dated at Bayonne, April 24, though probably not composed till sometime afterwards. The substance of it was, "that France was under an obligation to put an end to the internal dissensions and anarchy that prevailed in Spain, in order to compel the English government to spare the effusion of human blood. This was for the interest and happiness of Spain, France, the continent of Europe, and all the world.—Of all the states of Europe there was not one between whose condition and fate, and that of France, there was so close and necessary connection as that of Spain. Spain must be either a useful friend to France, or a dangerous enemy."

"The greatness of Louis XIV. did not begin till, having conquered Spain, he formed an alliance with the family then reigning there, by which means the Spanish crown came to be placed on the head of his grandson. This provident act of policy was productive of no less a benefit to the two countries than a century of peace after three centuries of war. The bond that united the two nations was broken asunder by the French revolution. After the third coalition, Spain, at the same time that she was most profuse in her protestations of friendship to France, gave secret assurances of aid to the confederates, as appeared from certain papers communicated to the parliament of England."

"It was demanded by the interests of Spain, as well as those of France, that a strong hand should re-establish order in the Spanish government that had fallen into such disgrace, and that was hastening so quickly to its final overthrow and ruin; that a prince who was the friend of France by inclination and by interest, that had nothing to apprehend, and could never be an object of mistrust to France, should consecrate the whole resources of Spain to its internal prosperity, to the re-establishment of its marine, and to the success of that cause which connected Spain with the continent. The work of Louis XIV. was to be recommenced. What policy advised, justice sanctioned."

The reporter, after setting himself to establish this point by a review of circumstances adduced

to prove the lurking hostility of Spain to France, and its predilection for England, and that it was actually in a state of war with his imperial majesty, said, "But, independently of these considerations, existing circumstances do not permit your majesty to abstain from intervention in the affairs of that kingdom. The King of Spain had been hurled from his throne; your majesty was called to judge between the father and the son. What part could your majesty take? Could your majesty sacrifice the cause of sovereigns, and suffer an outrage to the majesty of the throne? Or suffer a prince to sit on the throne of Spain who was unable to disentangle himself from the yoke of the English any longer than your majesty should maintain a powerful army in Spain? If, on the other hand, your majesty should determine to restore Charles IV. to the throne, this could not be done without overcoming very great resistance, and without a deluge of French blood. In short, could your majesty abandon the Spanish nation to its fate in the midst of extreme agitation, and while the English were busy in fomenting trouble and anarchy? Ought your majesty to give up this new prey to be devoured by England? God forbid—I have represented the circumstances that oblige your majesty to come to a great determination. It is recommended by political wisdom, authorized by justice, and by the distractions of Spain, imperiously demanded. Your majesty ought to provide for the security of your empire, and to save Spain from the influence of England."

The minister for foreign relations, in another report made to the emperor, Paris, September 1, to be communicated to the senate, said, "If in the dispositions which your majesty has made, the security of France has been your principal object, the interests of Spain have not been neglected. In uniting the two states by the most intimate alliance, the prosperity and the glory of both have been equally consulted; your majesty interposed as a mediator for the salvation of Spain, torn to pieces by intestine broils. You pointed out to the Spaniards on the one hand the anarchy with which they were threatened, and on the other hand England ready to take advantage of their disorder in order to appropriate to herself whatever might suit her convenience.—Shall England be permitted to say, 'Spain is one of my provinces,' and to domineer at the ports of France? If the French fight for the liberty of the seas, they must begin with tearing Spain from the tyrant of the seas. If they fight for peace, they must drive from Spain the enemies of peace.—In this contest all Europe prays for success to France." Thus far Bonaparte carried on his design by intrigue and fraud; by which means he considered it as accomplished. But

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the Spaniards, not only in the provinces of Spain, but in the colonies, started up simultaneously, as if moved up by one indignant soul, into an attitude of defence and defiance, and declared eternal war

against their perfidious and insolent oppressor: an event which astonished all Europe, and no one more than the tyrant who had treated them with so much contempt.

CHAPTER III.

Great Emotions excited by the Insurrection in Spain.—Impolicy of Bonaparte.—History of the Insurrection before the Establishment of the Provincial Juntas.—After their Establishment.—And under the Supreme Central Junta.—Effects of popular Passion.—Tragical End of Solano.—Unanimity, Heroism, and Wisdom of the Spaniards.—Courage of the Students.—Invitations to other Powers to join the Standard of Freedom.—The Assistance of the English particularly courted.—Unconditional Surrender of the French Fleet in the Harbour of Cadiz.—Deputies from different Juntas in London.—Peace proclaimed between England and Spain.—Liberality of the Former, and Gratitude of the Latter.—Probable Numbers of the French Armies.—Deplorable Situation of Dupont.—Condemned to Death by a Court-Marshal.—Battle of Baylen, and Surrender of the French.—General Moncey repulsed with great Loss from Valentia.—Siege of Saragossa.—Noble Defence of Arragon.—Operations of the French.—Intrepidity of the Heroine, Augustina Saragossa.—Bravery of the Arragonese.—The Siege raised.—Duhesme repulsed from Gerona.—His Cruelty, &c.—Actions.—Disasters of the Patriots.—Flight of King Joseph from Madrid.

At the very time when all Bonaparte's arrangements, relating to the settlement of Spain, were completed, and waited only for the sanction of the junta he had called to Bayonne, the insurrection broke out in all the provinces not immediately under the control of his arms. The intelligence of this excited great emotions in the breasts of the Spaniards at Bayonne, and at the castle of Marrac. As to Bonaparte, the insurrection did not seem to have given him at first much alarm. The sham national assembly was held at Bayonne; the new constitution laid before it; and King Joseph sent to Madrid, as if nothing had happened. Even after it had begun to wear a serious aspect, Bonaparte affected to regard it with indifference and contempt, and was at great pains, by means of his journals, to publish that indifference to the world; apprehending, not without reason, that a serious and effectual resistance of his usurpations in Spain might awaken resistance in other quarters.

Bonaparte saw, when too late, the impolicy of his impetuous haste. He might have gained his end by means, though more leisurely, more secure. He had gained a complete ascendancy over the mind and conduct of Ferdinand; as proved by every act of this prince when raised to

the throne, and particularly by his journey to Bayonne. The power and influence of Bonaparte, in his character of ally and mediator, with so many French troops in Spain, which might be reinforced on various pretences, was unlimited. It was in his power to occupy Cadiz, Carthage, Ferrol, St. Andero, and other ports, and thus to cut off all regular and sure communication with England. By bestowing as a gift, on Ferdinand, the throne of his ancestors, he might have degraded him in the eyes of his subjects, compelled him to become, like his father, the miserable instrument of French rapacity, and ultimately like him to abdicate the throne for the safety of his person. In a word, he might have pursued any conduct but that which mortally wounded the pride of every Spaniard, and which every Spaniard considered as a personal insult. It must, however, be admitted, that the explosion of indignant patriotism, which burst forth at the same moment in all the provinces of Spain, was more than Bonaparte, or any one, could have expected. It seemed to have astonished even the Spaniards themselves.

The junta of Seville looked upon it to be, "as it were, the inspiration of heaven, and little short of miraculous." And this, by the bye, may serve,

in some degree, as an apology for the Duke of Infantado, and the other Spanish nobles, who accompanied Ferdinand to Bayonne. They might have thought that all attempts to oppose Bonaparte would be of no avail, and tend only to involve the country in calamity and ruin.

The public mind was in a state of fermentation ever since the horrid 2d of May, and commotions and tumults had arisen in divers places; but it was not until the gazette of Madrid, May 20, had proclaimed throughout the land the abdication of the Spanish crown by Ferdinand VII. in favor of the Emperor of the French, that there was a great and general explosion. The publication of the gazette was quickly followed up by the anniversary of St. Ferdinand, the tutelar saint of the prince, May 27, which awakened all the sensibility of an ardent, devout, and honorable nation. It was on that day that the insurrection broke out in most places.

The history of Spain, for what remains of this year, after the close of the month of May, naturally divides itself into three periods:—First, that previous to the formation of the central juntas; secondly, that during the government of the central juntas; and, thirdly, that under the supreme central junta.

The events of the first of these periods, which was but very short, or rather merely transient, were, as usual, in similar cases, for the most part, the effects of popular passion. Don Miquel de Saavedra, captain-general of the province of Valentia, where the insurrection first started, who attempted to oppose the views of the insurgents, was put to death. The insurgents then demanded, that all the goods belonging to the French should be declared to be forfeited, and their persons secured in the citadel. A few days thereafter they dragged the crew of a French ship, which had been pursued by an English frigate, and sought refuge on the Spanish coast, to prison, and, on the 14th of June, in a fresh paroxysm of rage, massacred them. At Cuença, the corregidor and the intendant were thrown into chains, and carried off by a party of peasants. The Governor of Carthagená was murdered. General Truxillo, Governor of Malaga, was murdered at Grenada. His body was dragged through the streets, cut in pieces, and afterwards burnt. The French consul at Malaga, Mornard, and some French merchants of that place, were secured on the 4th of June from the fury of the people, in the Moorish castle of Cíbralforo. A great quantity of arms and ammunition taken from an English privateer in 1800, had been lodged in a warehouse in the suburbs, to be sold. On the 20th of June a report prevailed, that this magazine had been purchased by the French consul, for the use of the French army. The people of Malaga marched to the castle, and notwithstand-

ing all the remonstrances of the deputy-governor, and resistance of the guard, burst into the castle, pierced their victim with a thousand daggers, and burned his dead body on a bonfire made of the furniture and some wrecks of the consul's house. The dépôt was broken open, and all that it contained destroyed. This was done in spite of every effort on the part of the municipal government of Malaga to prevent it.

The tumult was at last quelled by a singular expedient. The dean and chapter fell on the contrivance of a procession, to thank God for their deliverance from the oppressor. The multitude immediately joined the procession, and tranquillity was restored. The Governor of St. Lucas, Barameda, was massacred. At Jean, the peasants murdered the corregidor, and plundered the town.

Similar scenes were exhibited in Estramadura and the Castiles. At Badajoz, the insurrection broke out, May the 30th, and was in an instant matured. The palace of the governor was assaulted. The insurgents demanded arms, to be enrolled, and formed into a regular body. The government, with the bishop, appeared at the balcony, exhorting the multitude to retire; but in vain. They overpowered the guard of the palace, rushed in, seized the governor, and dragged him as far as the Palm-gate, where, with knives and sticks, they destroyed him.

At Cadiz, May the 29th, the people rose against the Lieutenant-general Solano, Marquis Del Socorro, captain-general of the province of Andalusia, and Governor of the city of Cadiz. The marquis, with the Spanish troops under his command, had been recalled for the purpose of covering the flight of Charles V. from Aranjuez to Seville. At Madrid, he formed an intimate and confidential connection with Murat, and General O'Farrel, an Irishman in the Spanish service, but drawn over to the side of the French. From the moment that a design was conceived to resist the progress of the French in Spain, every eye was turned to Andalusia, admirably adapted, by its situation, for co-operation with the English, and possessing the harbour of Cadiz, and the foundaries of Seville. Cadiz was divided, though unequally, by a French party and the Spanish patriots. The former consisted of French merchants and French clerks in the counting-houses, with Le Roy, the French consul, at their head; and Admiral Rosilly, with the other officers of the French fleet, which had been moored in the harbour of Cadiz ever since the battle of Trafalgar. The latter was composed of almost all the Spaniards, the English merchants, and some of other nations.

While the patriots, with their allies, entered into a correspondence and concert with Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Governor of Gibraltar, the English

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Admiral Purvis, and General Castaros, commander of the Spanish camp at St. Roch, for the purpose of acting against the common enemy according to circumstances, the French party kept up a correspondence with Madrid. Solano came in post-haste to Cadiz, and thundered forth proclamations against all who should have any correspondence with the English forces, while a strong detachment from the main army of the French at Madrid was on its march to Cadiz. An immense number of people, conducted by Spanish officers and certain merchants of Cadiz, assembled around the governor's palace, at Chulana, a village in the vicinity of Cadiz, demanding, with loud cries, "arms and ammunition." Solano appeared at the balcony, and in a long speech tried to persuade the people that the power of the Emperor of the French was altogether irresistible, and that, if they should attempt resistance to his will by force, they would only precipitate their own destruction. They heard him with patience a long time; but interrupted him at last, by repeating their cry of "arms and ammunition. Long live Ferdinand VII." Arms were brought from the barracks, and a cannon from the bulwarks. The gates of the palace were instantly forced: the governor's guard was disarmed: Solano himself, attempting to make his escape by the tops of the houses, was seized and dragged into the street. Even in this extremity he proclaimed the power and the vengeance of Bonaparte, and declared, "that he was ready to die in the cause of the Grand Napoleon." A person who was near him, on hearing these words, dashed his brains out at one blow with a club.

Some excesses were committed in the provinces of Leon and Asturias. At Corunna, in Galicia, General Filangieri, an Italian in the Spanish service, because he endeavoured to mitigate, by persuasion, the fury of the peasantry, though he had declared on the side of the insurgents, would have been shot, if an artillery-officer had not stepped before him, and given him time to take refuge in the convent of St. Domingo.—On the 1st of June, the people demanded that all the French residing at Corunna should be arrested. About thirty or forty French, of different ranks and conditions, were taken to the common gaol, but their property was not seized. Straggling parties of the French, in many places, were cut off by the peasants, led on by monks.

But the reign of mere democracy was of short duration. The zeal and efforts of unconnected individuals were quickly brought into unity of design and action, by the establishment of provincial juntas. Even before the establishment of these, the popular resentment was in many instances calmed by the magistrates, and the authority of good and respectable men, among both the

laity and clergy. There is no instance of a popular insurrection so widely extended, and provoked by such outrages and insults, that was attended with so few calamities as that of Spain. The horrid excesses just enumerated are but as a drop in the bucket, when compared with the torrents of innocent blood shed in the first ebullitions of the French revolution. The excesses of Spain were as much underneath the enormities of France, as the grievances of which she had to complain were above any that the French were subjected to under the mild and beneficent reign of Louis XVI.

What remained to the Spaniards of their ancient constitution of government, congenial with popular liberty, presented means of collecting the public sentiments, and forming a concert of will and power, without having recourse to innovations, for the most part dangerous, and always accompanied with confusion. The municipal government of the towns of Spain, though complicated, wore, in general, an air of popular representation. Wherever there were 2000 householders, four deputies and a syndic were named by the people, and formed part of the town-council.—On the 27th of May, there was a convention at Seville of the magistrates, the constituted authorities, and the most respectable of the inhabitants of all classes. This convention, by common consent, elected a supreme provincial junta.

The supreme council of Seville, laying hold of some statutes in their constitution which authorized their rejecting the orders of the supreme council of Madrid, when that capital should be in the hands of foreign troops, assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. whom they proclaimed king, and declared war against France. Supreme juntas were also formed in the same manner, in all the other provinces not under the immediate pressure of the French. But it was necessary, as much as possible, to give the separate forces of all the provinces the same direction; otherwise, instead of harmonious co-operation, they might counteract each other, and throw all things into confusion. The lead in the affairs of the nation was therefore taken by the supreme junta of Seville; which, with a happy audacity assumed, and for a time exercised, all the functions of sovereign authority. Without entangling themselves in any disputes that might arise from the anticipation of contingent events, and diversity of opinion, concerning political reforms, they declared "that their only object was, that Spain might preserve its integrity and independence for its lord and king, Ferdinand VII. on whose safe return, he, with the supreme government, would determine what might be his royal will, either by commanding a general assembly of the Cortes, or by such other means as his prudence might suggest for facilitating the

reform of abuses and the general happiness of the kingdom, securing it on foundations firm and subject to no change. For the present, all the provinces of Spain ought to confine themselves to this general expression, *hereditary succession, according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy.*"

The junta of Seville was exceedingly anxious to counteract the machinations of the emissaries of Bonaparte, and other evil-minded persons, who endeavoured to propagate a belief that Andalusia affected a superiority over the other provinces. Any such thought, they declared, and repeated their declaration, had been far from them. Although the general good of the nation had been their guide, and as it were the soul of all their actions, certain circumstances peculiar to Andalusia evinced the propriety of the conduct adopted by the junta of Seville. Veteran troops were more numerous in that province than in other parts, and thus an army could be formed in a shorter time. It possessed the only foundry of cannon in the kingdom, and arms and ammunition in a certain degree of abundance. The superior opulence, and other peculiar circumstances, offered resources which other provinces wanted. The famous English fortress of Gibraltar was situate in Andalusia. That fortress, and the English squadron cruising near the mouth of the Straits, were now happily to be reckoned among the resources of Andalusia.

Various provinces acquiesced in the authority assumed by the junta of Seville, nor was it ever opposed by any of them: though particular juntas were established in the respective provinces for maintaining order, and calling forth their resources in support of the common cause. It was a fine, as well as wonderful spectacle, to behold so great a number of provinces, at the same moment, without consulting each other, not only agreeing in opinion on the great and leading political points, but as to the manner in which they ought to act, forming the same wishes, taking the same measures, and establishing the same form of government; this being the most suitable and convenient for the government of each province.

Every thing done by the Spaniards at this period wore the twofold character of heroism and wisdom. Abandoned to themselves, they had to provide against internal disunion and anarchy, as well as external aggression. They were well aware that the enemy would attempt to create divisions, by creating a diversity of opinions and pretensions. All classes, therefore, were obedient to the authority of the juntas, without so much as hinting, for the present, at any other changes than what their unprecedented and most critical situation imperiously demanded. The different juntas were animated by one spirit of national indignation, and ready to adopt whatever measures ap-

peared to be the result of the greatest wisdom. All topics that might entangle them in disputes, that might lead to coldness and mistrust, or the appearance of it, between one provincial junta and another, or towards any description of men, were carefully avoided. The council of Castile had sanctioned all the edicts of Murat, or rather his master, Bonaparte; but allowance was made for the state of coercion in which they were. It was observed to them, indeed, in different addresses, that it might have become men of virtue to have fled from Madrid to some of the armed bodies of their countrymen. But when, on the restraint being removed, they threw all their weight into the scale of the patriots, they were hailed and respected as the true friends of their country, and all was forgotten. Similar indulgence was extended to such of the Spanish junta at Bayonne, and nobles that had accompanied Ferdinand to that place of confinement, as deserted the cause of Joseph as soon as it was in their power, and joined their countrymen in arms. In truth, the extreme imprudence with which so great a number of persons of the first rank in Spain committed themselves into the hands of such a character as Bonaparte, could not be altogether excused. But it was not in their power, when once in his hands, to extricate themselves, or to oppose any effectual resistance to the will of the tyrant. And the best way to counteract his wishes, perhaps, was, to assume an appearance of acceding to them. By flattering him on the immensity of his power, and holding forth the facility with which he might accomplish his projects, they led him into a snare, and prepared the way for his discomfiture. When we reflect on the paucity of the force sent into Spain, in comparison of that which had been led forth by Bonaparte himself, against Austria, Russia, and Prussia, it appears probable that the nobles and deputies at Bayonne did not discourage, but, on the contrary, encourage an idea which seemed all along to have been entertained by the tyrant, that whatever might be the success of the numerous emissaries employed to corrupt the persons supposed to have the most influence with the people, the very terror of his arms would be sufficient to retain the Spanish nation in awe and subjection; and that the Spaniards, like a flock of timid sheep, would readily obey any one he should appoint to the throne. Persons of a suspicious disposition might have their doubts about the purity and intention of both the Bayonne junta and the grandees that accompanied Ferdinand thither. But, what was good policy, there was no public expression of such a sentiment: and, on the whole, it occurred to the charitably-disposed, and the candid part of the nation, that there are circumstances in which the weakness of human nature may naturally look

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for excuse in necessity, and when even virtue herself, without a blush, may have recourse to simulation and dissimulation.

By this temperate and wise conduct all were united in one fraternity. Noblemen and gentlemen, the clergy of all conditions, manufacturers, artizans, and laborers, all presented themselves voluntarily to be enrolled in the public service. There was yet another class of volunteers, of which there was frequent mention, not only in the papers of the day, published in various forms by the Spaniards, but in the French bulletins, namely, the literary class; the class of students and professors in the university, which was very numerous. There were not less than twenty-four colleges in Spain, and several of them crowded with numbers of students. These having exchanged their books for arms, formed companies, some of whom were called the company of *Brutus*, others the company of *Cato*, the company of the people, and by similar allusions to the great cause of freedom. On their standards was inscribed *liberty or death!* The courage of this literary class was noticed in the French, as well as the Spanish accounts of occurrences.

The companies formed of the monks and armed peasants bore the names of saints. Many of the standards displayed the device of the French eagle, torn to pieces by the lion of Spain. Among the higher clergy, there were many who entered at once into the military spirit. The Bishop of St. Andero wore always a cutlass at his side.

Though it was not among the highest rank that the patriotic ardour was the greatest, there were not a few exceptions. Among these, it is due to most distinguished talents and virtues, to mention the Condé de Montejo, who spent his whole time, with very short intervals for sleep and other refreshment, in animating, instructing, and directing his countrymen, by writing, and by traversing Spain in different directions, for the purpose of conversing with the different juntas, and the individuals of the greatest authority in the different provinces. An host of admirable writers sprung up in Spain, where their existence was not imagined. The Spaniard, silent by disposition, and concentrating his ideas, acquires both precision of thought and propriety of expression; a laconic, antithetical, and pointed brevity. How different this from the loquacity, the verbosity of the French.

The Spanish proclamations and state papers, at this period, displayed consummate eloquence, involving the closest reasoning, in a continued stream of passion. Never before was Bonaparte treated in such a style! no polite circumlocutions and reserves—no diplomatic courtesies—no professions of high consideration—no ma-

nagement or caution, indicating doubt or fear. The patriots poured on the inhuman and perfidious monster undisguised reproach, unqualified abhorrence, and menaces of revenge.

Every incentive that could be drawn from the religious character of the Spaniards, was employed to rouse the people to arms. A proclamation from his holiness the Pope, Pius VII. to the Spanish catholics, together with a civil catechism, or brief compendium of the obligations of a good Spaniard, was industriously circulated in every province; town, village, and hamlet. Sermons were preached by the bishops in favor of the good cause, and extracts from them printed and published. It should be observed, that parochial schools being established throughout all Spain, the lowest of the people, though restrained by the inquisition from indiscriminate reading, could both read and write. The juntas, in their proclamations to the people, talked very gravely of the patronage and protection to be expected from their *Lady of the Pillar*. Nor were pious frauds disdained. At Valladolid, Saragossa, Valencia, and Seville, miracles were solemnly proclaimed, and by those to whom such proclamations were addressed, seriously believed.

At the same time that the juntas used all means for exciting and forming the whole mass of the male population of a reasonable age to arms, and calling forth all the resources of the peninsula, they recommended their cause, and had recourse to the favor, aid, and co-operation of all nations inimical to usurpation, and friends to the rights of independent states and kingdoms. The supreme junta of Asturias invited the Poles, Italians, and Portuguese, bearing arms in the ranks of the French, to come to their mountains, and join the standard of freedom.

The junta of Seville, May 29, invited the co-operation of the French nation; and all the provinces subject to it—"Come to us, and you shall find valor, generosity, and true honor."—The same junta, May 30, concluded an address to the Portuguese nation in these words: "Your country is not in danger—the danger is past. Hasten to arms for its deliverance and restoration. Share in the glory of setting an example to nations groaning under oppression." Missioners were sent, and a secret correspondence and understanding entered into, or, as was affirmed by the Austrians at the time, only attempted to be entered into with the court of Vienna.

But it was to the English nation and the Spanish colonies that the Spanish patriots looked for the most cordial, prompt, and efficient assistance: nor were their hopes deceived.

After the tragical end of Solano, the lieutenant-general of Andalusia and government of Cadiz were conferred by the supreme junta of

Seville, that at this time exercised all the powers of government, on Don Thomas Morla. Morla was a person of great talents, as well as a decided and vigorous character. With equal wisdom, promptitude, and firmness, he had saved Cadiz and Spain from the ravages of the plague in 1804, by shutting up all the churches of Cadiz and its vicinity, in opposition to the remonstrances of both the monks and the greater part of the secular clergy, who considered this as an act of sacrilege, and against the advice of the Spanish physicians too, who maintained that it was useless. He had been long odious to the nobility on account of the severity of his manners, and his attachment to the Prince of Peace. But, as his great rival and adversary, General O'Farrel, had gone over to the side of the French, his subsequent declarations of irreconcilable hatred to that party were believed to be sincere.

In the mean time, in consequence of the concert already mentioned between General Castanos and the patriots of Cadiz on the one part, and the commanders of the British forces at Gibraltar and the Mediterranean on the other; Lord Collingwood arrived with ships to take the command of the English fleet off Cadiz, and General Spencer with five or six English regiments from Gibraltar, and the two Swiss regiments of Meuron and Wattenville. Lord Collingwood offered his services for the reduction of the French fleet: but Morla very properly determined, that this should be, exclusively, an achievement of the Spaniards. The French ships lay in the canal of the arsenal in such a position, that they were out of the reach of the cannon of the castles as well as of the Spanish squadron of Cadiz. But gun-boats, bomb-vessels, and tremendous batteries, constructed on the isle of Leon and near fort Louis, soon reduced Admiral Rosilly to surrender (June 14,) the French fleet, after offering in vain terms of capitulation. The French fleet consisted of five ships of the line, of seventy-four guns, one frigate, and four thousand seamen and mariners.

Advice having been received, that a small detachment of French had assembled at Tavira, to enter Spain by the river Guadiana, General Spencer, with the small detachment under his command, at the entreaty of General Morla, immediately set sail for the Guadiana, and landed his troops at Agamonte. Three ships had already been sent to the mouth of the Guadiana by Admiral Purvis. In consequence of these movements, the French retired in all directions on Lisbon, with the exception of some weak detachments, left to occupy the small forts and other positions on that side of Portugal. The Portuguese, animated by the presence of the English, and the example, as well as addresses

of the Spaniards, every where rose against the French. Deputations were sent from every part of Portugal to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, commanding the naval forces of Britain in that quarter, soliciting succours. The admiral, with due frankness, immediately replied:

"Agreeably to your desires, I send you ships, troops, arms, and ammunition; and have given orders for hoisting the flag of his royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, around which the whole Portuguese nation ought instantly to rally, and take up arms in a cause at once so just and glorious. To secure success, unanimity is necessary. Unite yourselves with your brave friends and neighbours, the Spaniards. Suffer not yourselves to be either intimidated by threats or seduced by promises. From the experience of some months, you must have learnt how to estimate the *friendship* of the French. It is to the fidelity and the succours of the English, seconded by your own energies, that you are to owe the restoration of your prince, and the independence of your country."—*On-board the Hibernia, off the Tagus, July 4, 1808.*

It is scarcely necessary to mention, that the noble efforts of the Spaniards were immediately followed by peace, harmony, and friendship between that nation and Great Britain, her allies. Proclamations of peace and amity with England and her ally Sweden, were published by the juntas; and, as for England, whatever power was at war with the common enemy of Europe, was at peace with England. It never occurred, as was declared by Mr. Canning, to the English ministers, to consider the English as in a state of hostility to Spain. Preliminaries of a new and perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two nations of Spain and Portugal, were signed at Oporto, in the name of Ferdinand VII. and the Prince Regent of Portugal, July 14. The Bishop of Oporto, president of the junta of government of that city, which, Lisbon as well as Madrid being in the hands of the French, seemed to have taken a pattern from Seville, signed the treaty in the name of the prince.—The Portuguese provinces of Algarve and Alentejo placed themselves under the guidance and protection of the junta of Seville. So also did the Canary isles, to which the junta had transmitted the earliest possible intelligence of the turn that affairs had taken in the Peninsula. They also determined to dispatch envoys and commissioners to the transmarine establishments of Spain in the Americas and West Indies, and in Asia, inviting them to unite with their brethren in Old Spain, for preserving the integrity and independency of the monarchy for their lord and king, Ferdinand VII. For accomplishing this end, they applied to Lord Collingwood for a passport for a frigate and four advice-boats; and

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also for a corvette to carry out a number of officers, whose presence was necessary in the American colonies. They preferred an English to a Spanish ship for conveying the officers, because it would be a proof of peace and alliance between Spain and Great Britain. Their demand was immediately complied with, and all the vessels, after a short and pleasant voyage, reached their destination. Vessels had been sent before with a number of proclamations by King Joseph; but the greater part of them fell into the hands of English ships of war: the crews of one or two that reached the coast of Spanish America, were imprisoned by the colonists, and the proclamations of Joseph burnt by the hands of the executioner. Application was also made, June 12, to Lord Collingwood, by the government of Cadiz, for a frigate to conduct commissioners, appointed by the supreme junta of Seville, to England, in order to treat with his majesty's ministers, on matters of great interest and importance to both countries. As the admiral who commanded in the port of Cadiz was one of the deputies, Lord Collingwood thought it proper, that his departure should be delayed till the surrender of the French ships in the harbour: within two or three days after which, the deputies set sail in the *Revenge* frigate for England, where they arrived in safety on the 24th of July. Long before their arrival deputies had appeared in London, from the principality of Asturias, bearing the first certain intelligence of the insurrection in Spain, and soliciting the aid of the British government; a circumstance that, not unnaturally, led the periodical journalists to state that the standard of liberty in Spain was first raised in Asturias. The insurrection was almost simultaneous. But, if it were of any importance to ascertain the priority of a few days, it might be observed, that the insurrection first broke out in Valentia.

On the 9th of June, six Spanish gentlemen, having at their head the Viscount de Materosa and Don Diego de la Vega, arrived in London, and they were followed by a succession of deputies, or envoys from other provinces, both Spanish and Portuguese. Peace was proclaimed with Spain in the London Gazette of the 5th of July. The Spanish prisoners in England, to the number of several thousands, were set free, clothed, and sent home to join their brethren in arms. The British arsenals, fleets, and squadrons, and treasures: all that Spain could demand, or England afford, was without hesitation or the smallest delay liberally granted. The ministry were neither remiss nor parsimonious, where to be alert and profuse was to be universally popular, from the king on the throne to the beggar on the highways and streets. In the cause of the Peninsula the people of Great Britain and Ireland seemed ready to rise in a

mass, as well as the natives of that noble country. They hailed the dawn of liberty, and stood in admiration of the Spaniards. The emigrants from France, prone to grasp at appearances infinitely less promising, expressed their sensibility, in extravagant and poetical language, but, at the same time, nothing more than what they felt: "The Spaniards," they said, "were worthy to contend for the cause of liberty, law, monarchy, honor, and God.—Spain raises the standard of liberty, and all nature revives.—The spirit of party is mute; the most inveterate hatreds extinct; enthusiasm has banished the spirit of opposition; the walls of Westminster-hall are astonished at seeing, for the first time, a perfect unity of sentiments, words, and actions."

The first supply to the Spanish patriots, which was sent within a few days after the arrival of the Asturian deputies, consisted in three hundred thousand pounds sterling, in dollars; five thousand muskets; thirty thousand pikes, and an immense quantity of powder and balls. Mate-rosa's secretary was sent home, together with three British officers of rank, with these succours, with assurances that others should be sent from time to time, as well as troops, and whatever the patriots might need. A promise which was faithfully fulfilled.

The deputies were splendidly entertained by the city of London, the bank, and other public bodies, as well as by individuals of great distinction. Subscriptions were opened in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and many other places, for supporting the cause of Spain, and several military corps, militia and volunteers, offered their services. The supreme junta of Asturias did not fail, in a gazette, dated Oviedo, June 80, to publish, with expressions of the most profound gratitude, the generosity of the English nation. The same sentiments, on various occasions, were expressed with the same warmth by the other juntas.

In the beginning of June four of the fourteen provinces into which Spain is divided were in the hands of the French; viz. Navarre, Biscay, and the two Castiles; they were likewise in possession of Barcelona. At this time there were three marshals of France in the heart of Spain, Murat, Moncey, and Bessieres; who, probably, brought with them three distinct corps of the grand army, or nine divisions, forming, in all, from seventy to seventy-five thousand men: to which we may add the corps of the army under Marshal Ney, on the frontier of the Eastern Pyrennees, and occupying the fortresses of Barcelona and Montjuich. This corps of Ney's was computed at 10,000 men. Adding to these 20,000 French in Portugal under Junot, and 15,000 auxiliaries, Hanoverians, Swiss, and Spaniards, we have an aggregate of 120,000 men. Of these, 50,000 were

either stationed in Madrid, or encamped in the vicinity, under the orders of Murat and Marshal Moncey. From this great body at or near the capital, detachments were sent to take possession of Cadiz and of Valentia. One of these detachments proceeded towards its destination under the orders of the general of division Dupont: the other marched to Valentia, under Marshal Moncey himself. Marshal Bessieres, whose principal force was posted at Vittoria and Pampeluna, for guarding the two roads to Madrid, and securing the communication between that capital and Bayonne, had it in charge to push detachments to the right and left, for bridling as great an extent of country as possible.

The reduction of the city of Valentia, would have been an important step towards that of the whole province, and also open a way for combining the operations of Marshal Moncey and General Duhesme in Catalonia. That of Cadiz, besides the importance of its harbour-ships, and naval arsenal, would have terminated a military line of posts from Bayonne by Vittoria, Burgos, Madrid, Cordova, and Seville, that would completely have divided the Peninsula from north to south, and cut off all co-operation between the eastern and western divisions.

Marshal Bessieres, who commanded the northern army of the French, was opposed by General Cuesta, who was at the head of the forces of the four western provinces of Galicia, Asturias, Estramadura, Leon, and certain unsubdued, or as they were called by the French, refractory districts of Biscay. General Castanos was commander-in-chief of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, with the provinces of Grenada and Valentia, which had united themselves with Andalusia. Admiral Cisneros was Captain-general of Murcia; Don Joseph Palafox of Arragon, and Count Espellata of Catalonia. The garrisons of St. Roch and Ceuta joined their brethren in arms, under the general command of Castanos; those of Majorca and Minorca, the patriots of Catalonia.

The army under Dupont, when it left Madrid, towards the close of May, amounted to 15,000 men; but in its progress, it was gradually diminished by sickness, by desertion, and by the necessity of sending out from time to time, parties for bringing in forage and provisions, the greater part of which were destroyed or taken by parties of armed peasants. Having crossed the mountains of Morena, while the insurrection was yet without any thing of consistency or form, he descended into the plains of Andalusia, and on the 7th of June advanced to Cordova, of which he took possession, without much opposition from the few Spanish troops quartered there, joined by a number of peasants. For three days the city of Cordova was given up to pillage. The churches, after being swept of their sacred vessels and ornaments, were

converted into stables. On the 13th, parties of French were advanced beyond Cordova. On the 16th, the French commander being informed that General Castanos was marching against him, at the head of 21,000 regular troops, infantry, 25,000 cavalry, and a numerous artillery, besides a great number of insurgents who volunteered their service, retreated from Cordova to Andujar; where he took up a strong position with the Guadalquivir in front, and added to the natural strength of the place, deep entrenchments. General Castanos being unwilling to waste any part of his force by attacking the enemy in his entrenched camp, determined to cut off his supplies, by coming between him and another division of Dupont's army, posted under the immediate orders of General Wedel. General Dupont, in this straitened and perilous situation, dispatched messenger after messenger to Madrid, calling loudly for reinforcements. A division of 8,000 men was sent, under the orders of General Belliard, famous for his exploits in Upper Egypt, by the Sierra Morena. Dupont, in order to facilitate a junction with the expected reinforcements, quitted his position at Andujar, and fell back on Baylen. But Castanos posted divisions and detachments of his army in so judicious a manner as not only to cut off all communication between the corps under General Wedel and General Dupont, but also between this last corps, which was the most numerous, and Madrid.

The deplorable situation to which Dupont was reduced, is thus described in an intercepted letter from him to General Belliard.—“We have not a moment to lose for quitting a position in which we cannot subsist. The soldier being under arms the whole day, cannot now, as heretofore, reap the corn and make bread: for all the peasants have abandoned both their hamlets and their harvests. For heaven's sake, send us prompt reinforcements; in one word, a body of troops forming one compact mass, of which the component parts shall be as near to each other as ever it is possible. If we suffer the enemy to keep the field, all the southern provinces and the other troops of the line will hasten to take part with the rebels. A decisive blow in Andalusia would contribute greatly to the subjugation of all Spain. Send me, without a moment's delay, medicines and linen for the wounded: for the enemy has intercepted, for the space of a month, all our ammunition-waggons, and the provisions sent for us from Toledo.”

A detachment of 500 men, sent out from the French camp at Andujar, to seek and meet Belliard, was cut off to a man by the smugglers of the mountains, who had formed themselves into a body, 4,000 strong, and sworn to grant no quarter. The same body, and other parties of Spaniards, harassed the detachment of Belliard, in the defiles of Morena, night and day. Instead of

BOOK VIII. forming a junction with Dupont, he was seen to return to Madrid with half the numbers with which he had set out. When a general is hemmed in, into any desperate situation, his only chance of extrication is, to make a bold attack on the enemy.—On the 20th of July, about three o'clock in the morning, the army under Dupont attacked the Spaniards. There was a division of 9,000 strong, under the command of Lieutenant-general Reding, a Swiss; there was another division of the Spanish army, of 5,000, under General de Coupigny; a third, under General de Pena, of 6,000; and a fourth, under General Jones, of 5,000; in all, 25,000: of these 25,000 the half were peasants. The force of Dupont did not exceed 8,000. The brunt of the battle fell on the divisions of the Generals Reding and Coupigny.

The first shock of the French was so furious, that the foremost companies of the Spaniards suffered prodigiously. But the Spaniards maintained their ground, and, supported by their artillery, attacked and drove the French before them at all points. Yet the French kept up the conflict, constantly renewing their assaults without any other interruption than what was unavoidably occasioned by momentary retreats, for the formation of fresh columns, till half an hour past mid-day. At different times they broke through the lines of defence, with the boldness peculiar to troops accustomed to conquer, and sometimes advanced even to the Spanish batteries. The last attack was led on by Dupont himself, who with the other generals placed himself at the head of the columns, under the fire of the Spanish artillery, which, on that day, was admirably well served, as was admitted by the French, who owned that they had forty pieces of cannon dismantled.

At two o'clock P. M. the advanced-guard of the division under General Pena arrived at the scene of action, and began to play on the enemy with his artillery; when a flag of truce appeared, desiring to treat for a capitulation. An armistice ensued of course. But during this, the division under the command of General Pena was attacked by the French division, 6,000 strong, under General Wedel, who came up while Dupont was engaged with the Generals Reding and Coupigny, from Carolina. The battalion of Cordova was surprized and taken, with two field-pieces.

The number of the French killed and wounded in the battle of Baylen, amounted, it was computed, to 3,000; that of the Spaniards, to 1,200. The negotiation between Dupont and the Spanish commander-in-chief, General Castanos, did not last long. Dupont was told at once that he must surrender at discretion: which he agreed to. General Wedel's division was comprehended in the capitulation as well as that of Dupont,

forming together a body of 14,000. It was agreed that General Wedel's division should be sent home by sea to Rochfort.

Marshal Moncey was not more successful in Valentia than General Dupont in Andalusia, though he escaped capture, and made good his retreat, though with a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to Madrid. The kingdom of Valentia is well fortified by nature by means of the rivers Gabriel, and Xucar, and by a chain of steep and rugged mountains. The passes through these were guarded by some troops of the line, and a considerable body of Valentian insurgents. These guards were attacked by Moncey, on the 21st of June, and routed.—Having crossed the mountains, he marched straight on Valentia.

On the 26th, he was attacked at Bunolos, by General Caro, a nephew of the illustrious General Romanas, and suffered pretty severely, in both cavalry and infantry. He was attacked again by General Caro, between Quarte and Mislata, when he also sustained considerable loss. Nevertheless, though thus harassed, he continued his march, and on the 28th opened a heavy fire on Valentia, of both artillery and musketry, which was continued without ceasing from mid-day to the evening. The Valentians returned his fire with some pieces of artillery planted at the gates of the city, and by showers of musketry from the tops of houses. On the other hand, he had to maintain a conflict with General Caro, who had followed the French close at their heels, for the defence of Valentia. An impetuous charge with the bayonet made such havoc among the ranks of the French, that they retired, in about eight hours, at even, to their camp, between Quarte and Mislata, which was fortified by strong entrenchments and formidable batteries. From thence he continued his retreat on Madrid, harassed for some days by General Caro, as he had been on his march through the plain of Valentia. Of 15,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, that marched with Moncey from Madrid, 10,000 returned, and 150 waggons carrying the wounded. Fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and sent to Carthage. General Dupont, on his arrival in France, was tried by a court-martial, condemned to death, and immediately shot by torch-light.

The campaign of Arragon was still more glorious to the Spanish patriots than those of Andalusia and Valentia. Arragon, situated between Madrid and the frontier of France, was obliged to fight with one reinforcement of fresh troops after another. In every engagement before the walls of Saragossa, Palafox was victorious. The inhabitants of Saragossa equalled—it was not possible to exceed, the patriotic heroism of the Numantians and Saguntines. Every mode of defence and attack that human imagination could devise, was

adopted, and whatever human courage could dare, was performed.

Saragossa, the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, is situate on the right bank of the Ebro, with a suburb on the left bank, connected with it by a stone bridge. Though the mountains that bound the valley of the Ebro are distant, yet Saragossa is commanded by some high ground, called the Torrero, about a mile to the south-west. The walls of Saragossa appear to have been constructed merely to facilitate the means of levying the taxes on every article brought into the town for sale. The gates, nine in number, are of the most simple construction; and the line between them is, in some places, preserved by the mud wall of a garden; in others, by buildings, or by the remains of an old Moorish wall, which has a slight parapet, but without any platform, even for musketry. The houses are three stories in height: the streets very narrow and crooked, excepting one or two market-places, and the street called the Corso, situate nearly in the centre of the town. The population is estimated at about 60,000 souls.

On the 25th of May, the inhabitants of this defenceless city, and the peasantry of the surrounding country, rose to repel the aggressions of the French, and to frustrate the design of changing the dynasty on the Spanish throne, announced in the manifesto of Murat, May 20. The Captain-general of Arragon, Guiliamah, had betrayed an inclination to submit to the enemy. He was, on this account, seized, and thrown into prison, and the government unanimously conferred on Don Joseph Palafox, the youngest of three brothers of one of the most distinguished families in Arragon. This nobleman, at the commencement of the revolution, had been selected from the officers of the guards, to be second in command to the Marquis de Castellar, to whose custody the Prince of the Peace was confined after his arrest at Aranjuez. Though he had been in the Spanish guards all his life, he had never seen actual service. His time had been principally passed in the dissipation of Madrid, where he was not a little distinguished by the splendor and fashion of his appearance.

Palafox was one of those noblemen who accompanied King Ferdinand to Bayonne, and he had recently escaped from thence in the disguise of a peasant, to his country-seat near Saragossa.

At the commencement of his command, the neighbouring provinces of Navarre and Catalonia were in possession of the French. The passes of the Pyrenees, leading directly into Arragon, were open, and Murat, with the main body of the French forces, were stationed at Madrid. Thus surrounded by his enemy, General Palafox mustered the regular troops quartered at Saragossa, amounting to 220 men; and he found the public treasury of the province could not furnish him with more than 2,000 reals, a sum, in English

money, equal to twenty pounds sixteen shillings and eight-pence. Animated, however, by the patriotism and the confidence reposed in him by his countrymen, he did not despair of the cause of his country. On the 31st of May, he published a proclamation, encouraging the Arragonese in their noble ardor, and declaring war against France. "Providence has preserved in Arragon a great quantity of muskets, ammunition, and artillery. The unmerited honor you have conferred on me, constrains me to draw aside the veil that covers the most detestable villany. My life, which can have no value in my sight but in as far as it may be subservient to your happiness and the prosperity of my dear country—my life is the least sacrifice I can make in return for those proofs of confidence and attachment with which you have honored me. Be assured, Arragonians,—doubt it not, that my heart is not made for harbouring a thought of crimes, nor associating with those who commit or protect them. Some of those persons in whom the Spanish nation placed confidence, some in whose hands are placed the powers of government, are among the foremost to labour for your ruin, by all the means that baseness can suggest; and to form traitorous connections with the enemy of their country. I will not, however, divulge their names. Perhaps some of the chiefs to whom I allude, now that they are acquainted with your fixed determination, that of your neighbours the Valentians, and of all the provinces of Spain, have changed their mind, embraced the cause of justice, and used their endeavours for shaking off that yoke which they wished to impose on you, by means the most base and infamous. Fear not, Arragonians! the troops of the enemy now in Spain cannot withstand our efforts. Let us defend the most just of causes, and we shall be invincible."

The declaration of war with which the proclamation concluded, was reduced to eight articles. The first made the Emperor of the French, all the individuals of his family, and all his generals, and officers, personally responsible for the safety of the king and that of his brother, and his uncle. By the second it was declared, that in case of any violence falling on those precious heads, the nation would exercise its right of election in favor of the Archdukes Charles, as the nephew of Charles III. in case of the Prince of Sicily, the infant Don Pedro, and other heirs, should be precluded by any circumstances of situation from the succession. This clause was disapproved by most of the other juntas, and particularly the junta of Seville. It was deemed more expedient, that the Spanish nation should avoid for the present all anticipations of contingent cases, and confine itself to measures indispensably necessary in the present juncture.

Early in the month of June, and before any

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The Arragonese had hastily planted some cannon before the gates of their city, and also in some favorable positions without the town, particularly on a rising ground called the Torrero, and on the height near it. On the 15th of June, the French sent a detachment against the out-posts on the canal of Arragon, while their main body attempted to storm the city by the gate called Portillo. The Arragonese, attacked almost at the moment, both in out-posts and at the gates of their town, fought without order, but with extreme fury. They did not stop to load their muskets a second time, but as if regardless of their lives, rushed on the French columns as they advanced, with the bayonet and other hand weapons. Their artillery was served by any persons who chanced to be near it. Every one alternately commanded and obeyed; but all were animated by the same spirit: and their efforts, after a most severe conflict, were finally crowned with success. A party of the enemy that entered the town, were instantly put to death; and Le Fevre, convinced that it would be in vain to persevere in his attack, withdrew his troops to a position out of the reach of the Arragonese cannon. During this retreat, the Arragonese took 400 cavalry and twenty-seven baggage-waggons.

As soon as the French were thus repulsed, General Palafox set out from Saragossa, in order to collect reinforcements and provide resources for a siege, and also to place the rest of the kingdom in a state of defence, in case of the reduction of the capital. He found from twelve to fourteen hundred soldiers, who had escaped from Madrid, and he united with them a small division of militia stationed in Calatayud. With this force, in compliance with the earnest desires of his soldiers, he determined to attack the French. He marched immediately to Epila, with the intention to have advanced from thence to the village of La Muela; by which manœuvre he hoped to place the French between his little

army and the city of Saragossa. This attempt, however, was frustrated, by a sudden attack on the part of the enemy in the night at Epila, when the Spaniards, after an obstinate but fruitless resistance, were at length compelled to yield to superior numbers and discipline. The wrecks of this small force retired from the scene of action to Calatayud, and afterwards with great difficulty threw themselves into Saragossa.

Meanwhile the French received reinforcements of troops and artillery from Pampeluna, and began to occupy the several military positions in the plain that surrounds Saragossa. But they were not allowed to carry on these operations unmolested. In a short time, however, the French had invested nearly one half of the town; and, on the 28th of June, they took possession of the Torrero. The battery on the neighbouring height also, which had been entrusted to an artillery officer, and 500 men, fell into their hands. The officer was declared a traitor to his country, for not having defended this important post as he ought to have done, and on his return into Saragossa, was immediately hanged. After the surrender of the Torrero the city could not communicate with the country on any other side than that of the Ebro.

During these operations of the enemy the Arragonese were busily employed in placing their town in the best possible state of defence that their slender resources would admit of. They tore down the awnings from their windows, and formed them into sacks, which they filled with sand, and piled up before every gate, in the form of a battery, digging round each of them a deep trench. They broke holes in the mud-walls, and intermediate buildings, for musketry, and here and there, where the position was commanding, placed cannon. The houses in the environs of the city were pulled down or burnt. Gardens and olive-grounds were cheerfully rooted up by the proprietors themselves, wherever they impeded the defence of the city, or covered the approach of the enemy. The exertions of the men were animated by women of every description, who formed themselves into parties for the relief of the wounded; and for carrying water and provisions to the batteries of the gates, while their children were employed in conveying cartridges made by the monks. Scarcely a day passed without a sanguinary contest between detachments of the French and Arragonese in the neighbouring olive woods. In the last two days of the month of June, 400 soldiers of the regiment of Estramadura, small parties from other corps, and a few artillerymen, contrived to reinforce Saragossa. To the artillerymen were added 200 of the militia of Logrono, who, roused by the presence of an enemy, soon learned the ordinary

duties of the corps to which they belonged. Two pieces of cannon were procured from Lerida. The enemy drew his resources from Pampeluna, while the Arragonese, now completely surrounded, had not one single fortress to which they could have recourse, either for ammunition or for cannon.

About the last day of June, a powder-magazine in the heart of the city blew up, and in a moment nearly a whole street was reduced to a heap of ruins. The inhabitants had scarcely recovered from their consternation at this dreadful loss when the French, who had received mortars, howitzers, and cannon, opened a destructive fire upon the city. The sand-bag battery before the gate called *Portillo*, against which the attack of the enemy was principally directed, was gallantly defended. It was several times destroyed, and as often reconstructed under the fire of the enemy. Here an act of heroism was performed by a female, to which there is scarcely any thing equal in history. Augustina of Saragossa, about twenty-two years of age, a handsome young woman, of the lower class of the people, whilst performing her duty of carrying refreshment to the gates, arrived at the battery of the *Portillo*, at the very moment when the fire of the French had absolutely destroyed every person that was stationed on it. The citizens and soldiers, for the moment, hesitated to re-man the guns. Augustina, rushing forward over the wounded and slain, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artilleryman, and fired off a twenty-six pounder. Then, jumping upon the gun, she made a solemn vow never to quit it alive during the siege, and her fellow-citizens, stimulated by this daring act of intrepidity to fresh exertions, instantly rushed into the battery, and again opened a tremendous fire on the enemy. Attack was made after attack; Saragossa was more and more closely invested. Above the city the Ebro was fordable, and below it the French, in spite of the efforts of the Arragonese, had constructed a bridge. Having by these means transported their cavalry to the opposite bank of the river, they destroyed the mills which supplied the town with flour, levied contributions in the different villages, and thus cut off the only communication by which the besieged could receive any supplies either of provisions or ammunition. In this critical situation, the active and intelligent Captain-general of Arragon established, in various parts of the city, corn-mills worked by horses, and ordered the monks to be employed, under skilful directors, in manufacturing gunpowder. All the sulphur the place afforded was put into immediate requisition. The earth of the streets was carefully washed, in order to furnish saltpetre; and charcoal was made of the stalks of hemp, which in that part of Spain grows to a very unusual size.

On this simple foundation there was formed, afterwards, a regular manufactory of gunpowder at Saragossa, yielding thirteen arrobas of Castile, or 325 lbs. per day.

Towards the end of July, the large population of Saragossa was but scantily supplied with food, and had but little or no hope of succour. By the unremitted exertions of forty-six days, their spirits were exhausted, and their bodily strength impaired. A desperate effort was made to recover the important post of the *Torrero*, in vain: after which, the Arragonese, despairing of being able to make any sortie with effect, resolved to conquer or to perish within the walls of their city. During a bombardment on the 2d and 3d of August, a foundling hospital, which contained the sick and wounded, who from time to time had been conveyed there during the siege, unfortunately caught fire, and was rapidly consumed. All attention to private property was instantly abandoned. Every body was seen hastening to the relief of the sick and helpless children: in which act of humanity none were more conspicuous than the women, who persisted in their humane exertions, equally undaunted by the shot and shells of the enemy, and the flames of the building before them. On the 4th of August the French opened a tremendous battery on the quarter of the city called *Santa Engracia*. In an instant the mudwalls opposite to their batteries vanished; and the splendid convent of *Santa Engracia* was on fire and tottering in ruins. The French columns immediately rushed through this entrance into the city, took the batteries before the adjacent gates in reverse, and after a most sanguinary conflict, penetrating to the street *Corso*, nearly in the centre of the town, were in possession before the day closed of one half of Saragossa. The French general then demanded a capitulation in the following note—

“*Head-quarters, Santa Engracia.*”

“*The Capitulation.*”

The answer immediately returned was:—

“*Head-quarters, Saragossa.*”

“*War to the Knife.*”

“*PALAFIX.*”

In close combat the knife in the hands of the Spaniards is a very formidable weapon.

One side of the street *Corso* was now occupied by the French, in the centre of which General *Verdier* was seen giving his orders from the Franciscan convent. The Arragonese maintained their positions on the opposite side, throwing up batteries at the openings of the streets within a few paces of similar batteries of the French. The intervening space was soon heaped up with dead, either thrown from the windows of the houses in which they had been slain, or killed in

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the conflicts below. From this enormous accumulation of the dead, there was the utmost reason to apprehend a pestilence. To an Arragonese it was almost certain death to appear in the middle of the street. The expedient for preventing mortal contagion that occurred to General Palafox was, to push forward French prisoners, with a rope attached to them, amidst the dead and dying, to remove the bodies of their countrymen, and bring them for burial: an office in the execution of which, as it was beneficial to both parties, they were not in general annoyed. Something too is, no doubt, to be set down to the account of the sympathy of the French, with their unfortunate countrymen. By this means the evils arising from the horrible corruption of such masses of dead bodies, were in some degree diminished.

The principal season for attack in this singular species of warfare, from the opposite sides of the same street, of only a moderate breadth, was the night. The French and the Arragonese, under the cover of darkness, frequently dashed against each others batteries across the street. The struggle, begun at the batteries, was often carried into the houses beyond them.

On the 5th of August, when the French were expected to renew their efforts to obtain complete possession of the city, the Arragonese found their ammunition beginning to fail. The only cry that assailed the ears of the gallant general, as he rose amongst the people was, that if ammunition failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with only their knives. At this awful crisis, just before the fall of night, a convoy of provisions and ammunition, with a reinforcement of 3,000 men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Arragon, unexpectedly made their entrance into the city, under the command of Don Francisco Palafox, the brother of the captain-general.

A council of war, held August 8, came to the following ever memorable resolutions: "That those quarters of the city in which the Arragonese yet maintained them, should continue to be defended with the same firmness that had hitherto been so conspicuous.—Should the enemy at last prevail, the people were to retire by the bridge over the Ebro, into the suburbs, and having destroyed the bridge, to defend the suburbs till they PERISHED." This resolution of the general and his officers, was received by the people with the loudest acclamations. The most sanguinary conflict had been continued from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room, for eleven days; when (the enraged populace always gaining ground by degrees on the disciplined troops of the French) the space occupied by the French was reduced to about one-eighth part of the city.

The spirit displayed by the men was seconded in the most admirable manner by the women of Saragossa. The Countess Burita, a lady of great rank in that country, formed a corps of women for the relief of the wounded, and for the purpose of carrying provisions and wine to the soldiers. Many persons, of the most unquestionable veracity in Saragossa, declared, that they had frequently seen this young, delicate, and beautiful woman coolly attending to the duties she had prescribed to herself, in the midst of the most tremendous fire of shot and shells; nor were they able to perceive, from the first moment that she entered on this glorious course, that the idea of personal danger could produce upon her the slightest effect, or bend her from her benevolent and patriotic purpose. The loss of women and boys during the siege was very great, and fully proportionate to that of the men. In fact, they were always the most forward; and the difficulty was to teach them a prudent and proper sense of their danger.

During the night of the 13th of August, the fire of the French was particularly destructive; and when their batteries ceased, flames were seen to burst out in many parts of the buildings in their possession. On the morning of the 14th, to the great surprize of the Arragonese, their columns were seen at a distance retreating over the plain on the road to Pampeluna. The retreating French were followed into Navarre by General Palafox, with a force composed of Arragonese and Valentians, who had begun their march for the relief of Saragossa, when the siege was raised.

The spirit of patriotism was also displayed, with great glory, and not altogether without success, in the neighbouring province of Catalonia. Duhesme, the French Governor of Catalonia, had been directed to reduce Gerona, at the same time that Lefebvre was sent against Saragossa.

Gerona, in this campaign, gave an earnest of that valor and patriotism which was found afterwards to equal those of Saragossa. Duhesme, after spending upwards of a fortnight in the siege of Gerona, into which he threw in one night four hundred bombs and grenades, was forced, by the vigorous sallies of the Geronese, and the movements of other Catalonians, who threatened to attack him in flank and rear, to retreat to Barcelona, leaving before Gerona some pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of provisions and ammunition. In his retreat he sustained a great loss both of men and baggage: in men, according to the Spanish accounts of the day, 3,000. For by this time the standard of liberty had been raised in every part of Catalonia; at Mauresa, Bruck, Mattaro, Martorell, Molinos del Rey, and other places. A great number of united Catalonian peasantry had fortified them-

selves with cannon, which they had found on the coast, on the river Llobregat.

Fresh reinforcements of peasants having poured down from the mountains into the plains, made themselves masters of Montgat, cut off the road between Montgat and another small fort at Moncado, which they beset, securing themselves with entrenchments. The number of the patriots in arms, still rallying after defeat, and increased by the junction of one party after another, was on the whole rather increased than diminished; inasmuch that they made an attempt to cut off the communications of Figueras, and, by forming a cordon, to invest and cut off the supplies of Barcelona: against which they opened some batteries; but they were driven back, and a communication was preserved between the French garrisons in the fortresses and the country. Another body of peasantry, besides that which had already fortified themselves on the Llobregat, had recently formed themselves behind that river; which, by the melting of the snows, that had been for some days falling in the mountains, had swelled considerably. They had erected, at Molinos del Rey, a battery of three guns, which ranged the bridge that had been broken down in several places. All the fords of the river were beset down to the mouth of it. Two flying field-pieces hovered on the line of the insurgents.

On the 30th of June, in the morning, the French, under the orders of General Goullès, and Brigadier-general Bessières, marched from Barcelona, against the main strength of the insurgents, which rested on the right bank of the Llobregat. Proceeding to the mouth of the river, they forced the passage, and pushing up the right bank, took several Catalanian posts in the rear. Undisciplined, without a commander of any authority, or none that could inspire confidence; and surprised, perhaps withal, by this manœuvre, though it might have been expected, the peasants submitted to the French without much resistance. At the same time General Leckie, with a division of French, 1,500 strong, assailed and took possession of the bridge of Molinos del Rey, with the three pieces that guarded the passage-way; but not without a well-fought battle, in which the loss of the French was computed to be equal to that of the Spaniards. On the side of Figueras, General Reible proceeded thither from Bellegarde against the insurgents, on the 5th of July. The insurgents being worsted in a smart action, and dispersed, he threw provisions into the place, and a reinforcement into the garrison.

General Duhesme, in revenge for his repulse from Gerona, burnt many houses in the towns and villages by which he passed, took many prisoners, some of whom he killed in cold blood, and laid waste the whole plain or district within the

jurisdiction of the city of Barcelona; all the cultivated fields, villages, convents, and churches.

During these operations the junta of Catalonia had established themselves at Lerida, for the convenience of communication with Arragon and Valentia.

When General Duhesme returned to Barcelona, he found his two forts in great want of both powder and provisions. During his absence about a month from Barcelona, it had been cut off from a free intercourse with the neighbouring country: and a vessel loaded with powder for their use, and another with salted pork, had been taken by the English. Duhesme, who had already acquired the *cognomen* of the cruel, pointed the cannon of the citadel against the unfortunate inhabitants, threatening them with death if they did not furnish him with 12,000 rations of provisions daily, and an excessive number of pipes of wine and brandy. Under the pretence of charges or suspicions of an intention to rebel against the Emperor Napoleon, he was in the habit of carrying away, from time to time, the most respectable persons in Barcelona, separating husbands from their wives, and parents from their children, for the purpose of extorting ransoms for their liberation.

In the meantime the affairs of the patriots in the north of Spain wore but an unfavorable aspect, and a battle was fought at Medina del Rio Seco, in the province of Leon, which turned the tide of fortune, and might have exceedingly damped, if not altogether quashed the insurrection, if this advantage on the side of the French had not been counterbalanced by the events in the south and the east just related.

Marshal Bessières, at the same time that he sent a force against Saragossa, pushed forward columns for the reduction of Logrono, Segovia, Valladolid, and St. Andero. All these objects were easily accomplished. The raw and undisciplined levies of patriots did not long sustain a conflict with the impetuous and well-directed exertions of the veteran and victorious French; but consulted their safety by flight, for the most part throwing down their arms. On the 7th of June, General Frere, having arrived with his column within a quarter of a mile of Segovia, sent an officer to the magistrates demanding a parley.

The insurgents, 5,000 strong, with thirty cannons, would not suffer the messenger to approach, but fired on him with cannon. On this the place was taken by force; the resistance here was not inconsiderable; a great number of wounded and others fell into the hands of the French, with all their cannon. The city of Segovia, after the defeat and flight of the armed peasants, made its submissions in the manner required by the French general. When General La Salle, June

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The gazette of Madrid, that is, the French gazette, stated, that 5 or 600 French beat 14 or 15,000 rebels. The gazette of Oviedo, on the contrary, said, that the number of the French and Spaniards in this engagement was nearly equal; but that the French had the advantage of a more numerous artillery, while the patriots had only four cannon; yet that, in spite of this disadvantage on the part of the Spaniards, the French had left 700 dead on the field-of-battle, from whence they carried off their wounded.

The Bishop of Valladolid, with the principal clergy of the city, came to meet General La Salle, supplicating forgiveness to the city and its inhabitants, which was readily granted. The city and province of Valladolid were disarmed. Ten members of the council of Placentia, Segovia, and Valladolid, were deputed to go to his Catholic majesty (Joseph Bonaparte) at Bayonne, there to supplicate his forgiveness, in the act of tendering their own fealty, and that of their fellow-citizens.

General Merle proceeded to the mountains of St. Andero: on the morning of the 21st of June, he fell upon the insurgent patriots, headed by the bishop, drove them from all their positions, and took from them two eighteen-pounders, which, loaded with grape-shot, they had fired only twice. In other parts of the mountainous district, parties of the insurgents were driven from post to post into St. Andero, by General Ducos. On the 23d, the Generals Merle and Ducos entered St. Andero, on different sides of the town. The peasants every where returned to their homes. The city of St. Andero having made its submission, like Segovia, Palentia, and Valladolid, was obliged to swear fealty to the usurper. Thus quietness was restored for the present to Navarre, Guipuscoa, and Biscay.

A great number of patriots had been assembling, for some time, at Benevento, under the standard of General Cuesta. In this number were comprehended all the Spanish prisoners who had been sent back to Spain by the British government. With this force, General Cuesta marched on to Valladolid, with the design of cutting off the communication between the French in the northern provinces of Spain, and those in Madrid. It was his plan, having reduced Valladolid, to advance to Burgos. The force under Cuesta was stated by the French gazette to have amounted to not less than 35,000. Marshal Bessieres, aware of the design of the Spaniards, and sensible of the importance of maintaining the post at Valladolid, advanced to meet them with a force, amounting in all to 12,000, of which 2,000 were cavalry, with a proportionate train of artillery. On the 14th of July, at break of day, he came in sight of the enemy, who occupied a large extent of ground on the heights of Medina del Rio Seco. Bessieres attacked them on the right. At the same time General Monton, at the head of another division, made himself master of the town of Medina del Rio Seco, with fixed bayonets. All the positions of the Spaniards were carried; they fled in great confusion; and they lost all their artillery, consisting of forty pieces of cannon. Six thousand were made prisoners, according to the French accounts, and more than 12,000 left on the field-of-battle. All their baggage and military stores fell into the hands of the French. The Spaniards fled first to Benevento, from whence, after a short halt, they continued their retreat to Labenara, Leon, and Astorga. They were pursued by Marshal Bessieres, who, at Benevento, July 19, found an immense quantity of arms and ammunition. Here he received a letter of submission from the inhabitants of Zamora, and on the following day, the 20th, he entered that town, from whence he proceeded to Majorga. At Majorga he received a deputation from Leon; which city he entered on the 26th. The bishop came two miles to meet him, and the council, appearing before the gates of the city, presented the keys, in token of submission.

According to certain accounts in the Spanish newspapers of the day, the Spanish army did not exceed 14 or 15,000 infantry, and 800 cavalry. The Spaniards, it was stated, were in the first onset so fortunate as to beat back the French, and take and spike four pieces of cannon. But the field-of-battle being in a vast plain, the patriots, who were carried by their impetuosity out of their ranks, without a sufficient number of horsemen to make head against the French cavalry, and unaccustomed to any such prompt evolutions as might have supplied that deficiency, were obliged to leave the field-of-battle to the

French, with thirteen of their cannon: though it was said they retreated in good order, and afterwards rallied.

The kind of order observed, is sufficiently illustrated by the rapidity of their retreat, and the distance to which they retreated. On the other hand that their disasters were not so great as had been given out by the French, and that reinforcements were advancing to join General Cuesta, rendered extremely probable by the retreat or flight of King Joseph Bonaparte, on the 27th of July, from Madrid.

After intelligence was received of the surrender of Dupont at Baylen, and the discovery that so many of the ministers of Joseph had made their escape from Madrid, the French immediately began to fortify the Reteiro. Duhesme had been repulsed from Gerona; Arragossa still held out; armies from Valencia and Andalusia menaced the capital. The army of the western provinces, under General Cuesta, though routed and dispersed by the battle of Medina del Rio Seco, manifested a determination to rally. The French, therefore, in the evening of the 29th of July,

began to evacuate Madrid. King Joseph, with the last companies of the troops, left Madrid on the twenty-ninth, and took the route of Segovia, from whence he proceeded to Burgos, the rendezvous of the whole of his army at and in the vicinity of Madrid. The French carried along with them all the artillery and ammunition for which they could find means of conveying; spiking the cannon, and destroying the ammunition they were obliged to leave behind them.—They plundered the public treasury, and carried off all the jewels belonging to the crown, and all the plate, and whatever was most valuable in the palaces belonging to Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. or to any of the branches of the royal family. On which it was merrily observed, and became a common saying among the Spaniards, that, “Because Joseph could not put the crown on his head, he had put it in his pocket.”

The French army was accompanied or followed by such of the Spaniards as had accepted offices under the government of King Joseph, and most of the French established in various situations in Madrid.

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CHAPTER IV.

Conduct of Bonaparte.—False Reports.—The Marquis de la Romana recovered to the Service of his Country by a Swedish Clergyman.—Liberation of the Spanish Troops in the North of Germany.—The Flight of King Joseph—Reported to be for the Benefit of his Health.—Military Preparations of Austria.—Alarm of Bonaparte.—His printed Address to his Soldiers.—Insurrection in Portugal.—British Expedition there under the Orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley.—Action of Lourinha.—Action of Roleia.—Battle of Vimeira.—Convention of Cintra.—Meeting of the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon at Erfurth.—Artful Policy of the Latter.—Offer of a Negotiation, on the Part of France and Russia, for Peace with England, rejected.—Establishments of a Central Junta in Spain.—A Series of Engagements.—Successive Defeats of the Spaniards.—Battle of Tudela.—Surrender of Madrid through Treachery.—Brief Retrospect of the Affairs of the Northern Powers.

It has been already intimated that the insurrection in Spain was treated by Bonaparte with affected contempt. He was at uncommon pains to conceal the real state of affairs both from the French and the Germans. He gave out, in his newspapers, that all that was most respectable in the Spanish nation was devoted, and that even zealously, to the new dynasty and order of affairs in Spain, and that it was only the mere rabble of day-labourers, peasants, and low tradesmen, under the direction of the monks, whoin he represented as fanatical and ignorant to a degree

much beyond the blind superstition of the monks in France and Italy, among whom were sometimes found men of learning and talents. The monks of Spain he (that is, his literary emissaries, in conformity to his will and obedience to his directions) described as clownish and uncouth in their personal appearance, and bearing an exact likeness to so many butchers. All this was only an acknowledgment of what he apprehended from the zeal and exertions of that religious body. While he laboured to persuade the French, and particularly the Spaniards at a distance from

BOOK VIII. home, that the most respectable part of the Spanish nation was sincerely attached to King Joseph, he used means also for impressing the inhabitants of Spain with the belief that their countrymen, that had been drawn into the French service, were also devoted to him. It was published in the Paris newspapers, August 12, as an article from Hamburgh, that the Spanish troops, under the Marquis of Romana, had come forward of their own accord, and with great zeal, to swear allegiance, and had proffered a detachment, from their corps of picked men, to form a guard of honor for King Joseph.

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The Marquis de la Romana was kept in profound ignorance of the glorious events that had taken place in his country, and various attempts had been made, on the part of the British government, to communicate the tidings to him, and to devise means for his escape with the troops under his command, without effect.—At length a Swedish clergyman was found, in whose honor, good sense, and enterprising disposition, the firmest confidence could be placed. This gentleman, disguised as a low and travelling tradesman, went by the way of Heligoland, and having overcome many obstacles with the utmost patience, prudence, and fortitude, at length arrived at the place where the marquis and his troops were stationed. Having ascertained the person of the marquis, he was obliged to watch incessantly for an opportunity of addressing him, without exciting the suspicion of the numerous spies by whom he was surrounded. The venerable agent at last was obliged, as if by accident, to jostle the marquis in the street, in order to attract his attention. Having done so, he apologized, as if ignorant of the person whom he addressed, and concluded with offering to sell him some excellent coffee. The marquis treated this offer with contempt, and signified that he supposed he was speaking to a smuggler. The minister of the gospel, however, persevered in recommending his coffee, and, in the course of the conversation, found means to intimate that he was not a smuggler but a gentleman.—“We'll soon see that,” said the marquis, and then asked him if he could speak Latin. The minister answered in the affirmative, and a conversation ensued, apparently about coffee, as the gestures of both were calculated to deceive all who might observe them. The marquis was then duly informed of every thing that had occurred in Spain, of the assistance the British government had rendered, and of the readiness of his Britannic majesty to adopt any measure that might be thought practicable for effecting the rescue of himself and his troops, that they might join their heroic countrymen in resisting the base attempts of France to enslave them.

As soon as this gallant corps heard of the

forced abdication and captivity of the royal family, and particularly of the patriotic struggle in Spain, they burned with ardor to join the ranks of their countrymen. Though surrounded by hostile battalions, they planted their colours in the centre of a circle which they formed, and swore, on their knees, to be faithful to their country.

By a well-combined plan, concerted between Keats, the British admiral in the Baltic, and Romana, 10,000 of the Spanish troops stationed in Funen, Langland, Zealand, and Jutland, emancipated themselves from the French yoke, and, under the protection of the British fleet, were conveyed, with their stores, arms, and artillery, to Spain, where they landed at Corunna on the 30th of September. The Marquis of Romana himself returned home by the way of London, where he arrived on the 16th of September, for the purpose of having a conference with the British ministry, and British military officers. But one Spanish regiment, near 2,000 strong, in Jutland, was too distant, and too critically situated, to effect its escape. And two in Zealand, after firing on the French General Frision, who commanded them, and killing one of his aid-de-camps by his side, were disarmed. While Frision was in the act of haranguing these troops, for the purpose of engaging them to declare for King Joseph, one of the soldiers, burning with indignation, and regardless of consequences, stepped forth from the ranks, and fired a pistol at him, which, missing the general, killed the aid-de-camp.

When the real state of affairs in Spain became manifest to all Europe, by the flight of King Joseph from Madrid, and the concentration of the French forces on the defiles of Biscay, and on the Ebro, Bonaparte's sarcasms against the insurgents, and his misrepresentations of facts, were interrupted for a long time, as well as his military operations. Not a word was said of Spain. Even the *Moniteur* was silent. The world entertained great curiosity to know what face would be put on the flight of Joseph, and the inactivity of the French in Spain. It was given out by the French government at Madrid, that the king found it necessary to retire for a time from that city, *for the benefit of his health*; which was every where made a subject of ridicule. But nothing at all was said on the matter in the newspapers of France, Italy, or Germany. It was evident to Bonaparte, that the Spanish insurrection was of too serious and formidable a nature to be treated lightly in respect of either words or actions. It was manifestly not to be crushed but by a very large force, and a larger one too than any he could march against it, if the Germans should avail themselves of so inviting an occasion to throw off his yoke; and,

above all, if the Emperor of Russia should swerve from the treaty of Tilsit.

The Austrians had been employed, for the last three years, in bringing their finances into order, and in strengthening their frontier, forming magazines, and increasing their armies, far beyond what was at all necessary for the preservation of internal tranquillity, and apparently with a view not to mere defence, but to aggression. This did not escape the observation, or fail to excite the suspicions, of the French government. A long correspondence ensued on the subject, which was afterwards published, between Count Metternich, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, and Campagny, the French minister of external relations. The French minister, on the part of his master, after calling to mind the moderation of the conqueror in the battle of Austerlitz, asked the Austrians what they feared from France, or of what they had to complain. If certain posts, still occupied by the French in Silesia, or in any other part towards the frontiers of Austria, had given umbrage, or caused any apprehension, they should be immediately evacuated.

An uncommon degree of earnestness on the part of Bonaparte to persuade the court of Vienna that he did not entertain any hostile designs against Austria, was apparent throughout the whole of this correspondence. "It is not," said Bonaparte, "any part of my political system, to destroy, or even to humble the House of Austria;" and in this he was sincere. It could not have been any part of his policy to annihilate a barrier so convenient and necessary against the power of the Russians, growing every day, by the natural progress of population and improvement, in so vast an empire, greater and greater. The Austrian minister, on the part of his court, disclaimed all hostile designs against France, and explained the increase of the military force complained of, by the general necessity that all the powers of Europe now felt themselves to be under, of proportioning the scale of their standing armies to that of their neighbours.

The Austrians persevered in their military preparations. Orders were transmitted from Paris to the members of the confederation of the Rhine, to call out their respective quotas, which when assembled, would be very powerful. Of the German troops of this confederation, 80,000 were taken into the pay of France, clothed in the uniform of French soldiers, and sent into France to garrison the towns quitted by French regiments sent to reinforce the French army in Spain. In this manœuvre it was Bonaparte's object to render it impossible for the German princes to revolt from him to Austria, while at the same time he stationed a force in France better for some of his purposes, such as that of enforcing the conscrip-

tion, than that which it replaced; in as much as BOOK VIII. Germans would not be so likely as the French regiments to sympathise and coalesce with the people. But whatever might be the inclinations, or the attempts of the Germans, they were not to be considered as formidable, if the Emperor of the North, as Bonaparte had affected to style him, should abide by his engagements. Alexander, at this moment, held in his hand the balance of Europe, the fate of many nations, their condition, whether as independent states, or as submissive provinces of a great and domineering empire, probably for many centuries! Into whichever of the scales the Czar should throw his weight, that must inevitably preponderate. To confirm and fix the resolution of Alexander was a matter of the last importance, and what Bonaparte did not think it prudent to commit to the agency of any of his ministers. He determined to have a personal interview with the Emperor of the North; on whose mind it would appear he was perfectly confident he should maintain an ascendancy. For, on the 11th of September, he addressed, in print, his soldiers as follows: "Soldiers, after triumphing on the borders of the Danube, and the Vistula, you traversed Germany, by forced marches; you are now, with the same celerity, to traverse France.

"Soldiers, I declare that I have need of you. The hideous leopard contaminates, by its presence, the territory of Spain and Portugal. Let your faces strike him with terror, and put him to flight; let us carry our victorious eagles even to the pillars of Hercules. There we have an affront to revenge.

"Soldiers, you have surpassed in renown all the warriors of modern times. You have equalled the Roman legions, who, in one campaign, triumphed on the Rhine, the Euphrates, Illyrium, and the Tagus. A durable peace and permanent prosperity shall be the reward of your exploits. No good Frenchman can enjoy a moment's repose, so long as the sea is not free and open.

"Soldiers, all that you have already achieved, or that remains yet to be done is for the *happiness of the French people*, and for MY glory.—Be assured, that the remembrance of so great services shall remain for ever engraven on my heart."

The inhabitants of Lisbon, overawed by the army of Junot, were restrained at first from expressing their joy at the patriotic efforts of their allies, otherwise than in private and confidential conversation. The public voice of Portugal was first heard at Oporto. This town, besides the circumstance of being situate at a considerable distance from the force under Junot, possessed another advantage. It had been occupied by about 3,000 Spanish troops, who, before their departure to join the patriotic standard in Spain,

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took the French general under whose orders they were, and all his staff, prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Lewis D'Oliveira, who had filled that office before the arrival of the French. The treachery of this man, his attachment to the French, and the measures he took for restoring the authority of the French, roused the indignation and rage of the people to such a pitch, that he found it impossible to avert their threatened vengeance otherwise than by yielding up his authority. They rose, on the 18th of June, in one body, broke open the depôts of stores, and having supplied themselves with arms, proceeded to destroy every vestige of French power, and to imprison every person suspected of being in their interest. The Bishop of Oporto, who, with most of the other priests, had been incessant in his efforts to rouse the people to arms, was appointed governor of the city, and the most vigorous measures were adopted for defending it against any force.

General Loison, with about 3,000 men, advanced against the insurgents as far as Amiranço; but on being made acquainted with the determined spirit of the people of Oporto, he retreated on Lisbon. Nearly the whole of the northern provinces of Portugal rose in arms against the French. The south of Portugal was restrained from coming forward so generally, or in so open a manner, by their vicinity to the army of Junot, and also by a strong and numerous French party among themselves. Notwithstanding the terror, however, of Junot, a friendly intercourse, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, was maintained between Lisbon and Sir Charles Cotton.

As soon as Junot received certain intelligence of the Spanish insurrection, he ordered the Spanish troops to be disarmed and put on board the hulks in the Tagus.

The French being expelled from the northern provinces of Portugal, and the authority of the prince-regent re-established, provisional juntas were formed, similar in their character and functions to those of Spain. Of these, that of Oporto exerted itself with the most zeal and effect, in heightening and directing the patriotic enthusiasm of the people, and in the establishment of such orders and regulations as were required by the peculiar circumstances of the country. Oporto, in this respect, was the Seville of Portugal. The junta having taken such measures for raising and supporting an army as circumstances admitted, naturally looked for support and assistance to England; nor were their hopes disappointed. An army, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, (afterwards Duke of Wellington,) destined for Portugal, where it ultimately landed, was, in the first instance, offered to the Spaniards. This army, consisting of about 10,000 men, set sail from Cork on the 12th of July, and arrived at

Corunna on the 20th. The battle of Medina del Rio Seco had taken place a few days before, and the Spaniards were retreating fast in different directions: one division of them adhering to Cuesta, proceeded to Salamanca; another, under General Blake, made for the mountains. In consequence of this intelligence, combined with his instructions, Sir Arthur Wellesley offered the assistance of the force under his command to the junta of Galicia. The junta replied, that they did not want men, and that they wished for nothing from the British government except money, arms, and ammunition. But they expressed their firm conviction that his army might be of infinite service both to the Portuguese, and their own nation, if it were employed to drive the French from Lisbon. In the north of Portugal, and consequently at no great distance from Galicia, the French were still in force.

Sir Arthur Wellesley leaving Corunna, proceeded to Oporto. On his arrival there, the bishop, who was the governor, informed him that the Portuguese force was sufficient to deter the French from making any attacks, or if not, to repel them. Sir Arthur, however, that he might be the better enabled to judge what was best to be done, left his forces at Oporto, in order to have a conference with Charles Cotton, off Lisbon; with whom he consulted about the practicability and the prudence of forcing the entrance of the Tagus, and attacking the forts in the near vicinity of that capital. In the mean time, while he was on board the *Hibernia*, the admiral's ship, he received a letter from General Spencer, who was then, with about 6,000 men, off Cadiz. This force was destined to be employed either in co-operating with the Spanish forces under Castanos, in their operations against Dupont, or in conjunction with the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley. As the junta of Seville did not deem the aid of General Spencer's corps at all necessary towards the reduction of Dupont's army, and as Sir Arthur was decidedly of opinion that his own army, and that of General Spencer, could be but of little avail towards the expulsion of the French from Portugal, while they acted separately, he gave orders to General Spencer to join him.

The English general, having made himself acquainted, as accurately as he could, with the numerical strength and disposition of the French army, determined to land his forces in Mondego bay, where he would be able to effect a landing, and to form his army into order, without any opposition from the enemy; while, at the same time, he would be assisted and supported by the Portuguese army which had advanced to Coimbra. Before he landed the troops he received advice from the British government that 5,000 men, under General Anstruther, were proceeding to

join him, and that 12,000 more, under Sir John Moore, would speedily be dispatched for the same purpose. He was also informed of the surrender of Dupont, and that the army of Junot was considerably weakened by the necessity of sending about 6,000 men, under General Loison, to quell an insurrection that had broken out in the south of Portugal. This information induced Sir Arthur to disembark his troops without delay. Soon after the disembarkation was effected, the corps under General Spencer also landed: and, on the 9th of August, the advanced guard marched forward on the road to Lisbon. On the 12th the army reached Leyria. On the 15th the advanced guard came up with a party of the French at Obidos, where a slight action took place, called the action of Lourinha, occasioned principally by the eagerness of the British to attack and pursue the enemy. On the 16th the army halted, and on the next day the general came to the determination of attacking the French under General Laborde at Roleia.

Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southwards by mountains which come in contact with the hills forming the valley on the left. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old Moorish fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's piquets had been driven on the 15th. From that time the French had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of the main army, which was posted on the heights opposite to Roleia; its right resting upon the hills; its left, on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains on their rear. Their force amounted to about 6,000, of which about 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon: and there was some reason to believe that General Loison, who was at Rio-Major on the 16th, would join General Laborde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly, and the army breaking up from Caldas on the 17th, was formed into three columns; the right destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear; the left to ascend the hills at Obidos, to turn all the posts on the left of the valley, and also watch the motions of General Loison; the centre column to attack General Laborde's position in front. The enemy was defeated, but retreated in good order. By this victory the road was cleared to Lisbon. On the day after the battle the British army moved to Lourinha, to protect the landing and facilitate the junction of the troops under General Anstruther; and on the 21st they resumed their march.

General Junot, having been informed of the large reinforcement expected, under the command

of Sir John Moore, determined to attack the British army before the reinforcement should arrive. For this purpose he left Lisbon with nearly the whole of the forces under his command, and came up with Sir Arthur on the morning of the 21st of August. A hard-fought battle ensued. The French, with fixed bayonets, attacked the British with their usual impetuosity. They were driven back by our troops with the bayonet. They renewed their attacks, in different columns, again and again, and were as often driven back with cooler intrepidity and greater strength of arm. At last they fled from the charge. In this battle the French lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition-waggons, and about 3,000 in killed, wounded, and missing. One general officer was wounded and taken prisoner, and another was killed. The loss of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly a thousand.

The position of the British army was at Vimeira, a village which stands in a valley through which runs the river Maceira; at the back, and to the westward and northward of this village, is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights over which passes the road which leads from Lourinha and the northward to Vimeira. The greater part of the infantry, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th brigades, were posted on this mountain, with eight pieces of artillery; Major-general Hill's brigade being on the right, Major-general Ferguson's on the left, having one battalion on the heights, separated from the mountain. On the eastern and southern side of the town is a hill which is entirely commanded, particularly on its right, by the mountain to the westward of the town, and commanding all the ground in the neighbourhood to the southward and eastward, on which Brigadier-general Fane was posted with his riflemen and the 50th regiment, and Brigadier-general Anstruther with his brigade, with half a brigade of six-pounders and half a brigade of nine-pounders, which had been ordered to the position in the course of the preceding night. The ground over which passes the road from Lourinha commanded the left of this height, and it had not been occupied, excepting by a piquet, as the camp had been taken up only for one night; and there was no water in the neighbourhood of this height. The cavalry and the reserve of artillery were in the valley between the hills on which the infantry stood, both flanking and supporting Brigadier-general Fane's advanced guard.

The French first appeared at eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry, on the left of the English, upon the heights of the road to Lourinha; and it was soon obvious that the attack would be made upon their advanced guard, and the left of their position; and Major-general

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Ferguson's brigade was immediately moved across the ravine to the heights, on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon: he was followed successively by Brigadier-general Nightingale with his brigade, and three pieces of cannon; Brigadier-general Ackland with his brigade, and Brigadier-general Bowes with his brigade. These troops were formed (Major-general Ferguson's brigade in the first line; Brigadier-general Nightingale's in the second; and Brigadier-general Bowes' and Ackland's, in columns in the rear) on those heights, with their right upon the valley which leads into Vimeira, and their left upon the other ravine, which separates these heights from the range which terminates at the landing place at Maceira. On these last mentioned heights, the Portuguese troops which had been in the bottom near Vimeira, were posted in the first instance, and they were supported by Brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade.

The troops of the advanced guard on the height to the southward and eastward of the town were deemed sufficient for its defence, and Major-general Hill was moved to the centre of the mountain on which the great body of infantry had been posted, as a support to these troops, and as a reserve to the whole army. In addition to this support, these troops had that of the cavalry in the rear of their right.

The enemy's attack began in several columns upon the whole of the troops on this height: on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and were checked and driven back only by the bayonets of the corps. The 2d battalion, 43d regiment, was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimeira; a part of that corps having been ordered into the church-yard to prevent them from penetrating into the town. On the right of the position, they were repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, which corps was successively supported by the 2d battalion 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank.

Besides this opposition given to the attack of the enemy on the advanced guard by their own exertions, they were attacked in flank by Brigadier-general Ackland's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, and a cannonade was kept up on the flank of the enemy's columns by the artillery on those heights.

At length, after a most desperate contest, the enemy was driven back in confusion from this attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. He was pursued by the detachment of the 20th light-dragoons; but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers, that this detachment suffered much, and

Lieutenant-colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed.

Nearly at the same time the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights, on the road to Lourinha. This attack was supported by a large body of cavalry, and was made with the usual impetuosity of French troops. It was received with steadiness by Major-general Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments; and these corps charged as soon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him supported by the 82d, one of the corps of Brigadier-general Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, afterwards formed a part of the first line; by the 29th regiment, and by Brigadier-general Bowes's and Ackland's brigades, while Brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade, and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of Major-general Ferguson's brigade, six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers were killed and wounded.

The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover a part of his artillery by attacking the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. These regiments retired from the low grounds in the valley to the heights, where they halted, faced about, fired, and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground, and they thus obliged him to retire with great loss.

In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of the Duke D'Abrantes in person, in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged, he sustained a signal defeat, and lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition-waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and 20,000 rounds of musket-ammunition. One general officer (Berniere) was wounded and taken prisoner, and a great many officers and soldiers were killed wounded, and taken.

The loss of the British army in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly 1000.

After the dispositions for the battle of Vimeira had been made, Sir H. Burrard arrived at the scene of action, but declined to take upon himself the command of the army. On the 22d, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been called from his situation of Lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, to take the command of all the different corps sent by the British government into Portugal, reached Cintra, the place to which the British army had moved after the battle. Within a very few hours after his arrival, a flag of truce came in from Junot, proposing a cessation of hostilities, in order that

a convention might be settled, by which the French should evacuate Portugal.

By this convention, signed at Cintra, it was, among other stipulations, agreed on, "That the English government should be at the expense of transporting the whole of the French army to any of the ports between Rochfort and L'Orient. When the army arrived in France, it was to be at liberty to serve again immediately. All the property of the army, as well as the personal property of the individuals of the army, was to be sacred and untouched. It might either be carried off into France or sold in Portugal. In the latter case full security was to be given by the British to the purchasers, that the property they had would not be taken from them, nor they themselves molested on account of the purchase."

This convention was founded on the basis of an armistice agreed upon between Sir Arthur Wellesley and General Kellerman on the day after the battle of Vimeira. But the seventh article of that preliminary treaty, stipulating that the Russian fleet should be allowed either to remain in the Tagus unmolested as long as it thought proper, or to return home, was afterwards rejected by Sir Charles Cotton; between whom and the Russian admiral, Siniavian, a convention was agreed to for the surrender of the Russian fleet to the British fleet, on the 3d of September.

While some defended this convention on account of the danger of suffering a powerful enemy to retreat, whom despair might reinforce, others deprecated it as unworthy of the British nation. A board of enquiry was held upon the occasion, and the following declaration of his majesty's disapprobation of both the armistice and the convention was officially communicated to Sir Hew Dalrymple.

"The King has taken into his consideration the report of the board of enquiry, together with the documents and opinions thereunto annexed. While his majesty adopts the unanimous opinion of the board, that no farther military proceeding is necessary to be had upon the transactions referred to their investigation, his majesty does not intend thereby to convey any expression of his majesty's satisfaction at the terms and conditions of the armistice and convention.

"When those instruments were first laid before his majesty, the king, reserving for investigation those parts of the definitive convention, in which his majesty's immediate interests were concerned, caused it to be signified to Sir Hew Dalrymple, by his majesty's secretary of state, that his majesty, nevertheless, felt himself compelled at once to express his disapprobation of those articles, in which stipulations were made, directly affecting the interests or feelings of the Spanish and Portuguese nations.

"At the close of the enquiry, the king, abstaining from any observations upon any other parts of the convention, repeats his disapprobation of those articles; his majesty deeming it necessary that his sentiments should be clearly understood, as to the impropriety and danger of the unauthorized admission, into military conventions of articles of such a description, which, especially when incautiously framed, may lead to the most injurious consequences.

"His majesty cannot forbear farther to observe, that Lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple's delaying to transmit for his information the armistice concluded on 22d August, until the 4th September, when he, at the same time, transmitted the ratified convention, was calculated to produce great public inconvenience, and that such inconvenience did in fact result therefrom."

As the defeat of Junot and the deliverance of Portugal were only mediate, and not the ultimate objects of the British army, it marched from Lisbon, but not till the 27th of October, nearly two months after the convention of Cintra, under the command of General Sir John Moore, to the assistance of the Spanish patriots. The general's instructions were, to march through Spain with his face towards Burgos; which was to be the general rendezvous of the British troops: not only of those now under the command of that officer, but of those with which he was to be reinforced from England; and he was to combine his operations with those of the commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies.

The place appointed for a meeting and conference between Alexander and Napoleon was Erfurth, a city in the circle of the lower Rhine, belonging to the electorate of Mayence. Here they met on the 27th of September. The two emperors were each attended by a numerous and brilliant suite, and kings, sovereign princes, and other persons of high distinction, came day after day to do homage to the great emperor of the west. Among others who attended Alexander, were his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, (whom it was the policy of Bonaparte to flatter with the hope of reigning at Constantinople,) the Count Romanzow, and the two Counts Tolstons, one of whom was the Russian ambassador at Paris. The suite of Bonaparte was composed of Berthier, Talleyrand, Caulincourt, Champagny, Secretary Maret, (the principal writer of official reports,) the Generals Lannes and Duroc, all of them bearing their new titles of princes, dukes, and counts, and in short all the staff-officers belonging to the French army cantoned in Bavaria. The kings and sovereign princes of Germany waited for the most part on Bonaparte in person. The Austrian general, Count St. Vincent, arrived at Erfurth, September 28, with an apo-

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logy from the Emperor of Austria, for not attending the conference, and no doubt the strongest and most polite assurances of friendship towards both the French and Russian emperor. Count St. Vincent was closeted a long time with Bonaparte. Great was the pomp and ceremony, and most splendid the feasts and other entertainments, that took place on the occasion of this imperial and royal convention. The little town of Erfurth was astonished to witness a magnificence that would have been admired at Paris. The first dinner was given by Bonaparte. Napoleon and Alexander held their conferences every day at ten o'clock. These being over, they rode out together, either in the same carriage or on horseback, to take a view of the adjacent country. In one of these rides Alexander consented to traverse together with Bonaparte the whole field of Jena, the burying-ground, or grave, it may be called, of the ally to whom he had sworn eternal friendship over the ashes of the great Frederick?

The Archduke Constantine, while at Erfurth, appeared every day in the uniform of the horseguards of Bonaparte. It was the great object of Bonaparte, in the conferences and convention at Erfurth, to conciliate the good-will of all parties there, that he might be enabled, having secured quietness in his rear, to bear with all his disposable force on Spain and Portugal. Insignificant as the German powers had become, combinations might be formed by which they might distress him greatly in the present moment. Any concession, therefore, that would secure their connivance at his projects in the west, it was prudent in him to make: fully aware that if he succeeded in Spain, it would be an easy task again to reduce the countries in Germany, which he now occupied. But, at the same time that he found himself under the necessity of recalling his troops from Germany, he wished to hide as much as possible the weakness therein implied, and avert the designs to which a full conviction of that weakness might give birth. He therefore dexterously contrived to give the withdrawing of his troops the appearance of being the result of a negotiation; an act of favor to the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia. A negotiation was entered into at Erfurth, under the mediation of Alexander, in consequence of which Napoleon engaged to evacuate the Prussian territory, as soon as the contributions should be paid up: which he graciously reduced to one-third of their total amount: and he wrote a letter to the Queen of Prussia, with his own hand, in which he promised her the completion of all her wishes. He also relaxed in the severity of his restrictions and imposts on the commerce of Holland.

With regard to Alexander, it was easy to persuade him that the insurrection in Spain was only the natural consequence, and what was to be ap-

prehended from the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit. This sentiment was expressed on sundry occasions by Alexander, after his return to Petersburgh: and it may be presumed, that it had been inculcated on his pliant mind, by the companion and guide of his excursion to the field of Jena.—In consequence of the conferences at Tilsit, the garrisons of Prussia were evacuated: and the veteran troops of France began to march from the Oder to the Ebro: while, on the other hand, 40,000 French conscripts were sent to Germany.

Another visible effect of the meeting at Erfurth was an offer of peace on the part of Russia and France to the British government. A flag of truce, with two officers, one a Frenchman, the other a Russian, arrived, October 21, at Dover. The Frenchman, by orders of Lord Hawkesbury, who happened then to be at Walmer Castle, was detained. The Russian messenger was allowed to proceed on the 22d to London. It was the object of Bonaparte in this overture to lull the British government into a neglect or delay of sending assistance to Spain, and to excite a distrust of England in her allies; for as to any effect that professions and pacific dispositions on the part of Bonaparte might have on the minds of the French people, they had become stale and altogether barren. It was proposed, by the overture to his Britannic majesty, to enter into a negotiation for a general peace, in concert with his majesty's allies, and to treat either on the basis of *uti possidetis*, or on any other basis consistent with justice: The king professed his readiness to enter into such a negotiation in concurrence with his allies; in the number of whom he comprehended the Spanish nation. In the reply returned by France to this proposition of his majesty, the Spanish nation was described by the appellation of the "Spanish insurgents;" and the demand for admitting the existing government of Spain, as a party to any negotiation, was rejected as inadmissible and insulting. A declaration, therefore, by his majesty, was published on the 15th of December, concluding as follows: "His majesty deeply laments an issue by which the sufferings of Europe are aggravated and prolonged. But neither the honor of his majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit of his majesty's consenting to commence a negotiation by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man, and whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just, his majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain."

While the army of France lay inactive on the Ebro, and the passes into the mountainous province of Biscay, and Bonaparte was employed in averting danger to his cause on the side of

Germany and Russia, the provincial juntas had leisure to resolve themselves into one supreme and central junta.

The situation of the Spaniards, when their country was assailed by the intrigues, the treachery, and the arms of France, was without example in their history, unforeseen by their laws, and in opposition to their habits. In such circumstances, it was necessary to give a direction to the public force, correspondent with the will and sacrifices of the people. This necessity gave rise to the juntas in the provinces, which collected into themselves the whole authority of the nation, for the purpose of expelling the common enemy, and maintaining internal order and tranquillity. But as soon as the capital was delivered from the invaders, and the communication between the provinces re-established, it became practicable, as well as necessary, to collect the public authority, which had been divided into as many parts as there were provincial governments, into one centre, from whence the strength and the will of the nation might be called into action. A supreme and central junta, formed by deputies nominated by the respective juntas, was installed at Aranjuez, on the 25th of September. The president, *per interim*, was the venerable Count Florida Blanca.

The supreme central junta was acknowledged by the council of Castile, and all the other constituted authorities in the kingdom. The junta, amongst its first acts, appointed a new council of war, consisting of five members, the president of which was General Castanos. The other four members were Don Thomas Morla, the Marquis de Castelar, the Marquis del Pilacia, and Don Antonio Buerro. In prosecution of their designs it was necessary, in the first place, to attend to the grand spring of government, the finances. Great savings were made from the suppression of the expenses of the royal-household, the enormous sums which had been annually devoured by the insatiable avarice and profuse donations of the favourite, and the confiscation of the estates of those unworthy Spaniards who had sided and fled with the usurper from Madrid. These resources sufficed for their first operations without any new taxes on the people. The first efforts of the junta were directed to the setting in motion all the troops in Andalusia, Grenada, and Estramadura, as well as the new levies; to the transportation of Dupont's army, agreeably to treaty; and to the furnishing of the English army, that had vanquished Junot, with the means of marching from Portugal to join the Spaniards. In the midst of these cares, they sent envoys to demand succours from Britain. The forces of the patriots, including now the army of Romana, and the Spanish regiments that had been confined in hulks of ships by Junot, were divided into

three, and disposed in such a manner as to form together, towards the end of October, one grand army. The eastern wing was commanded by General Joseph Palafox; the north-western, by General Blake; the centre, by General Castanos. The number under General Blake was computed at 55,000: that under General Castanos at 65,000; and that under the orders of General Palafox, at 20,000. General Castanos was commander-in-chief. Besides these there was a small army in Estramadura, and another in Catalonia. The positions of the French army remained, with some variation, on the whole much the same as in August; its right towards the ocean, its left on Arragon, its front on the Ebro. It was strengthened from time to time by reinforcements from France. The design of the Spaniards was, with the right and left wings of their grand army, to turn the wings of the French army, whilst Castanos should make a vigorous attack, and break through their centre.

Bonaparte having ordered a levy of 160,000 conscripts, set troops in motion for Spain, and, provided for all that might be demanded by the contingencies of war, set out from Paris for Spain, regardless of the answer to his overture for a negociation with the British government; and having proceeded from Rambouillet, October 30, with his usual celerity he arrived at Bayonne on the 3d of November, and on the 5th, accompanied by a reinforcement of 12,000 men, he joined his brother Joseph at Vittoria.

In time of peace Bonaparte employed proper persons to furnish him with the most correct topographical maps of different territories; on a great scale: by which means, being made acquainted by his generals with the relative positions of the opposite armies, he was enabled to give general directions, even at a great distance. —The campaign had been opened, according to his directions, a few days before his arrival.

Agreeably to the general plan of operations, General Castanos crossed the Ebro at the three points with only a shew of resistance, and he was suffered to push forward detachments, and take possession of Lerin, Viana, Caboroso, and other French posts on the left bank of the Ebro. The French did not oppose his onward course towards Pampeluna, any farther than was necessary to conceal their own plan of operations. Marshal Moncey, the Duke of Cornegiano, was directed with the left wing of the French army to advance along the banks of the Alagon and the Ebro, and instead of opposing the passage, by presenting a weak front, to decoy General Castanos across the Ebro. The stratagem having succeeded completely, Marshal Ney, the Duke of Elchingen, with his division, passing the line of the Ebro, and dashing forward with great celerity in separate columns, took the Spanish posts

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at Logrono and Colahora, threw the whole country into alarm and confusion, and cut off the communication between the armies respectively under the command of General Blake and General Castanos.

In a series of actions from the 31st of October, the army under General Blake was driven from post to post; from Durango to Guenas; from Guenas to Valmaseda; from Valmaseda to Espinosa. In a strong position there, the Gallician army made a stand, in order to save its magazines and artillery, in vain. After a brave resistance, continued for two days, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. During the conflict at Espinosa, a detachment was sent against the last retreat of the Gallicians, Reynosa. At break of day, the 11th of November, they were suddenly attacked on both their right, left, and centre. They were forced to consult their safety by flight; throwing away their arms and colours, and abandoning their artillery. General Blake, with the remains of his broken army, took refuge in Asturias. What remained of the corps of the Marquis of Romana, that had formed part of the Gallician army, fled first to St. Andero, and afterwards to Asturias. The Spaniards were pursued closely by Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, the van of whose army entered St. Andero on the 16th. The Bishop of St. Andero took refuge in an English frigate.

In the mean time the Estramaduran army, under the command of Count Belvedere, a young man, was permitted without opposition, by a stratagem similar to that which had drawn General Castanos to the left bank of the Ebro, to advance to Burgos, of which he took possession without resistance. Here the French fell on him with superior numbers and routed his army, after a gallant resistance for twelve hours, and almost annihilated it. The count, with the small remains of his men, fled to Lerma, and from thence to Aranda.

The French, having routed and dispersed the armies of the north of Spain, and of Estramadura, next fell on the central army under Castanos: and an engagement ensued at Tudela, 23d November, which fixed the fate of the campaign.—It is thus described in the eleventh bulletin of the grand French army.

“On the 22d of November, at the break of day, the French army began its march. It took its direction to Calaborra, where, on the evening before, were the head-quarters of Castanos. Finding that town evacuated, it marched on Alfaro; from whence the enemy had also retreated. On the 23d, at break of day, the general of division, Lefevre, at the head of the cavalry, and supported by the division of General Morlat, forming the advanced guard, met with the enemy. He immediately gave information to the Duke of

Montebello, who found the army of the enemy in seven divisions, consisting of 45,000 men, under arms, with its right before Tudela, and its left occupying a league and an half, a *disposition altogether faulty*. The Arragonese were on the right, the troops of Valencia and New Castile in the centre, and the three divisions of Andalusia, which General Castanos commanded more especially, formed the left. Forty pieces of cannon covered the enemy's line.

“At nine in the morning the columns of the French army began to display themselves with that order, regularity, and coolness, which characterise veteran troops. Situations were chosen for establishing batteries, with sixty pieces of cannon; but the impetuosity of the French troops, and the inquietude of the enemy, did not allow time for this. The Spaniards were already vanquished by the order and movements of the French army. The Duke of Montebello caused the centre to be pierced by the division of General Maurice Matthews. The general of division Lefevre, with his cavalry, immediately passed on the trot through this opening, and by a quarter wheel to the left, enveloped the enemy. The moment when half the enemy's line found itself thus turned and defeated, was that in which General le Grange attacked the village of Cascante, where the line of Castanos was placed, which did not exhibit a better countenance than the right, but abandoned the field of battle, leaving behind it its artillery, and a great number of prisoners. The cavalry pursued the remains of the enemy's army to Mallen, in the direction of Saragossa, and to Tarragona, in the direction of Agreda. Seven standards, thirty pieces of cannon, twelve colonels, three hundred officers, were taken. Four thousand Spaniards were left dead on the field of battle, or driven into the Ebro. While a part of the fugitives retired to Saragossa, the left wing of the Spanish army which had been cut off fled in disorder to Tarragona and Agreda. Five thousand Spaniards, all troops of the line, were taken prisoners in the pursuit. No quarter was given to any of the peasants found in arms. This army of 45,000 men has been thus beaten and defeated, without our having had more than 6,000 men engaged. The battle of Burgos had smitten the centre of the enemy, and the battle of Espinosa, the right; the battle of Tudela has struck the left. Victory has thus struck as with a thunderbolt, and dispersed the whole league of the enemy.”

By the battle of Tudela the road was laid open to Madrid. On the 29th of November, a division of the French army, under the command of General Victor, Duke of Belluno, arrived at the pass of the Sierra Morena, called the *Puerto*. It was defended by 13,000 men of the Spanish army of reserve, under the orders of General

San Juan. The Puerto, or narrow neck of land forming the pass, was intersected by a trench, fortified with sixteen pieces of cannon. While a part of the French advanced to the Puerto by the road, with six pieces of artillery, other columns gained the heights on the left. A discharge of musketry and cannon was maintained for some little time on both sides. A charge made by General Montbrun, at the head of the Polish light-horse, decided the contest. The Spaniards fled, leaving behind them their artillery and standards; and, as the French bulletin stated, their muskets; but this, from subsequent events, proved incorrect.

Advanced parties of the French cavalry appeared on the 1st of December before Madrid. At this period, the inhabitants of this city were busily employed in raising pallisades, and constructing redoubts, breathing a determined spirit of resistance. The enemy was beaten back from certain gates several times; but on the 3d, they were in possession of the gate of Alcala; and also of the Reteiro, the reduction of which place cost the assailants very dear, in the loss, it was computed, of near 1,000 men in killed and wounded. The junta then hoisted a white flag. The people of Madrid pulled down the flag, and persisted in their design of defending the city; but this enthusiasm soon began to subside, for want of leaders to keep it up and direct it: and when they learnt for certain that the French were fortifying themselves in the Reteiro, they began to retire to their respective houses.

During the night of December the 3d, a Spanish officer who had been taken prisoner in the affair of Somosierra, brought a message from General Berthier, summoning for the second time Madrid to surrender. The Marquis of Castellar, captain-general of Castille, sent in answer a letter to Berthier, demanding a suspension of hostilities, that he might have time for consulting the superior authorities. But there was no need or use in this. The superior authorities, who, it was evident, had a secret correspondence with the enemy, had already come to a determination on the subject. Madrid was given up through treachery. When intelligence that the French had forced the passage of the Sierra Morena reached Madrid, a council was held, at which the honorable Mr. Stuart, the British envoy at Madrid, was present. Don T. Morla took the lead, and expatiated at great length on the hopeless state of affairs; and urged the necessity of immediately capitulating for Madrid. When he sat down, another counsellor rose, and reproached Morla for his proposal. He said that this advice was more suited to a minister of Joseph Bonaparte, than to one of King Ferdinand. Two days after this discussion, Don T. Morla, together with the Prince of Castel Franco, to whom the defence of the capital had been com-

mitted by the supreme junta, sent a dispatch to Sir John Moore, describing the formidable Spanish force that was assembled at Madrid; and pressing him to advance, with all possible expedition, to the capital. If Sir John Moore had not possessed, in an extraordinary degree, circumspection, penetration, and firmness, the solicitations of the traitors, and those too of Mr. Hookam Frere, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty to the supreme junta, would have thrown him and his little army completely into the hands of the French. Yet, by some writers, the advice of Mr. Hookam Frere is applauded, and the *prudence* of Sir John Moore condemned. "Who," enquires one of those authors, "does not feel what sacrifices might have been prevented by a previous march of the British army on Madrid? Who does not lament the unsettled feeling of the British general here?—who, but must severely lament it?" At this time, however, there were many misrepresentations in the Spanish gazettes, which either proceeded from downright folly, or a traitorous design to lull the Spaniards, prone to be so lulled, into a state of false security and inaction. After General Blake had officially notified to the central junta, about the middle of October, that the army he had been able to collect amounted to no more than from 22 to 23,000 men; we find it stated in the Madrid gazette of October the 21st, that 70,000 men had passed through the town of Lugo.—At Madrid, November the 23d, was published the following proclamation: "Spaniards, the central junta of the government of the kingdom, after having taken all measures in its power to defeat the enemy, who, continuing his attacks, has advanced into the neighbourhood of Sornosa, addresses you for the purpose of putting you on your guard against the intrigues with which the perfidious agents of Napoleon endeavour to alarm and deceive you, by increasing the number of the enemy's troops, who hardly amount to 8,000 men, according to the report of the general whom the junta has charged with the defence of the important post of Guadarama."

The letter of the Marquis of Castellar, sent to Berthier in the morning of the 4th, produced a peremptory summons to surrender immediately. In the evening of the same day, Don Thomas Morla and Don Bertrando Yriate waited on Berthier, and were introduced by him to Bonaparte; who told them, with a stern countenance, and in a decided tone of voice, that if the city did not tender its submission by five or six o'clock next morning, it would be taken by assault, and every one found with arms in his hands put to the sword. The Spanish troops in Madrid were sent off, in the dead of night, by the gates of Segovia and Tudela.

Bonaparte, with affected magnanimity, ex-

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tended his clemency to the degraded deputation from the junta. To conceal their concert with him, and at the same time to gratify his splenetic humour, he cunningly taunted Morla for his former perfidy in breaking the capitulation with Dupont. "The English," said he, "are not renowned for good faith: but having agreed to the convention of Cintra, they observed it." Morla's fortune and military rank were preserved to him. The same indulgence was shewn to his associates, who having joined him in betraying their country, did not disdain to live under the protection of the usurper. Morla, in a circular letter addressed to the Andalusians, endeavoured to draw them over to the side of King Joseph; who, he told them, was a man of great mildness and humanity of disposition.

Bonaparte addressed a manifesto to the Spanish nation, in which he promised them all good things if they received Joseph for their king sincerely and with all their heart.—If not, he would put the crown on his own head, treat them as a conquered province, and find another kingdom for his brother; for God had given him both the inclination and the power to surmount all obstacles.

The troops that had fled from the Puerto, or gate of Guadarama, having arrived, on the 3d of December, almost under the walls of Madrid, demanded with loud cries to be led to its defence. Their commander, Count St. Juan, who opposed so dangerous an attempt, was massacred.

Though the prerogatives of nature may be often neglected for ages, in the progress of time and events they are asserted sooner or later. Long had men of general views and speculation regretted that so fair a portion of the globe, so abundant in all the necessaries and even luxuries of life, and so well situated for the commerce of the world, as South America, should be suffered to languish under a short-sighted system of tyranny and oppression.

The grand interest excited by the state of Spain at this period, was the consideration that it would, in all probability, sever the mother-country from the colonies, and open a new theatre on the other side of the Atlantic, that would change the politics and improve the condition of the world. The balance of Europe being overthrown, it was a consolation to look to a balance on a grand scale: a balance of the world. It was not indeed the contemplation of a magnificent order of affairs that at first aroused the Spanish colonies to the exercise of their faculties, but that ardent devotion to the monarch, by which the Spaniards are particularly distinguished, and indignation against his cruel and perfidious oppressor.

The central junta, in conformity with the uniform intentions of the central juntas, declared that the colonies in Asia and America should not be considered as dependent provinces, but enjoy

all the privileges of the metropolis and mother-country. This was also declared in the new constitution framed for Spain by Bonaparte.

In the Canaries, in Mexico, and the Floridas, Cuba and the other islands, and throughout the whole of South America, every Spaniard, as if animated by the same soul, breathed the same sentiments of devotion to the king and detestation of the monster who wished to usurp his throne. The vengeance of many, as is natural in burning climates, would have been wreaked on unoffending individuals of the French nation. In the Floridas the French were so apprehensive of falling victims to the vengeance of the Spaniards, that they fled, with their effects, into the territories of the United States. But the moderation, wisdom, and justice of men in authority, restrained the fury of the populace. The proclamations of the Spanish governors in the colonies, for sense, reason, and justice, equalled those of Old Spain, and for a fervent eloquence, perhaps even exceeded them. Hostilities were every where else declared against France, and the most liberal and prompt contributions remitted to the patriots in Old Spain. This year the French were driven out of the islands of Porto Rico, Deseada, and Morie Galante.

The great affairs of Europe in 1806 are exhibited in the contest between Spain and Portugal, with their ally Great Britain, on the one part; and the ruler of France, aided by his vassal princes and kings, on the other. The annals of other countries sink almost into provincial history. What is most prominent and important in the history of Spain, Great Britain, and France, during that period, has been seen in the present narrative. With respect to France, however, be it remembered, that in the beginning of the year Bonaparte, as a preparation for the farther extension and consolidation of his empire, annexed to France, and took possession of the military posts of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel on the Rhine, and Flushing. It was probably with similar views that he established and endowed a Greek bishoprick in Dalmatia. The state of the French empire in its internal as well as external relations, as exhibited by the ministers of Bonaparte, was far from being candidly disclosed. Such papers, notwithstanding their false colouring and misrepresentation of facts, disclosed the spirit and views of government. The most remarkable article in the exposé, or state of the French empire at this period, was the creation of the hereditary nobility, which was declared to be essential in a hereditary monarchy. The main drift of Bonaparte, in his internal regulations, seemed to be to root out all memorials of liberty, and to establish in France a despotic government, a military costume, and a military spirit. Sweden, in the beginning of the year, might have made

her peace with France and Russia. The king, with the general voice of the nation, chose a braver, but more impolitic part. After some attempts on the part of the Russians, tutored, it would seem, in the school of their allies, the French, to seduce the Swedish nation from their allegiance to their king, and their duty to their country, and a rapid succession of the most sanguinary battles, where the Swedes were bending, and ready to fall, never to rise again, under the overwhelming power of Russia, the Swedish government signed a convention on the 7th of November, by which Finland, the granary of the kingdom, was virtually given up to Russia. The heroic King of Sweden was not deserted in this extremity of fortune by his ally, Britain. A naval force, under Admiral Keats, drove the Russian squadrons into their ports, where they were held in a state of blockade. A land-force of 10,000 men, under the command of Sir John Moore, was sent in the month of May to assist Sweden, against a combined attack from Russia, France, and Denmark. On the 17th of May, this army reached Gottenburgh, but was not permitted to land. Sir John Moore repaired to Stockholm to communicate his orders, and to concert measures for the security of Sweden. He there found, to his surprise, that though the Swedish army was quite insufficient for even defensive operations, his majesty's thoughts were wholly intent on conquest. It was first proposed, that the British should remain in their ships, till some Swedish regiments should be collected at Gottenburgh, and that the combined forces should land, and conquer Zealand. Upon an examination of the plan, it was found and admitted, that the island of Zealand, besides several strong fortresses, contained a regular force far superior to any that could be brought to bear against it: and also, that the island of Funen was full of French and Spanish troops, which could not be prevented from crossing over in small parties. It was next proposed that the British alone should land on Finland, storm a fortress, and take a position there. But Sir John Moore represented, that ten thousand British troops were wholly insufficient to encounter the principal force of the Russian empire, which could quickly be brought against them at a point so near Petersburg.—Sir John escaped from the resentment of his Swedish majesty in disguise, and conformably to his instructions, brought back his little army to England. In consequence of the disastrous and menacing aspect of affairs in Sweden, Louis XVIII. of France, with the queen and the Duchess of Angoulême, took refuge, in the month of August, in England.

As the Russians acquired an extension of ter-

ritory on the one hand by the acquisition of Swedish Finland, they still kept a steady eye on the long-meditated project of extending their empire to the Bosphorus, by the acquisition of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia. The number of their troops in Moldavia and Wallachia, in the autumn of this year, was raised to upwards of 80,000 men. To face these a great number of Turkish troops marched from time to time from Constantinople and other places, to the Danube: and of these no inconsiderable number had been trained in the European manner, and taught the use of the bayonet.

In Italy the most prominent events were the transference of the crown of Naples to Murat, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, the Grand Duke of Berg; the usurpation of the papal throne, and annexation of Rome, with all the ecclesiastical states, Placentia, Parma, and Anconia, to the French empire. The cardinals were banished from Rome, but allowed no inconsiderable pensions. The person of his holiness was secured in a state of confinement. Bonaparte said, that he only took back what had been given to the church for the support of religion and promotion of piety: but as the munificent donations of his predecessor, Charlemagne, had been used for very different purposes, it was very fit that they should be recalled. "The kingdom of Christ," he observed, like a sound divine, "was not of this world."

The same pope, Pius VII. that had gone to crown Napoleon at Paris, and agreed to the subversion of the Gallican church, and the diminution of the apostolical power, by the establishment of the concordat, in this terrible crisis, assumed the courage and the character of a martyr. He protested, by a public manifesto, against the irreligious and unjust proceeding of the Emperor of the French towards the holy apostolical see. He formally excommunicated him. In proclamations addressed to the Spanish, Portuguese, and all other Catholic nations, he exhorted them to the defence of the altar and the throne, at the hazard of their lives, as well as the expense of their fortune.

Many were, indeed, surprised that so subtle and refined a politician as Bonaparte, should incur the hazard of exciting the indignation, and a spirit of resistance to his aggressions, in all Catholic countries, by the spoliation and imprisonment of the pope. But Bonaparte's power had, by this time, risen to so enormous a pitch, that he did not think it necessary to manage or keep any terms with the opinions and prejudices of men and nations. His general plan was to arm and direct one half of the world against the other, and to make every thing bend under the weight of military despotism.

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CHAPTER V.

Retreat of the British Army.—Numerous Difficulties attending it.—Preparations of the Enemy.—Sir John Moore's Plan for extricating his Army from its peculiar Situation.—Battle of Corunna.—Death and Character of the British General.—The British Army withdrawn under General Hope.—Embarkation of the Troops.

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ON the 14th of December, Sir John Moore's head-quarters were at Alaejos, where he had received a letter from the Marquis of Romana, at Leon, with whom he was in communication, approving the reasons of retreat he had before intended. From Alaejos it had been projected to move on Valladolid. But the situation of Marshal Soult, with two divisions, at Saldana, and Junot at Burgos, exposed Sir David Baird to be attacked in forming his junction. Sir John Moore, accordingly, in order to unite as soon as possible with Sir David Baird, returned to Toro, whence it might still be possible, should Marshal Soult afford the opportunity, to strike a blow, under cover of the belief expressed in the French dispatches, that the force and movements of the French upon Talavera and Badajoz must have forced back the English army upon Lisbon.

At Toro, Sir John Moore received accounts of the disorganized and feeble state of the Marquis of Romana's army, with which he was meditating a junction, for adding vigour to his intended attack on Marshal Soult. From Toro, too, Sir John Moore dispatched an account to Mr. Frere, of the intelligence he had received by the intercepted dispatches; and here he was again assailed by the harassing intreaties of the Junta and the forcible representations of the minister-plenipotentiary. The general, firm in his designs, continued his march on Villapardo and Valderos. On December 20 he reached Majorca, and there, by completing his junction with Sir David Baird, united the whole British army, which now amounted to 23,000 infantry and 2,000 and some hundred cavalry.

On December 21, the British commander advanced to Sahagun, from which place Lord Paget, at the head of 400 horse, had, the morning before, dislodged and defeated 700 French cavalry, taking 157 prisoners, with two lieutenant-colonels. It was here Sir John Moore concerted, with General Romana, the plan of attack on Marshal Soult, whose forces, to the number of 18,000, were concentrated behind the river Carrion; 7,000 were posted at Saldana, and 5,000 at the town of Carrion, below Saldana. The British were collected between Sahagun, Grabal, and Villado. It was the intention of the British general to march from Sahagun to Carrion, and thence to Saldana by

night, while Romana proceeded to the same point by Mansilla. The marquis prepared, in the best manner the defective state of his troops would permit, to co-operate in the design; for which purpose he arrived at Mansilla on the 23d, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and from thence announced his arrival to Sir John Moore, who was to march from Sahagun the same evening.

The expectations of the army were wound up to the highest pitch. The dispositions were already made for combat, and the generals had received their instructions, when Sir John Moore received information, that considerable reinforcements had arrived to the French from Palencia. A courier from Las Santas told of the halt of the French at Talavera, and several messengers reported their advance from Madrid. The latter part of this intelligence was confirmed by an express from the Marquis of Romana. The purport of these movements was easily frustrated by the British commander. He countermanded the advance of his troops, and determined on a retreat.

This retreat, from the distance marched, and the numerous difficulties by which it was attended, will long remain an honorable proof of the energy, perseverance, and valour of the British soldiery. It has no parallel in the annals of modern history; and it reflected equal honor on the talents of the commander-in-chief by whom it was conducted, and the officers and men who were individually concerned in its accomplishment. The following is an extract from Sir John Moore's dispatch to Lord Castlereagh on this occasion, dated December 28:—

"On the 21st the army reached Sahagun; it was necessary to halt there, in order to refresh the men, and on account of provisions. The information I received was, that Marshal Soult was at Saldana with about 16,000 men, with posts along the river from Guarda to Carrion.

"The army was ordered to march in two columns at eight o'clock on the night of the 23d, to force the bridge at Carrion, and from thence proceed to Saldana. At six o'clock I received information that considerable reinforcements had arrived at Carrion from Palencia, and a letter from the Marquis de la Romana informed me, that the French were advancing from Madrid either

to Valladolid or Salamanca. It was evident that it was too late to prosecute the attempt upon Soult, that I must be satisfied with the diversion I had made, and that I had no time to lose to secure my retreat. The next morning Lieutenant-general Hope, with his own division, and that of Lieutenant-general Fraser, marched to Majorga. I sent Sir David Baird with his division to pass the river at Valencia, and followed Lieutenant-general Hope on the 25th, with the reserve and the light brigades, by Majorga and Valdeiras, to Benevento. The cavalry under Lord Paget followed the reserve on the 26th; both the latter corps entered this place yesterday. We continue our march on Astorga. Generals Hope and Fraser are already gone on; General Baird proceeds to-morrow from Valencia, and I shall leave this with the reserve at the same time. Lord Paget will remain with the cavalry to give us notice of the approach of the enemy; hitherto the infantry have not come up; but they are near, and the cavalry surround us in great numbers: they are checked by our cavalry, which have obtained, by their spirit and enterprize, an ascendancy over that of the French, which nothing but great superiority of numbers on their part will get the better of.

"The diversion made by our march on Sahagun, though at great risk to ourselves, has been complete; it remains to be seen what advantage the Spaniards in the South will be able to make of it; but the march of the French on Badajoz was stopped, and when its advanced-guard had reached Talavera de la Reine, every thing disposable was turned in this direction. The only part of the army which has been hitherto engaged with the enemy has been the cavalry, and it is impossible for me to say too much in their praise. I mentioned to your lordship, in my letter of the 16th, the success Brigadier-general Stewart had met with in defeating a detachment of cavalry at Rueda. Since that, few days have passed without his taking or killing different parties of the French, generally superior in force to those which attacked them. On their march to Sahagun, Lord Paget had information of 600 or 700 cavalry being in that town. He marched on the 20th from some villages, where he was posted in front of the enemy at Majorga with the 10th and 15th hussars. The 10th marched straight to the town, whilst Lord Paget with the 15th endeavoured to turn it. Unfortunately he fell in with a patrol, one of whom escaped and gave the alarm. By this means the French had time to form on the outside of the town before Lord Paget got round. He immediately charged them, beat them, and took from 140 to 150 prisoners, amongst whom were two lieutenant-colonels and eleven officers, with the loss, on our part, of six or eight men, and perhaps 20 wounded."

The exact amount of the forces brought by the French emperor against the Spaniards (after his return from his conference with the Russian emperor at Erfurth,) cannot be easily ascertained. According to an intercepted letter from the governor of Bayonne, 78,000 were to enter Spain between the 16th of October and the 16th of November. About the same period, 15,000, chiefly from Italy, entered Catalonia; and 30,000, under Junot, entered Spain in the beginning of December. The forces stationed behind the Ebro, together with the force in Barcelona and the other garrisons, amounted to 65,000, making a total of 182,000 at least. But the French prisoners agreed in making the total of the French army in Spain, at the end of 1808 and the beginning of 1809, 200,000. By the ruin of the armies under Blake, Castanos, and the young Count Belvidere, the road was cleared, and Bonaparte moved from Burgos upon the capital.

Bonaparte, on the 18th of December, marched from Madrid, with an army consisting of 32,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry; even the division under Mortier, called the Duke of Treviso, which was on its march to Saragossa, was stopped. In short, the whole disposable force of the French army, forming an irregular crescent, was marching on to environ the British. To accomplish this favorite object, Bonaparte interrupted his victorious career to the South, where there was nothing capable of resisting him. Lisbon and Cadiz, at that time, would have yielded as easily as Madrid. The bold measures which had been adopted by Sir John Moore prevented the immediate subjugation of the Peninsula. It remains to be recorded, what was the plan Sir John Moore adopted for the extrication of his army from its perilous situation.

The advanced-guard of the French cavalry, which Bonaparte had brought from Madrid, passed through Tordesillas on the 24th of December; on the same day the van of the British army left Sahagun, and both moved towards the same point, at Benevento. The retreat of the British army now began by the passage of the river Eslar. The Marquis of Romana was left in possession of the bridge of Mansilla and the road to Leon. Sir David Baird crossed the Eslar, for the ferry of Valencia, where he took post to cover the magazines at Benevento and Zamora. Sir John Moore, with the remainder of the army, passed by the bridge of Castro Gonzalo. These movements were masked by the cavalry under Lord Paget, who advancing close to the positions of the enemy, fell in with and defeated several detachments of cavalry, which Bonaparte had pushed forward from Tordesillas.

Before Sir John Moore quitted Benevento, about 5 or 600 of Bonaparte's imperial cavalry crossed a ford below the town, and attacked the

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English pickets, who immediately assembled, to the amount of 220 men, under Brigadier-general Stewart, and retired slowly, disputing every inch of ground, and repeatedly charging through the enemy's squadrons, till the arrival of Lord Paget with the 10th hussars, who, together with the pickets, drove the enemy into the river, killing or wounding fifty-five, and taking seventy prisoners; among whom was the young General Lefebvre, commander of Bonaparte's imperial guard. Bonaparte is said to have viewed the action from a lofty hill, about a league from Benevento.

Sir John Moore now detached General Craufurd with 3,000 chosen troops on the road to Orense. Had he neglected this precaution, Bonaparte might have sent a light corps by this road, headed the British columns, and obstructed their retreat. Besides, there was great room to apprehend, that the whole army could not have been provided with subsistence had it remained united. General Craufurd proceeded undisturbed to Vigo, while the other columns pursued their march, through deep snows, across the dreary plains of Leon, to Astorga, where the British general found the town filled and the road encumbered with the straggling army of Romana; who, having abandoned the position and bridge of Mansilla, without breaking it down according to his instructions, was going to Orense. The Duke of Dalmatia, having crossed the Esclas at Mansilla, quietly entered Leon. His intention probably was, to occupy Astorga before the arrival of the British. In this, however, (if such was his design) he was disappointed by the skill and promptitude of Sir John Moore.

The British commander, uniting his army with the division of Sir David Baird from Valentia, proceeded, December 20, on Villa Franca and Lugo. At Astorga all the superfluous camp-equipage was destroyed, and all the mules, horses, &c. that could not keep up with the columns abandoned. On the march from hence the military chest was sacrificed; barrels full of dollars were staved, and precipitated over rocks into ravines, dens, and rivers. From Astorga to Lugo the road lay, for the most part, through bleak mountains covered with snow, affording so scanty a supply of provisions, that the troops were sometimes two days without tasting any food.

Bonaparte, after being joined by the Duke of Dalmatia at Astorga, and reviewing his troops, to the amount of 70,000 men, had dispatched three divisions, under three marshals, in pursuit of the English army. Continual skirmishes took place between the French advanced, and the British rear-guard commanded by Sir John Moore in person, who took his measures so well as always to repel his assailants. He offered battle to Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, before Lugo. This the duke did not think fit to accept; conceiving, probably,

that he was playing a surer game, by endeavouring to envelop and destroy the British on their march.

On the 11th of January, 1809, the British army marched from Betanzos to Corunna, having now traversed 250 miles of mountainous and difficult country in the face of an enemy immensely superior in numbers; very often without food or shelter, drenched with rain, and worn out with cold and fatigue; yet still unbroken, presenting every-where an undaunted front to the enemy, who had not to boast of having won a single trophy. As yet, however, they were not in safety, very few transports having arrived from Vigo, owing to contrary winds. The position of Corunna was bad, and the enemy were assembling on the heights which surround it. There were not wanting generals who advised Sir John Moore to offer terms to the Duke of Dalmatia, for the purpose of being allowed to embark in safety; but the British general was determined not to accept of any terms, which (to use his own expression) would be in the least dishonorable to the army or to the country.

There were three ports at which the army might have been embarked—Vigo, Ferrol, and Corunna. The distance from Astorga to Vigo was too great, and besides there was not at Vigo any military position. The jealousy of the Spaniards would not have admitted the English into Ferrol; and further, the roads were too narrow and winding for transports to ride in safety from an enemy on shore. The peninsula of Betanzos, Sir John Moore had reason to hope, would afford a position for defending the embarkation, and was also so much nearer, that had not contrary winds detained the transports two days longer at Vigo, the army would have been embarked unmolested. As this was not the case, the general prepared for action, by occupying a small chain of hills a short distance from Corunna. The enemy occupied a more extended chain in his front; and a valley, with the village of Elvina, separated the two armies. From the 13th to the 15th, the embarkation of the sick, the artillery, horses, &c. was going on, the enemy in the mean time gradually drawing round and skirmishing with the out-posts of the English. On the 15th the advanced-guard of the British army, which was stationed on the heights near a place called Villaboa, was attacked by the enemy, as were the other out-posts, probably with the view of ascertaining, with more exactness, the nature of their position and the amount of their force. This was considered as a preliminary measure to a general battle, which was confirmed by the events of the following day.

The French had posted two guns at a detached house on the road, from whence they fired on the British lines. They were soon silenced by two

English field-pieces, and obliged to retire with precipitation. The English guns were so extremely well served and pointed, that a shot from one of them was seen to kill several of the enemy, whilst their efforts were attended with little effect, the shots mostly falling short of the objects they were aimed at. One shell passed over the advanced post it was directed against, falling near the road amongst several British soldiers, without occasioning any of them the smallest injury. The whole day was passed in continual skirmishing, during which the cool and intrepid conduct of the British troops was eminently conspicuous and exemplary. The late Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, of the 1st battalion of the 5th regiment, particularly distinguished himself by his activity and bravery. Having had one horse shot under him, he remounted on another, advanced again to the attack, and unfortunately received a wound from a musket-ball, which occasioned his death in a few hours afterwards.

A most interesting spectacle presented itself during this day in the movements and operations of the contending parties. A detachment, consisting of more than a hundred of the enemy, took possession of a house on the side of a hill, from whence they were speedily dislodged by the British artillery, the first shot from whom penetrated through the house, compelling them to seek safety on the height by a precipitate flight.

The firing did not entirely cease till the evening, when the out-posts were relieved, and the brave English troops who had been engaged were withdrawn to take that rest which their vigorous and arduous exertions rendered so requisite. The army in general had been supplied with their due proportion of rations since their arrival at Corunna, which the uncommon rapidity of the retreat, and local circumstances, prevented their receiving with regularity during their march. Those soldiers who required them were also furnished with shoes, stockings, and other articles, and new arms were delivered out, to replace those that had been lost or rendered unfit for service.

On the morning of the 16th an unusual degree of bustle and animation appeared to prevail amongst the Spanish troops and inhabitants; his Excellency the commandant, Don Joaquim Garcia Morena, having by proclamation and other methods exhorted them to exert their utmost efforts in co-operating with their brave allies to repel the assaults of the enemy, and to afford them every possible facility towards effecting their embarkation, declaring at the same time, it was his determination to defend the place to the last extremity. This venerable and patriotic officer, though apparently upwards of seventy years of age, evinced the utmost activity and zeal in the performance of his duties, being the greatest part of every day on horseback, personally inspecting

the progress of the works, and the organization of the volunteers.

At this period, every thing appearing perfectly quiet, the English soldiers, excepting those on contr'y, were resting and taking refreshment, but still in a situation ready to turn out at a moment's notice. The men had erected for themselves huts, formed of boards, straw, and other materials, hastily collected from the buildings in the neighbourhood, there being very few tents. Notwithstanding the fatigue they had already undergone, and the severe conflicts they had recently been engaged in, they appeared in excellent spirits, expressing the highest confidence in their officers, and seemed anxious, by being again opposed to the enemy, to bring to a conclusion the object of their illustrious general-in-chief, of the favourable issue of which they entertained no doubt. Between the hours of ten and eleven, a large body of cavalry and infantry, evidently a reinforcement, were marching up to the heights in front, accompanied by bands of music, drums, and fifes. A few shots were fired at their rear by the British, but the distance was too great for them to do execution. The extent of the French lines could plainly be ascertained through a telescope, and engineers and artillerymen were seen busily employed in their front, erecting a battery. From the extent and depth of their line, the enemy's army appeared to be upwards of 30,000.

The commanding position of the enemy's guns enabled them to have a superior effect to those of the English, who were so much below them. The principal attack of the enemy was directed to the division under Sir David Baird, which was undoubtedly the weakest portion of the British line, against which they advanced three very strong columns. Nothing could possibly exceed the intrepidity, firmness, and good order with which this division sustained the attack. After a very arduous struggle, the British succeeded in driving the enemy down from the heights whereon they had attacked them, and charged them with the utmost spirit and ardor half-way up the hill, on the other side, which they had before occupied, to the place where they had posted their guns, which very nearly fell into the hands of the English, and were only preserved by being hastily withdrawn.

A village to the right of General Baird's division became an object of obstinate contest between the two armies. It was situated at the foot of a hill, and crowded with French troops. These were gallantly attacked by the English no less than three several times, who at length succeeded in carrying the place, after an immense slaughter of the enemy.

An hour and a half after noon, Sir John Moore, in continuation of his preparations for the embarkation of the army, mounted his horse, in

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great spirits, to visit the out-posts, but soon received a report from General Hope, confirmed by a deserter, that the enemy's line was getting under arms. He had scarcely arrived, on the field, when the enemy's light troops were beheld, pouring down upon the right of the British army, and the advanced piquets were firing on them.

Sir John Moore ordered General Fraser to take a position on the right; and General Paget to support Lord William Bentinck with the reserve, while a heavy cannonade from eleven guns on the hills covered the advance of four strong columns of the enemy: two approached the right from a wood, one the centre, and the other from El Burgo, the left of the British line, supported by a corps which rested half way down the hill. To the right, the attention of the general was directed, from an idea of its weakness of position, though it was composed of the fourth, forty-second, and fiftieth regiments, with the guards in their rear, to which was added, the reserve under General Paget.

The enemy's artillery descended rapidly, the two armies approached each other under a heavy fire. Sir David Baird leading his division, lost his left arm by a grape-shot, and was compelled to quit the field: but it had no effect on the steady advance of the troops.

The ground was intersected by hedges and stone walls, except on the right, which in consequence was attempted to be turned by a French corps from the left of the enemy's line, (which outflanked that of the British) moving up the valley. The right wing of the fourth regiment instantly fell back, so as to form an obtuse angle with its left, and commenced a heavy and effectual fire from the right flank, which Sir John Moore immediately approved, exclaiming, "it was exactly what I wanted to be done." The fiftieth regiment, under Majors Stanhope and Napier, passed the inclosure which separated them from the enemy, and charging most gallantly, drove him with great loss from the village of Elvina, at the expence of Major Napier, having been wounded and taken prisoner, and the mortal wound of Major Stanhope. The general also approved this charge with the exclamation, "Well done fiftieth! well done my majors!"

The forty-second rushed on the enemy with their usual fire, till a wall obstructed them. The commander-in-chief bade them remember "Egypt," and praised their conduct. A momentary error of the light company arose from his ordering a battalion of guards to their left flank, which, as their ammunition was exhausted, appeared coming to relieve them, but it was instantly repaired when the general pointed to their bayonets. The French artillery was now playing round the spot, from which a cannon-ball struck the left shoulder of the commander-in-chief, and he fell. Captain

Hardinge reported the circumstance to General Hope, who now assumed the command, and in the following letter thus described the fall and death of Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore.

"The circumstances which took place immediately after the fatal blow which deprived the army of its gallant commander, Sir John Moore, are of too interesting a nature not to be made public, for the admiration of his countrymen. But I trust that the instances of fortitude and heroism of which I was a witness, may also have another effect, that of affording some consolation to his relatives and friends.

"With this feeling I have great satisfaction in committing to paper, according to your desire, the following relation.

"I had been ordered by the commander-in-chief to desire a battalion of the guards to advance; which battalion was at one time intended to have dislodged a corps of the enemy from a large house and garden on the opposite side of the valley; and I was pointing out to the general the situation of the battalion, and our horses were touching, at the very moment that a cannon-shot from the enemy's battery carried away his left shoulder and part of the collar-bone, leaving the arm hanging by the flesh.

"The violence of the stroke threw him off his horse, on his back. Not a muscle of his face altered, nor did a sigh betray the least sensation of pain.

"I dismounted, and taking his hand, he pressed mine forcibly, casting his eyes very anxiously towards the forty-second regiment, which was hotly engaged; and his countenance expressed satisfaction when I informed him that the regiment was advancing.

"Assisted by a soldier of the forty-second, he was removed a few yards behind the shelter of a wall.

"Colonel Graham Balgowan, and Captain Woodford, about this time came up; and, perceiving the state of Sir John's wound, instantly rode off for a surgeon.

"The blood flowed fast; but the attempt to stop it with my sash was useless, from the size of the wound.

"Sir John assented to being removed in a blanket to the rear. In raising him for that purpose, his sword hanging on the wounded side, touched his arm, and became entangled between his legs. I perceived the inconvenience, and was in the act of unbuckling it from his waist, when he said, in his usual tone and manner, and in a very distinct voice, "It is well as it is. I had rather it should go out of the field with me."

"Here I feel that it would be improper for my pen to venture to express the admiration with which I am penetrated in thus faithfully record-

ing this instance of the invincible fortitude, and military delicacy, of this great man.

"He was borne by six soldiers of the forty-second and guards, my sash supporting him in an easy posture.

"Observing the resolution and composure of his features, I caught at the hope that I might be mistaken in my fears of the wound being mortal; and remarked, that I trusted when the surgeons dressed the wound, that he would be spared to us, and recover.—He then turned his head round, and, looking steadfastly at the wound for a few seconds, said, "No Hardinge, I feel that to be impossible."

"I wished to accompany him to the rear, when he said, "You need not go with me. Report to General Hope that I am wounded, and carried to the rear."

"A serjeant of the forty-second, and two spare files, in case of accident, were ordered to conduct their brave general to Corunna; and I hastened to report to General Hope.

"I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

"H. HARDINGE."

The tidings of this disaster were brought to Sir David Baird when the surgeons were dressing his shattered arm. He instantly commanded them to desist, and run to attend on Sir John Moore. When they arrived, and offered their assistance, he said to them, "You can be of no service to me, go to the soldiers, to whom you may be useful."

As the soldiers were carrying him slowly along, he made them turn him round frequently, to view the field-of-battle, and to listen to the firing; and was well pleased when the sound grew fainter.

A spring-waggon bearing Colonel Wynch wounded from the battle came up. The colonel asked, "who was in the blanket?" and being told it was Sir John Moore, he wished him to be placed in the waggon. The general asked one of the Highlanders, whether he thought the waggon or the blanket best; who answered, that the blanket would not shake him so much, as he and the other soldiers would keep the step, and carry him easy. Sir John said, "I think so too." So they proceeded with him to his lodgings in Corunna, the soldiers shedding tears as they went.

In carrying him through the passage of the house, he saw his faithful servant François, who was stunned at the spectacle. Sir John said to him, smiling, "My friend, this is nothing."

The monument of Sir John Moore now became the subject of deliberation among his military friends who had survived the engagement; when Colonel Anderson informed them that he had heard the general repeatedly declare, "that if he

was killed in battle, he wished to be buried where he had fallen!" General Hope and Colonel Graham, immediately acceded to his suggestion; and it was determined that the body should be interred on the rampart of the citadel of Corunna.

At twelve o'clock at night, the remains of Sir John Moore were accordingly carried to the citadel, by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and the aides-de-camp, and deposited in Colonel Graham's quarters. A grave was dug by a party of the ninth regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, and the body was never undressed, but wrapt up by the officers of his staff in a military cloak and blankets.

Towards eight o'clock in the morning some firing was heard. It was then resolved to finish the interment, lest a serious attack should be made; on which the officers would be ordered away, and not suffered to pay the last duties to their general. The officers of his family bore the body to the grave; the funeral service was read by the chaplain, and the corps was covered with earth.

Besides showing these extraordinary marks of respect to the British army, the Duke of Dalmatia, before he left Corunna, gave orders to Mr. Foureroy, the French consul, to erect a commemoration-stone on the spot where Sir John Moore fell, to testify the high estimation he was held in by his enemies. But this design was frustrated by the French being soon obliged to evacuate the town. The Marquis of Romana, then, excited by similar sentiments, raised up, on the field-of-battle of Corunna, a monument to the British general.

To these may be added, as an evidence of readiness to yield every testimony to merit, the following

GENERAL ORDERS.

"The benefits derived to an army, from the example of a distinguished commander, do not terminate at his death; his virtues live in the recollection of his associates, and his fame remains the strongest incentive to great and glorious actions.

"In this view, the commander-in-chief, amidst the deep and universal regret which the death of Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore has occasioned, recalls to the troops the military career of that illustrious officer, for their instruction and imitation.

"Sir John Moore, from his youth, embraced the profession with the feelings and sentiments of a soldier; he felt, that a perfect knowledge, and an exact performance of the humble, but important duties of a subaltern officer, are the best foundations for subsequent military fame; and his ardent mind, while it looked forward to those

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"In the regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others.

"Having risen to command, he signalized his name in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt. The unremitting attention with which he devoted himself to the duties of every branch of his profession, obtained him the confidence of Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and he became the companion in arms of that illustrious officer, who fell at the head of his victorious troops, in an action which maintained our national superiority over the arms of France.

"Thus Sir John Moore, at an early period, obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station in which he gloriously terminated his useful and honorable life.

"In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise: however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the service, that the commander-in-chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation.

"The life of Sir John Moore was spent among the troops.

"During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post of honor; and by his undaunted spirit, and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.

"His country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory; and the commander-in-chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame, by thus holding him forth as an example to the army.

"By order of his royal highness the commander-in-chief.

"HARRY CALVERT, Adj.-general.

"*Horse-Guards, Feb. 1, 1809.*"

Neither the fall of Sir John Moore, or the removal of Sir David Baird, arrested, for a moment, the energies of the British troops. They pressed on with astonishing ardour.

Colonel Beckwith with the rifle-corps returned the attempt of the enemy, by advancing on their

flank and nearly capturing a piece of cannon, till the force in the valley became superior. General Paget, with part of the reserve, the fifty-second in particular, then attacked this force of the enemy, and so pressed its left wing, that it was compelled to throw itself entirely back, and the whole strength of the enemy now drew itself against the British centre.

Here they were at once repulsed by its generals, Leith and Manningham, who occupied good ground, and were therefore enabled to use artillery with effect. The enemy, also, tried the left without success; it was still more favorably posted. In turn they were attacked, in a small body, in the village of Betanzos, by Lieutenant-colonel Nicholls, with some companies of the fourteenth foot, and compelled to evacuate it with loss. The firing, which, on the part of the British, had been quick and steady throughout, continued, though desultorily, till dark: that of the enemy ceased at six o'clock. They had given way at every point, though not in a degree, perhaps, to permit the ordinary claim of a brilliant victory on the part of the British army, yet certainly so decisively, as to leave to it the ground it occupied at the commencement of the battle, and which ground also its picquets and reserve maintained, till every object of utility was effected.

Of the loss on either side, no perfect estimate was formed. That of the British troops was considered by the officer, who held the final command, at between seven and eight hundred; that of the enemy, double. Other accounts stated the enemy's loss greater. In less than four hours, having shewn the enemy the nature of the composition of a British army, under the worst circumstances, the troops moved towards Corunna, by brigades, leaving strong picquets, and a rear-guard of 2,000 men, under Major-general Beresford. Every arrangement, it appears, was made highly creditably in every instance. Boats were so in readiness, that nearly the whole army was embarked during the night, and even including picquets, *before day-light*. The rear-guard still remained on shore.

On the morning of the 17th, the French made a demonstration with their light troops on the heights of St. Lúcia, and planted cannon on the rising ground, near the harbour. General Hill's brigade embarked at two o'clock, under the citadel. General Beresford sent off all the sick and wounded that could be removed; and, lastly, the rear-guard got into their boats without interruption. The whole was conducted, as far as regarded the navy, and also the officers concerned in the transport service, with the greatest energy and skill. From the fire of a French battery, four transports having cut their cables, ran aground; and, the troops being taken out, were burnt.

CHAPTER VI.

Debates in the Third Session of the Imperial Parliament relative to the War.—Bonaparte's abrupt Departure from Spain.—Second Siege and Capitulation of Saragossa.

THE third Imperial Parliament having assembled on the 19th of January, pursuant to his majesty's proclamation, the following speech was read to both houses by the Lord Chancellor, in his majesty's name.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—“We have it in command from his majesty to state to you, that his majesty has called you together, in perfect confidence that you are prepared cordially to support his majesty in the prosecution of a war, which there is no hope of terminating safely and honorably, except through vigorous and persevering exertion.

"We are to acquaint you, that his majesty has directed to be laid before you, copies of the proposals for opening a negociation, which were transmitted to his majesty from Erfurth, and of the correspondence which thereupon took place with the government of Russia and of France; together with the declaration issued by his majesty's command on the termination of that correspondence.

"His majesty is persuaded, that you will participate in the feelings which were expressed by his majesty, when it was required that his majesty should consent to commence the negociation by abandoning the cause of Spain, which he had so recently and solemnly espoused.

"We are commanded to inform you, that his majesty continues to receive from the Spanish government the strongest assurances of their determined perseverance in the cause of the legislative monarchy, and of the national independence of Spain; and to assure you, that so long as the people of Spain shall remain true to themselves his majesty will continue to them his most strenuous assistance and support.

"His majesty has renewed to the Spanish nation, in the moment of its difficulties and reverses, the engagements which he voluntarily contracted at the outset of its struggle against the usurpation and tyranny of France; and we are commanded to acquaint you, that these engagements have been reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance; which treaty, as soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged, his majesty will cause to be laid before you.

"His majesty commands us to state to you, that while his majesty contemplated with the liveliest satisfaction the achievements of his forces

in the commencement of the campaign in Portugal, and the deliverance of the kingdom of his ally from the presence and oppressions of the French army, his majesty most deeply regretted the termination of that campaign by an armistice and convention, of some of the articles of which his majesty has felt himself obliged formally to declare his disapprobation.

"We are to express to you his majesty's reliance on your disposition, to enable his majesty to continue the aid afforded by his majesty to the King of Sweden. That monarch derives a particular claim to his majesty's support in the present exigency of his affairs, from having concurred with his majesty in the propriety of rejecting any proposal for negociation, to which the government of Spain was not to be admitted as a party.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—“We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that he has directed the estimates of the current year to be laid before you. His majesty relies upon your zeal and affection, to make such further provisions of supply as the vigorous prosecution of the war may render necessary; and he trusts that you may be enabled to find the means of providing such supply, without any great or immediate increase of the existing burdens upon his people.

"His majesty feels assured it will be highly necessary to you to learn that, notwithstanding the measures resorted to by the enemy for the purpose of destroying the commerce and resources of his kingdom, the public revenue has continued in a course of progressive improvement.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—“We are directed to inform you, that the measures adopted by parliament in the last session, for establishing a local militia, has been already attended with the happiest success, and promises to be extensively and permanently beneficial to the country.

"We have received his majesty's commands most especially to recommend to you, that, duly weighing the immense interests which are at stake in the war now carrying on, you should proceed, with as little delay as possible, to consider of the most effectual measures for the augmentation of the regular army, in order that his majesty may be better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himself of the military power of his dominions, in the great contest in

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which he is engaged; and to conduct that contest under the blessing of divine Providence, to a conclusion compatible with the honor of his majesty's crown, and with the interest of his allies, of Europe, and of the World."

On the motion, in the House of Lords, by the Earl of Bridgewater, seconded by Lord Sheffield, for an address of thanks to his majesty, various animadversions on the conduct of ministers took place, imputing the whole failure of the expedition to their incapacity; but, as in all such debates, assertion was endeavoured to be overruled by opposition; faults were implied, but no specific remedy seemed to be suggested; all appeared to be wrong, but none were willing to put right; thus censure having been very liberally dispensed, the proposed reproach was exploded by the majority for a vote of address.

In the house of commons, in reply to remarks of several members of the opposition, Lord Castlereagh concluded a very animated speech as follows:—

"There were some persons who appeared to think, that an army once landed could act as speedily as a ship when it has left the port. The difference, however, was very great: the ship had nothing to do but to go with the wind, and meet the enemy; whereas an army, when landed, had much difficulty in collecting provisions, and the means of transporting their necessary baggage. If the present administration were, however, to have waited till every thing was ready for the reception of our armies, they must have stood as still as the last vigorous administration, who actually did nothing while in office. He would venture to say, from the melancholy experience of the fate of General Blake's army, that if a British army had landed at St. Andero, and scrambled as far as General Blake advanced, none of them would ever have come back. He was convinced, that there was not a single military man who would support the idea of a campaign in the Pyrenees for a British army.

"The right honorable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) had stated, that the expedition which had achieved the deliverance of Portugal had been sent to sea, to seek its fortunes, without any particular direction from government. The fact, however, was directly the reverse; because, most unquestionably, the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley did sail with a most precise and determinate object. It had been ordered to go immediately to the Tagus, without stopping at Corunna. This direction was given in consequence of precise information from Sir Charles Cotton, (which, however, afterwards turned out to be unfounded,) that there were no more than 5,000 French troops in Lisbon, and the other forts upon the Tagus, and that Sir Arthur Wellesley's expedition would be sufficient to dislodge them.

The expedition then had been sent out with precise instructions; but it would hardly be contended, that government should have tied up the hands and the discretion of such a meritorious officer as Sir Arthur Wellesley, so completely as to say, that he must on no occasion take advantage of any favorable circumstances which might occur in the varying and fleeting fortune of the war, without waiting until he had made a direct communication to government on the subject, and had received their answer. It appeared to him, that floating armies, under the command of trustworthy officers, might be of great service, even when acting according to the circumstances of the times, without any particular directions from government; and he was confident, that in this manner the corps of General Spencer had been of considerable service in marching from Seville to Ayamonte, and stopping a portion of Junot's army that was coming to the relief of Dupont.

"As to the attacks which had been made upon him, for not having sent sufficient cavalry with the expedition, he was ready to strengthen the right honorable gentleman's argument, and to admit, that it was only by accident that any cavalry at all had been attached to it. It was not supposed that cavalry was a proper description of force to send with those floating expeditions, which might be a long time at sea before they found a favorable opportunity for landing. Some of the cavalry, however, which were in Portugal, had happened to come from the Mediterranean. He should always protest against the notion, that we were never to engage an enemy, unless we were equal or superior to him in cavalry. He would ask the house, Would they wish to blot out from the page of our history those brilliant victories, which we had gained when much inferior in cavalry? At the glorious battle of Alexandria, Sir Ralph Abercrombie had but 150 dragoons, and the French had 2,400 cavalry; and at the battle of Maida, Sir John Stuart had no cavalry at all. In the expedition to Portugal, the government had made sufficient provision of cavalry. Our army would have been superior to the enemy in this respect, if the cavalry, which was in Munda's Bay on the 20th (the day before the battle), had landed. The 18th dragoons were also very near. He would allow, however, that if Sir Arthur Wellesley had had the cavalry on that day upon which he routed the French, the result of that victory would have been still more glorious."

Various other strictures were made in the course of the debate; but the question being put, the motion was carried, and a committee appointed to prepare the address; and votes of thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley were passed on the 25th of January, in both houses; which also passed votes of thanks to Generals Spencer,

Hill, Ferguson, Ackland, Nightingale, Fane, and Bowes, and the officers under their command; and a resolution, expressive of the approbation of parliament of the non-commissioned officers and privates at the battle of Vimeira, which Lord Castlereagh distinguished by the name of "immortal."

On the same day, in the house of lords, the Earl of Liverpool moved the thanks of the house for the defeat before Corunna. The earl paid a high eulogium to the memory of the departed general, "whose life," he said, "had been devoted to the service of his country; for there was scarcely any action of importance, during the two last wars, in which he had not participated." After some observations on the difficulties encountered in the retreat, and the battle in which it terminated, and stating, that in wording the motion, the precedent of Egypt, in which the gallant Abercrombie fell, had been followed, his lordship moved "the thanks of the house to Lieutenant-general Sir David Baird, second in command of the army in Spain; Lieutenant-general the Honourable John Hope, who took the command on Sir John Moore's receiving the wound, which terminated in his much-lamented death, and to the other officers employed."

All the lords who spoke on this occasion concurred heartily in this motion, bestowed the highest praise on the character and conduct of Sir John Moore, and deeply deplored his loss to the country.

The Earl of Moira, however, in giving his concurrence, could not avoid asking ministers, "how it had happened that so heavy and lamentable a loss as that of Sir John Moore, and so great a proportion of his army, had been sustained, without any one object having been obtained except the embarkation of the army? British blood and treasure, and the invaluable lives of British officers and soldiers, had been sacrificed to no purpose. To what but the ignorance and incapacity of ministers were all these calamities to be attributed?"

Lord Erskine, too, "who felt as much for the fame of the immortal officer deceased as any of their lordships could possibly feel (from peculiar or personal circumstances which he detailed), could not refrain from expressing his indignation at such men, and that such resources as ours should have been utterly thrown away and lost by the total incapacity of those who had misdirected their efforts."

Lord Grenville observed, that "they were called upon to vote thanks for a success followed by a retreat. The success belonged to the army and its commander; the retreat to those who sent them, and placed them in such a situation; that a safe retreat was the only thing that could be looked for. Ministers, for the folly of such conduct, must answer to their country."

Such were the modes of reproach used, because, by mere unpropitious circumstances, a well-intended project had failed! At length the motion was agreed to, *nem. diss.* as was also a motion acknowledging and approving the services of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers; a motion of thanks to Rear-admiral De Courcy, and Sir Samuel Hood, and the other officers, for their assistance; and another, acknowledging and approving the services of the seamen and marines on that occasion.

In the course of the same night, Lord Castlereagh in his official capacity, as minister at war, expressed his sorrow at the "loss of one of the ablest of our generals, possessing, in an eminent degree, every valuable quality that can dignify the man, and enhance the superiority of the soldier; at once in the prime of life, and the prime of professional desert; giving, in the evidence of his past life, the best assurance of what might be expected from his zeal, intrepidity, and talents." He concluded with the following motion: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, requesting that a monument be erected in the cathedral of St. Paul, to the memory of the late Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, Knight of the Bath; who, after an honourable and meritorious life, fell by a cannon-ball, in the action near Corunna, on the 16th of January, 1809, after having, by his judicious dispositions, skill, and gallantry, repulsed an enemy of superior force, and secured to the troops under his command a safe and unmolested embarkation."

This motion was agreed to unanimously, as were also other motions for the thanks of the house to the lieutenant-generals, officers, non-commissioned officers, &c. for their effectual exertions on this memorable occasion.

The next business which attracted the attention of parliament, was Lord Henry Petty's motion, in the house of commons, "for a resolution, declaring, 1st, That the convention of Cintra, and a maritime convention, concluded nearly at the same time, off the Tagus, had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country; and 2dly, That in the opinion of the house of commons, those conventions had, in a great measure, arisen from the misconduct and neglect of his majesty's ministers." This motion was lost by a majority of 50 in favour of the ministry.

But, on the 24th of February, the subject of the campaign in Spain, which had been incidentally the object of remark in the house of commons, was formally brought under the consideration of the house, as a motion by the Right Hon. George Ponsonby, "That it is indispensibly necessary that this house should enquire into the causes, conduct, and events of the late campaign in Spain."

In reply to Mr. Ponsonby's accusative argu-

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ments, Lord Castlereagh observed, that "the only reason that had been alleged for the enquiry were reducible to the ignorance of the right honourable mover. And he did not think that that was, or had ever been, pretended to be a proper parliamentary ground for enquiry. As he could not bend to the cogency of this reason, he certainly should oppose the motion; though, at the same time, he declared, that had there been the slightest *prima facie* evidence to support it, he would have fully concurred in it. If the result of the campaign in Spain had not been as glorious as had been so earnestly and justly expected, whether owing to the imperfect state of discipline of the Spanish armies, or to the want of sufficient time to complete that discipline, still, he contended, that there was no *prima facie* ground for imputing the blame of that failure to his majesty's ministers. The British army was intended only to act as an auxiliary force in aid of the Spanish armies; and surely the British government was not to be blamed because the Spanish forces, unhappily, had not been able to hold out till the arrival of the military succours that were sent out to their assistance from this country.

"It had been said by Mr. Ponsonby, that government ought to have united to collect full information how far the spirit of liberty in the Spaniards went to the amelioration of their condition; how far the national feeling and public spirit of Spain were such as to justify ministers in hazarding a British military force in aid of its cause. How the honourable mover could reconcile this with his former admonition to "speed and celerity," it was not within the compass of his intellectual powers to discover.

"As to the selection of characters proper for reporting to government the real state and spirit of Spain, would it have been rational for ministers to listen to any man's opinion on that point before the formation of the central junta, which alone could decide on the views of Spain? And were they to leave Spain and Portugal to their destinies till that event should have taken place? The only rational question was, Whether it could be hoped that Spain, with our assistance, would be enabled to stand against France? Spain had made an energetic effort: she had borne up against the military power of France with more vigour, more constancy, and better success, than those powers which had been supported by formidable regular armies. There had been many circumstances in the case of Spain to inspire a confident hope of its success. It was known that the popular rising was the simultaneous effort of the whole country. All the provinces had risen, he believed, within the space of five or six days. In the course of a very few months, they had collected an army in Andalusia, and obtained a most decided victory over the French under

Dupont, at the memorable battle of Baylen, in which the Spanish army was little superior in number to the enemy. The Spaniards were so confident of their own strength, that when General Spencer applied to them, to know whether he should come to their assistance, they recommended his marching to the relief of Portugal. Saragossa also, as well as Andalusia, presented a picture of encouragement. Nor had Leon been deficient; for, at the battle of Rio Seco, the enemy had, by no means, the advantage they boasted of. The Spaniards had, in fact, obtained decided advantages, and would have effectually defeated the enemy, if they had had the benefit of cavalry to follow up their successes. What the Spanish army might have been expected to have done, if they had had sufficient cavalry, could be easily inferred from what they had done, when, in the course of six months, it succeeded in driving 100,000 men from the provinces they had occupied, and confined them to the left bank of the Ebro. With respect to the nature of the co-operation that was adopted by his majesty's ministers, and the question, "Whether it was the best that could be resorted to under all the circumstances of the case?" he observed, that "there were two extreme opinions on the subject, and a middle one. It was this intermediate opinion that had been adopted by his majesty's ministers. One of the two other opinions was, that if Spain was really animated by the spirit of true patriotism, she had the elements of her own salvation within herself, and did not want British soldiers to fight her battles; that our co-operation needed not to go any further than supplies of money, arms, clothing, ammunition, and whatever other necessities might be wanting. Than this opinion," he thought, "nothing could be more unwise. Nothing could have tended more effectually to confirm that reproach which had been dealt out by the enemy against us, than that we should not, in this instance, have taken an active part ourselves. The other extreme was, that there was no medium between a great effort, and the greatest of which we were capable; and that not a soldier should be kept at home. Without taking any notice of the effects that such a measure might produce at home, if our utmost efforts should be attended with disaster, the thing would be in itself impracticable. There was a limit beyond which ministers could not go. In short, they must necessarily keep within the limits of the national credit, and it was unnecessary to say any thing more in answer to this second extreme opinion, than that it was impossible to act upon it. The only question then was, Whether the effort made by his majesty's ministers was sufficient? And this would be best judged of by considering it, first, as to its extent; secondly, as to its course; and thirdly, as to its ability.

"With regard to its extent, when information had been first received by his majesty's ministers, that a supply of British troops was wished for, to act in concert with the native armies of Spain, there were sent, exclusive of the 10,000 men under the Marquis Romana, liberated in the north of Europe, no less a force than 45,000 or 50,000 men, nearly 50,000 rank and file into the Peninsula. Besides this army, government had issued orders that the forces in the Mediterranean should send out detachments to act in Catalonia; though subsequent circumstances interposed to prevent those troops to be detached, from rendering that service which it was then intended to employ them in.

"The next question for the house to consider would be, if ministers gave the army of nearly 50,000 men a proper direction? He assured Mr. Ponsonby he was not now going to the Pyrenees. He could conceive a man of common sense going to St. Andero, but he could not conceive a man of sound sense going to the Pyrenees. The port of St. Andero might have been thought preferable to Corunna; but that port was extremely small, and in what situation would an army there have been in, with 40,000 or 50,000 French in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, and that army but half equipped, and all the transports going away?

"He was not going, with Mr. Ponsonby, to the Pyrenees, but merely to the question he had put, as to what could have detained the British army so long, during the interval previous to the 27th of October, on the 1st of which they made their first movement from Portugal to Spain. He had, at an early period of the campaign in Portugal, directed that a communication should be opened with the Spanish generals, on the subject of the co-operation of the British army in Spain. A letter had been accordingly sent to General Castanos on that subject; but it did not reach him till after the conclusion of the convention of Cintra. On the 25th of September, orders had been sent to Sir Hew Dalrymple, to move forward with his army towards the north of Spain; and on the same day Sir David Baird received orders to embark for Ferrol or Corunna. It was not, however, till the 29th of September, that the first letter from Lord William Bentinck, (who had been sent to attend the supreme central junta) was written, containing the answers of the junta to certain questions which he had been directed to submit to them, as well relating to the entrance of the British army into Spain, as to the manner in which it should be employed there. The answers were, that the fate of Spain depended on the early co-operation of a British force; and that they wished our forces to be concentrated as one British army. And General Castanos received orders to confer with Lord William Bentinck, as to the best mode of carry-

ing those wishes into effect. It was proposed, that the army in Portugal should make for Burgos, by the route of Salamanca, and Sir David Baird disembark his troops at Corunna. This intelligence was received at Lisbon on the 8th of October.

"While the question respecting the operation of the British forces in Spain was pending at Madrid, the very same question was pending in London, and the very same decision was agreed to at the same time. The Marquis of Romana's opinion on this subject was in writing, and ready to be laid upon the table of the house.

"With regard to the troops not being immediately permitted to land, he would only say, that from a prior and distant application made to his majesty's government, for British troops, on the part of the juntas of Galicia and Asturias, ministers had a right to expect that no obstacle would be thrown in the way of any troops they might afterwards send. The juntas of Galicia, and on the frontiers of Leon, were apprised of the expeditions then going out; and letters to different English officers from our government, requiring them "to try every method to secure the troops accommodations on their landing," and necessaries for their continuing their march, were laid before the respective juntas. He was very sorry to say, that the juntas had neglected to act according to those communications. He did not wish to censure, or complain of their conduct; but such was the fact. Mr. Ponsonby had experienced surprise, that the movements of the British army had been so slow, and those of the French comparatively so rapid. But there was a difference between an army fully equipped, and one not equipped; between an army that would seize every thing on its way that could facilitate its march, whether provisions or carriages, and an army that could not have any such resources. Though the Spanish armies under Blake and Romana, and that of Estremadura, had, before the arrival of Sir John Moore at Salamanca, suffered severe reverses, still this was not a fair test of the general spirit of the people. They had at that period the most difficult task imposed upon them, that could devolve to the nation in such circumstances. They were at the same time to make head against a powerful enemy, and to make a government. After the march of the army from Salamanca, the only object was to draw off the forces of the enemy from pushing his conquests to the south. And surely never was a diversion more completely effected."

Lord Castlereagh ridiculed the notion of our military character being lost in consequence of the late reverses, and asked "if the disgraces of Vimeira and Corunna were to be blotted from the memories of Englishmen? If gentlemen were anxious for enquiry, they might go into a com-

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The house agreed with his lordship, the question was loudly called for, and a division took place, when there appeared for Mr. Ponsonby's motion 127, against it 220; so that the ministry had a majority of 93 in their favor.

To furnish supplies to carry on the various warfares in which Great Britain was engaged, as well as to subsidize the powers that were in concert, parliament raised the vast sum of 47,588,024*l.* on account of England.

Such considerable pecuniary assistance gave increased energy to her armies; but Bonaparte, as obstinate as he was violent, after the reduction of Madrid, had sent a large force to Talavera del Reyna, with the intention of reducing Cordova, Seville, Cadiz, and Lisbon. Oporto had been seized, without resistance, by Marshal Soult, though garrisoned by a force three times his number. Marshal Ney, strongly reinforced by Kellerman, Mortier, and Bonnel at the same time giving their assistance at Lugo, made considerable progress in the provinces of Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay. Ferrol also, Corunna, Bilbao, St. Andero, and all places of importance on the northern coast of Spain, soon were in the possession of the French army.

Bonaparte having suddenly quitted Spain, returned unexpectedly to Paris. The cause of his abrupt departure from Spain, where his presence was so necessary for carrying into complete execution his plan of subjugating that country, was owing to the hostile attitude of the Emperor of Austria, and his perseverance in the organization of the military levies.

Of the exertions made at this time on the part of Spain, the second siege and capitulation (for such it must be termed) of Saragossa, must naturally form the most leading feature.

Saragossa capitulated on the 19th of February, after a defence the most glorious and obstinate which occurs in modern history. The chief particulars of this siege we shall select from the "Exposition" of Don Pedro Maria Ric, regent of the royal audience of Arragon, dated Fonz, (a town in Arragon) June 4, and from a "narrative of the affairs of Saragossa," by Charles R. Vaughan, M. P. during a residence in that city.

On the 10th of January, the French began to bombard Saragossa, with such fury that the bravest and most intrepid men concurred in the necessity of taking precautions, and even the

clergy suspended the administration of the sacraments. By this may be easily conceived the impracticability which the audience experienced of continuing its functions, since there were neither plaintiffs nor defendants, nor subordinate officers of the court, who had courage to remain there during the term of audience; and at last the members themselves were afraid, because the building being contiguous to that occupied by the general, occasioned the enemy to direct his fire principally to that quarter; and so many bombs and grenades fell, that ultimately they consumed that precious monument of antiquity, with whatever it contained, except the registers and papers, which were in the offices, and which were all that could be saved, notwithstanding the most efficacious measures.

Of Saragossa, attacked so vigorously, and constantly bombarded for forty-two days, oppressed by disease, and exhausted by famine; the fall was inevitable, especially without succours from any quarter.

Saragossa had almost exceeded the limits of possibility by her unwearied fidelity and love to her sovereign; and affairs had reached such a deplorable crisis, that, as early as the 1st of February, persons of accredited honor and loyalty came to Don Ric to suggest the necessity of capitulating, in order that he should represent it to the captain-general; and, doubtless, according to military rules, the city might, and ought, to have surrendered several days before; since, besides possessing nothing of a fortified town but the name, and even that only in the report of strangers, the batteries, which had been constructed, were demolished, and there were not only open breaches, but the enemy was already among them, occupying various points within the city. But to surrender, when their cause was so just and necessary, appeared so hard, that Don Ric improved the charge which the general had given him of rousing the people, and even availed himself of some of those who were inclined to capitulate, for carrying into effect the measures he judged proper, according to the knowledge he possessed of that people, which knowledge also afforded him many ideas which he proposed, and were adopted by the general with so good an effect, that, in spite of impossibility, the city held out till destitute of all resource. The captain-general, being himself attacked by the epidemic, transferred all his authority, and civil and military powers, to a supreme junta of government, which he formed in the night between the 18th and 19th of February, naming Don Ric president of it. Don Ric immediately summoned all its members, and they began their functions at one o'clock in the morning.

Nobody was ignorant of the lamentable desolation of the city; all called for a capitulation;

and although the junta saw and thought the same, it endeavoured to see if it was possible to save it, and, in duty to their sovereign, to accomplish the services it desired; but, on investigating the real state of affairs, there was not a heart capable of sustaining so deplorable a situation. The chiefs of the army were called for, to give their opinions verbally, and in writing; the major-general of cavalry represented the impracticability of further defence, there remaining only sixty-two weak and unserviceable horses, the rest having died of hunger; the major-general of infantry presented a statement of the army, by which it appeared there were only 2,822 men fit for service. The commandant of artillery urged the surrender, on account of the ammunition being nearly exhausted, and not having any more than was manufactured in the inquisition, which manufacture would vanish the moment a bomb or grenade fell there. The commandant of engineers reported the fortifications unserviceable, and the means of repairing them wanting, as there were neither men nor materials, and all the cloth which could serve for bags of earth was consumed.

All these chiefs not only gave their opinion for the surrender of the place, but held the junta responsible to God and the king for the many lives which were every moment sacrificed, as it was morally impossible to save the city, whose surrender would not prevent it from returning to the dominion of its legitimate sovereign, if the nation triumphed over him who so unjustly oppressed it.

The junta, appalled by so melancholy a representation, wished to hear the opinion of Lieutenant-general Don Philip San Marc, who was one of its members. This worthy general had so signally manifested his loyalty, valour, and military talents, that his vote could not fail to satisfy the general-in-chief, the junta, and all the people, since all were witnesses of those estimable qualities. This discreet and brave general stated ingenuously, that if the enemy made a general attack, as was to be feared from the preparations which were observable, the utter ruin of Saragossa was inevitable, together with all that accumulation of horror and calamity consequent on the fury with which the French troops treated every town they conquered, and which would be greater in that city, on account of the wrathful hatred with which it was viewed by them, their chiefs, and their emperor; but, that, if the attacks were partial, like those they repeatedly made every day, the city might hold out for two, or four days at most, provided that more people were furnished for defence, and for the works; it being understood that this defence was to be attempted only in case of their being well-founded expectations of speedy relief, since otherwise it would be highly reprehensible to sacrifice so

many persons as perished daily; the surrender of the city being unavoidable within the short term mentioned.

In order to proceed with due knowledge, the Duke of Villahermosa went to inquire of the general what intelligence he had respecting succours, and as he was so seriously ill that he could give no account of any thing, they demanded of the secretary the letters and documents he might have on that subject, who transmitted an enigmatical scrap of paper, necessity so requiring it, as it had to pass through the enemy's line: it appeared to be from the Conde de Montijo: in it he informed the general that himself and the Duke del Infantado wished to come to the relief of Saragossa, but that the central junta had ordered that "the Swiss should go," and they were to fall upon Madrid. By the Swiss, the junta understood Don Theodore Reding; and, although the fame of this brave general was sufficient to encourage it, it could not rely much on his assistance, because, being in Catalonia, he had to cross the Ebro, which was more than difficult, on account of the enemy having possessed himself of the suburb, thereby preventing the passage over the stone-bridge. Another letter was sent by the secretary, which was from Don Francisco Palafox, to his brother, the general of Arragon: that zealous representative manifested, in the most striking manner, how many and great exertions he had in vain made to collect troops, and that, destitute of the resources he wished for, he was then at Tortosa assembling the peasantry and some troops of the garrisons on the coast, which he designed to reinforce with some gun-boats that were to ascend the Ebro.

These papers were of a very anterior date; and, all circumstances considered, induced the belief that the nation had suffered misfortunes in common with Saragossa, which prevented it from affording relief. It was known that the brave and intrepid Perena had collected a body of peasantry, but it was thought to be certain that they had been defeated, as the French general had stated in his last summons; and, besides, it was not likely that a body of inexperienced peasants, in want of arms and ammunition, could encounter so formidable an army as that which besieged Saragossa.

While the junta was deliberating on the part it ought to take, the enemy renewed the bombardment in a tremendous manner: no one believed that the city could or ought to hold out any longer; but it was distressing to abandon a treasure like Saragossa, which had acquired the esteem of all Spain, and even of all Europe! Of thirty-four members, who composed the junta, only eight were of opinion with Don Pedro Maria Ric, that the city should be maintained; not because the grounds on which the others voted

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were unknown, but with the desperate resolution of braving the last danger, in the hope that it was within the bounds of possibility that some relief might arrive. It was at length agreed to acquaint the general with the deplorable state of the city, in order that he should send a flag of truce to the French general, requesting a suspension of hostilities for three days, which he did, assigning for his object, the sending officers to ascertain the situation and condition of their armies, and to treat for the surrender of the place, according to the intelligence they might bring. This mode had been proposed by Marshal Lasnes himself, in the above-named summons, notwithstanding which, he replied that it *offended him exceedingly*, and vented several threats against the city, unless it surrendered immediately—the flag returned with a second letter, in which he was reminded that the proposal came from himself, and was invented by the French, who practised it in one of the towns of Portugal—to this he gave no other reply than a shower of grenades, bombs, and shot; and, at a favorable time, ordered his troops to make the attack in several places in a manner that was irresistible. The Spaniards lost that evening the quarter of the Tanneries, and a part of the Strand leading to the stone-bridge, and the Puerto-del-Angel, which point, if in possession of the enemy, facilitated to him the massacre of the inhabitants, without having recourse to mines and explosions. The acquisition of each house had cost him a struggle. That same evening the Spaniards had the misfortune to have four cannon spiked, which were in the battery of the wooden-bridges; and notwithstanding this was supposed to be treacherously done, it could not be ascertained, circumstances not affording the opportunity for investigation.

General San Marc, knowing the small number of men that remained for the defence of the city, requested of Don Ric only two hundred for the points attacked; he immediately took measures, which, at another time, would have produced a thousand armed peasants within a quarter of an hour, since, besides, having that same day charged Don Miguel Marraco, beneficed priest of Pilar, and commissioned by the general with the organization of the peasantry, to form a reserve of a thousand armed men, and another thousand for the works, he sent him an impressive note, capable of inflaming the most lukewarm; a similar one he addressed to Don Mariano Cerezo, an honorable citizen, who, from the commencement of the war, had known how to improve his influence with the people; a third he sent to a priest named Laborde, who, a short time previously, had united with several ecclesiastics and friars, for the purpose of training and encouraging the peasants; he likewise ordered the

générale to be beaten, in the new tower, and profiting by a favorable moment when the enemy was driven by the bayonet from the Convent del Sepulchro, directed the public crier to run through the streets, proclaiming that they contended successfully; and, by the sound of the trumpet, calling on the people to complete the victory!

This ended, General San Marc came to inform Don Ric that seventeen men only had joined him, which clearly shewed the diminution of inhabitants; and, indeed, the few who remained alive were either sick, or attending those that were attacked by the disorder. Never were the reports from the various commanders so melancholy as on that day; one complained of being cut off; another that the enemy were about to do so; another that they had undermined him, and in the same manner the others; all called for troops, ammunition, and labourers, at a time when all were wanting; in short, the painful moment arrived when every one was convinced of the necessity of surrendering, since the contrary, so far from benefiting the city, gave greater advantages to the enemy in the effects he would have made himself master of by entering with fire and sword.

The junta dispatched a flag of truce to Marshal Lasnes, requesting a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, to negotiate the capitulation, and, at the same time, ordered the almoners of each parish to acquaint their parishioners with the state of the city, and to transmit to the junta the opinion they formed in consequence. In this situation of affairs, a French officer, said to be commandant of the besieging-artillery, was brought to Don Ric, who informed him that his general, in consequence of the flag of truce, had determined that the junta should wait upon him within two hours. Don Ric instantly ordered it to assemble; and, as all the members could not be collected with that promptitude which the French officer desired, (who assured him that, after the time was expired, the general would not listen to them,) he resolved to proceed with some of those who had met, leaving three or four to acquaint the others with the result of the flag of truce, and to take such measures as circumstances might require.

The firing continued with vigour on both sides, and it seemed expedient to take a trumpeter with them to announce the parley; but, notwithstanding this, the enemy's battery at Trinitarios discharged a royal grenade at Don Ric and his companions; which violation of the rights of men, Don Ric directly remonstrated against, refusing to proceed further, unless assurance was given that the laws of war should be observed; an aid-de-camp of the French general, who, a little while before, had come to announce that the junta

was to repair to the Casa Blanca, which is a large "white house," situated near the end of the canal of Arragon, between two and three miles from Saragossa, and not to the suburb, whither it had been ordered, was immediately dispatched, who gave directions that the junta should be respected; and, for greater security, brought an escort of infantry to conduct it to the presence of Marshal Lasnes.

The marshal was surrounded by general officers, and various persons of inferior rank: he received the junta with extraordinary gravity, and, after the usual formalities on both sides, took some turns about the room, treating it with the greatest indifference, *and even contempt*. At length, addressing himself to Don Ric, as president, he began to reprove Saragossa with much severity, enlarging on the little consideration it deserved, especially for not having credited his assertion when he summoned it to surrender.—The president cut him short, by saying that he disquieted himself to no purpose, because the junta had commenced its sessions only on the preceding day, and could not be responsible for what was not under its direction: that to have surrendered, without ascertaining the necessity of it, would have been a madness which the marshal himself ought to consider as such, but that, informed of the real state of affairs, and bearing in mind that summons of which he made so much merit, it had considered of a capitulation, for which purpose the letter he stated to have given so much offence, had been sent by the captain-general: that this had been repeated, at the same time acquainting him with the reasons for demanding a suspension of hostilities, and that some of their officers might go out to investigate the state of the nation: which, not having merited a reply from him, the junta had of itself dispatched a third flag, requesting a suspension for twenty-four hours, which term was necessary for ascertaining the will of the people, to whom it was accountable; because Saragossa, which had so eminently distinguished itself in the mode of carrying on the war, ought also to distinguish itself in the mode of capitulating; since, among all the places conquered by the French, none had been found possessing the honor, sincerity, and good faith, of Saragossa; and that, acting on these principles, it was his duty to represent that he brought neither powers nor instructions, nor did he yet know the will of the people, but that he supposed they would accept a capitulation, if it was reasonable, and becoming the heroism with which the city had defended itself.

This admirable address, it appears, disarmed the stern marshal; since, laying aside the bitter reproaches he had used, he said that the women and children should be respected, and

that the negotiation was concluded. But, Don Ric replied, it was not yet begun; because that was surrendering at discretion, which was very far from the intentions of Saragossa; and if the marshal insisted on that idea, he might follow up his attacks on the city, whither the president would return with his companions, and continue to defend themselves, since there were yet arms, ammunition, and daggers; and, as the fortune of war was precarious, it would finally be seen for whom victory declared.

The marshal then called his secretary, and dictated the preamble of the capitulation, and some of the articles; which, when read, Don Ric proposed an addition to be made to the first, stipulating that the garrison should, as became it, march out with military honors, to be stated by the major-general of infantry, whom he had taken with him for that purpose. Lasnes would not consent to the article being expressed in any other terms than those he had prescribed; but promised, on his word of honor, that the garrison should not only march out with military honors, but that the officers should retain their baggage, and the soldiers their knapsacks. Don Ric also proposed the articles respecting religion and the laws, which were granted, though not with the specification suggested relative to the privileges of the Spanish kingdom.

He likewise proposed another article, by which liberty should be guaranteed to General Don Joseph Palafox, to go wherever he pleased, with all his staff; the marshal replied, that a particular individual never was the subject of capitulation, but that he pledged his word of honor, General Palafox should go wherever he wished, to Mallen, to Toledo,—and on the president's saying these places would not suit him, on account of being occupied by French troops, whose presence could not be agreeable, and, moreover, that he had understood he thought of proceeding to Majorca; Lasnes gave his word of honor that he should go to whatever place was convenient to him.

On the same security the marshal offered to give a passport for Don Ric, and as many as wished to leave Saragossa, in order to avoid the contagion; adding, that the article he proposed on this head was *unnecessary*, as he was desirous of terminating the capitulation, and that all who wished it might go out.

Whilst two copies of the capitulation were drawing up, Lasnes produced a topographical plan of Saragossa, pointing out the part which would have been blown up that night, for which purpose 44,000 lbs. of powder were already lodged; this was to be followed by a bombardment from thirty mortars and seventy pieces of cannon, which at that time they were mounting in the suburb; (it was in fact known, that a num-

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ber of batteries and embrasures had been constructed in that quarter.) Immediately he changed his discourse, and descanted on the benefits lavished by the emperor and his brother Joseph, whose speech, in reply to that of the auxiliary Bishop of Madrid, he read. Little could be said against the account he gave of their conquests and victories, because the *siegè* having been so rigorous, nothing was known of what occurred out of Saragossa. He then held out a parcel of papers, which appeared to be French journals, but not one of the junta took or even noticed them. Duplicates of the capitulation being signed, the president withdrew with his companions, carrying a copy to lay before the other members of the junta, who accepted, ratified, and signed it, assured of the wish of the city.

The junta resolved that Don Ric should try if the French general would grant some additions they considered necessary, which were a statement in the capitulation of the honors of war, which, on his word, he had promised to the garrison; since, otherwise, they would not be mentioned in the gazettes, where the written capitulation only appears. It was also required that the peasants, who had been compelled to take arms, in order to form temporary corps, should not be prisoners of war, since they ought not to be considered as regular soldiers; and, besides, would be a severe loss to manufactures and agriculture. Lastly, on the petition of the clergy, an additional article was solicited, stipulating the punctual payment of their revenues from the funds assigned by the government, which, to the junta, appeared very proper, as, without it, the clergy would be reduced to indigence; and as, in fact, they had been, not receiving any dues except those arising from funerals.

But scarcely had he begun his proposals, in terms which neither could or ought to have offended any one, when Marshal Lasnes flew into a violent rage, and snatching the paper from him, threw it behind him into the fire, of which action it appeared one of his generals was ashamed, since he stooped to rescue it from the flames.

Lasnes strongly insisted on the prompt surrender of the city; and Don Ric, with the rest of the junta, returned to it, after having requested, that, as the capitulation had been ratified, the corresponding copy should be delivered to them, which was done.

However, before the surrender took place, several French officers and soldiers entered the city in search of wine, and to walk about, and were received in a manner answerable to the capitulation, in the expectation that they would on their part observe it as they ought; but, so far from that, they began that night the most atrocious pillage imaginable, continuing it with such effrontery, that the day following they robbed

publicly, and without the least reserve; their licentiousness went still further, since the governor, whom they had placed in Saragossa, having ordered the metropolitan chapter, prelates, curates, &c. to go and compliment the marshal, which was faithfully performed, the most painfully-cruel violations followed: the curate of San Lorenzo was robbed of his gown, in the Plaza del Carmen, a friar of his hood, and another priest of his cape, tearing from him even his shoes. Don Ric ceased not from making repeated and strong remonstrances; but either he received no answer, or was told that the evil was unavoidable, because the troops had to indemnify themselves for the plunder they looked upon as certain, and which they would have had the next day; but in the president's opinion, and that of many others, they stole, particularly mules, in concert with the French generals: since redress could not be obtained, notwithstanding that many times restitution of the mules was demanded before the completion of the robbery; and a Frenchman, from whom they had stolen twelve, succeeded, on account of being a Frenchman, in getting them restored; but with the hint that one of them was adapted for the coach of the general-in-chief, to whom he had to present it. They took possession of the public funds, plundered the magazines even of the army, and introduced into the city confusion and disorder, at the same time that they wished to be treated with kindness and attention. They demanded of Don Ric 50,000 pair of shoes, 8,000 pair of boots, and 1,200 shirts, the whole new; a large quantity of medicines, with every requisite for a hospital; and a service of china for General Junot, and that a tennis-court should be fitted up where he might play. Several officers demanded table-equipage and linen; even curtains, pens, paper, &c. &c. there not being a single article which they did not exact, with injunctions that it might be good and abundant, and, above all, at the expense of the unhappy Spaniards.

The reader may easily conceive how much the president had to dispute and suffer, in order to avoid these exorbitant demands, which would forever have completed the ruin of Saragossa. He contended with firmness against maintaining the chiefs of the French army, who so eagerly wished to support their pompous titles at the cost of others, till, after several debates, they threatened him with sending in a squadron of hussars, to which he replied, that well they might, since the gates of the city were demolished and in their power; but, that the nation would avenge the outrage, and from that moment they would not advance a foot of ground without first moistening it with French blood.

Notwithstanding Marshal Lasnes' word of honor, Don Joseph Palafox was immediately made

a prisoner, surrounded by French, and destitute of necessary food. He was soon afterwards carried towards France; but they were obliged to halt with him on account of the illness he laboured under, from which he had not recovered when they had torn him away from the town. Death at last released the hero from his troubles.

In vain were all Don Ric's endeavours to prevent the removal of the jewels belonging to the Lady of Pilar, which, by order of the marshal, were carried to the Casa Blanca, and returned again, with the specious pretext, that they wished to make an offering of them to Maria Santissima, and to worship her with the greatest splendour, especially on the day of the marshal's entry; but, soon afterwards, the governor sent for Don Ric to wait upon him, accompanied by a member of the junta who understood the French language: he did not explain the object of this order, nor could Don Ric go, on account of being ill, but the member of the junta having gone, he told him that it was necessary to make a present to the principal officers of the army, intimating the sum or value of about 80,000 dollars, for the commander-in-chief, and in the same proportion for the rest. This shock was terrible to a town like Saragossa, particularly at a time when all was misery, desolation, and wretchedness; the metropolitan chapter continuing its great services in favor of the king and the people and desirous of ransoming these from farther troubles at the expense of any sacrifice whatsoever, afforded the means of surmounting the difficulty, by bestowing the jewels that might be requisite, from their Lady of Pilar, which in every respect were considered as very insecure from French rapacity; some members of the said chapter and of the junta conveyed the resolution to Don Ric, and he had to carry into effect the measures agreed to by them; but not one of the French generals accepted the jewel assigned him; and the affair terminated in ordering him to remain in his house, and that one member only of the junta should go with the jewels to the French governor, where a commissary, who occasionally acted as intendant, met him; and, taking the jewels, proceeded with the member to the church of Pilar, to carry away the remainder, Marshal Lasnes, as was reported, retaining the whole.

The two or three times that Don Ric waited on the marshal, in order to tender the resignation of his employments, and treat of public concerns, he was never received; and it seems that on the day of his entry into Saragossa, he did not wish even to hear him, notwithstanding the attachment which the French have for harangues, since the above-mentioned commissary informed Don Ric, before-hand, that he would address the marshal in his name, so that he had not to speak a word.

At length Don Ric obtained his wish, the French having reinstated, in the post of president, his predecessor, Don Joseph de Villa y Torre; restoring Don Ric to that of auditor, and having officially renounced *that* also, since all the members were summoned except the auditor.

The fall of Saragossa was an event of great importance to the French emperor; yet the valour which protracted this melancholy event *for the space of three months*, must excite the wonder and kindle the enthusiasm of future generations! Nor had the invaders much to boast of, who against an open city, with natural and weak defences, employed subterraneous warfare, the last resource for subduing a city unconquerable by other means. More than 30,000 soldiers, the flower of the Spanish armies, 160 pieces of artillery, 60,000 muskets, all was lost with Saragossa; 500 officers lay beneath her venerable ruins. So many sacrifices, such enormous losses of houses and property, besides the lives of numberless inhabitants, which left the streets of that august capital desert, delivered the southern provinces of Spain from the invasion of the enemy, and will ever cause the name of Saragossa to be pronounced with affection, by patriots of all ages and countries.

On the surrender of Saragossa, a glorious decree was issued by the body executing the supreme authority of the state, from which the following is an extract:

"Spaniards! Saragossa is still standing, and lives in imitation and in example; she survives still in public spirit, which is ever imbibing lessons of valour and constancy from energies so heroic; for who is the Spaniard, proud of that name, who would be less than the brave Saragossans, and not seal the proclaimed liberty of his country, and his promised fidelity to his king, at the cost of the same perils and the same labours? Let vile egotists, and men without courage, be alarmed at these, but not the other towns of Arragon, who are ready to imitate and deliver their capital—not the firm and loyal patriots who behold in that town a model to imitate, a vengeance to take, and the sole path of conquest. Forty thousand Frenchmen, who have perished before the feeble walls which defended Saragossa, cause France to deplore the barren and ephemeral triumph she has gained, and evince to Spain that three towns, of equal constancy and resolution, will save the country and disconcert her tyrants. Valour springs from valour; and when the unhappy, who have suffered there, shall hear that their fellow-citizens, following them in the paths of glory, have been more favored by fortune, they will bless their destiny, however hard, and look forward with joy to new triumphs."

CHAPTER VII.

Appointment of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the command of the British Army.—His Arrival.—General Beresford appointed Commander of the Portuguese Army.—Battle of Medellin.—Commencement of the Campaign.—British Line-of-Battle.—Rapid Advance of Troops.—Stratagem of Marshal Soult.—Action at Oporto.—Destructive Pursuit of Soult's Army.—Rapid Return of the British Army to the Southward.—Gallantry of the Lusitanian Legion.—Movements of the French under Marshal Victor (Duke of Belluno).—Low Treachery of the Enemy.—Battle of Alcantara.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the unpromising state of affairs, the British ministry was determined neither to abandon the cause of Europe in its demonstrations on the Peninsula, nor to alter the course it had pursued in respect to this war. Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of the British army, and active preparations were made for a new campaign. He sailed from Portsmouth, April 15, in the *Surveillante*, and arrived at Lisbon on the 22d.

On the side of Portugal, General Beresford, who had been dignified with the rank and title of Field-marshal, was also appointed generalissimo, and employed the honors he had attained, as well as the power with which he was endued, in organizing and disciplining a Portuguese army; which he accomplished with great activity and success. He adopted the laudable practice of occasionally issuing bulletins, not only for the information of the army which he was forming, but also for the whole Portuguese nation; by which he communicated events, as they occurred, whether they were favorable or otherwise, taking care, however, to intersperse his information with such hints as fully evinced the good effects of order and discipline on one hand, and the fatal issue of insubordination and confusion on the other.

The Spanish troops, under Silveira, in the mean time, cut off the communications of the French in the north of Portugal, by the successful siege of the important frontier-town of Chaves, in the province of Tralos Montes. Notwithstanding its being supposed to possess a garrison of 10,000 men, it capitulated on the 25th of March, and greatly tended to inspire troops which had already suffered every discouragement, and prepare them to bear up against the reverses to which they were unhappily more liable.

This spirit became shortly put to the test by the failure of an attack on Victor, who had drawn up his army of 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry

in front of Medellin, a town on the Guadiana, in Estremadura. In close columns, prepared for attack or defence, the flanks covered by cavalry, and in front six batteries, the enemy was vigorously attacked by Cuesta, who failed by the defection of the cavalry, which supported his left wing on an attack from that of the French: it was consequently thrown into disorder, and compelled to leave the whole brunt of the action on the right. The infantry, nevertheless, evinced great steadiness; a great loss of officers and men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was the result, and General Cuesta cashiered some others. A much more important result, however, ensued in the celerity with which he was enabled to reassemble the army after his retreat, and render it again formidable to the enemy.

Nothing could exceed the many formed exaggerations of the *soi-disant* King Joseph on this action, which tended to shew the importance attached to it; an importance, nevertheless, which could not but be decreased by the speedy reformation of the broken army.

The Spanish general and his troops were pronounced, by a decree of the supreme junta, to have deserved well of their country. Those who particularly distinguished themselves were honored and promoted; and the pay for one month of two regiments of cavalry, and two of Chasseurs, which accompanied them, was mulcted, and applied to the reward of those who had given so much promise to the future energies of Spain.

Marshal Beresford had already commenced operations in his new character, and prepared reinforcements for Sir Robert Wilson, among the mountains southward of Salamanca, as well as an auxiliary force to General Cuesta, of between 2 and 3,000 men, for a post on the line of the Thietar.

Sir Arthur Wellesley having arrived at Coimbra, May 2, passed through an acclaiming multitude to the rich augustine monastery of Santa

Cruz, appointed his head-quarters, reviewed the army on the fine plain below the city, May 6, and was highly satisfied.

Determined on marching, with nearly the whole of his force, against Marshal Soult at Oporto, Sir Arthur Wellesley was suddenly there and a part of his army in advance for that city. Lieutenant-general Payne, on the 8th, with the cavalry and infantry under Major-generals Cotton and Hill, marched by Averro, where the infantry was to embark for Ovar, and turn the enemy's right by the coast. Marshal Beresford made a feint or diversion with his division, by Lameigo on the upper Douro. The remainder moved towards Aveiro.

Marshal Soult aware of his inequality to maintain Oporto against the united British force which was marching against him, had recourse to stratagem; first, to enable him to withdraw his troops with safety, and next, if favored by fortune, to endeavour to draw after him, northward, Sir Arthur Wellesley; which would thus leave Victor the opportunity of marching the French force, that after the battle of Medellin had remained stationary between Merida and Badajos, by the Tagus, into the south of Portugal. But the judgment and vigilance of the British commander, and his active generals-of-division, precluded his accomplishment of either the one or the other; and, therefore, notwithstanding the hypercriticisms on the declarations contained in Sir Arthur Wellesley's dispatch upon the action which ensued, Marshal Soult must be considered as having suffered a signal defeat.

Soult having determined to evacuate Oporto, and pass through Leon to the French force in Galicia, on the principle of concentration, took care to have it generally understood, that, certain of receiving due succours, and confident in his own strength, he was determined to defend Oporto to the last extremity. In the mean time, however, he manœvered his troops about the city, and for that ostensible purpose sent out a considerable body in detachments, many of which never returned. Of the body which remained, the British troops left few to follow.

Nothing could be more steady or vigorous than the advance of the British army, according to every account.

The advanced-guard and the cavalry had marched on the 7th, and the whole had halted on the 8th, to afford time for Marshal Beresford, with his corps, to arrive upon the upper Douro.

The infantry of the army was formed into three divisions for this expedition, of which two, the advanced-guard, consisting of the Hanoverian legion, and Brigadier-general R. Stewart's brigade, with a brigade of six-pounders, and a brigade of three-pounders, under Lieutenant-general Paget, and the cavalry, under Lieutenant-

general Payne, and the brigade of guards, Brigadier-general Campbell, and Brigadier-general Sontag's brigades of infantry, with a brigade of six-pounders, under Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, moved by the high road from Coimbra to Oporto; and one composed of Major-general Hill's, and Brigadier-general Cameron's brigades of infantry, and a brigade of six-pounders, under the command of Major-general Hill, by the road from Coimbra to Aveiro.

On the 10th, in the morning before day-light, the cavalry and the advanced-guard crossed the Vouga with the intention to surprise and cut off four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of infantry and artillery, cantoned in Albagana Nova, and the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from that river, in the last of which they failed; but the superiority of the British cavalry was evident throughout the day. They took some prisoners and their cannon from them; and the advanced-guard took up the position of Oliveira.

On the same day, Major-general Hill, who had embarked at Aveiro, on the evening of the 9th, arrived at Ovar in the rear of the enemy's right, and the head of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division passed the Vouga on the same evening.

On the 11th, the advanced-guard and cavalry continued to move on the high road towards Oporto, with Major-general Hill's division, in a parallel road which leads to Oporto from Ovar.

On the arrival of the advance at Vendas Novas, between Santo Redondo and Grijon, they fell in with the out-post of the enemy's advanced-guard, which were immediately driven in, and shortly afterwards they discovered the enemy's advanced-guard, consisting of about 4,000 infantry, and some squadrons of cavalry, strongly posted on the heights above Gijon; their fronts being covered with woods and broken grounds. The enemy's left flank was turned, by a movement well executed by Major-general Murray, with Brigadier-general Langwerth's brigade of the Hanoverian legion, whilst the 16th Portuguese regiment of Brigadier-general Richard Stewart's brigade attacked their right, and the rifle-men of the 95th, and the flank-companies of the 29th, 43d, and 52d, of the same brigade, under Major Way, attacked the infantry in the wood and villages, in their centre. These attacks soon obliged the enemy to give way, and the honorable Brigadier-general Charles Stewart, and two squadrons of the 16th and 20th dragoons, under the command of Major Blake, having pursued the enemy, destroyed several, and took many prisoners.

On the night of the 11th, the enemy crossed the Douro, and destroyed the bridge over that river.

It was important with a view to the opera-

BOOK VIII. tions of Marshal Beresford, that Sir Arthur
CHAP. VII. Wellesley should cross the Douro immediately,
1809. and he had sent Major-general Murray in the
morning with a battalion of the Hanoverian leg-
ions, a squadron of cavalry, and two six-poun-
ders, to endeavour to collect boats, and, if pos-
sible, to cross the river at Avintas, about four
miles above Oporto, and he had as many boats
as could be collected brought to the ferry, im-
mediately above the towns of Oporto and Villa
Novo. The ground on the right bank of the
river at this ferry is protected and commanded by
the fire of cannon placed on the heights of the
Siena Convent, at Villa Nova; and there ap-
peared to be a good position for the British troops
on the opposite side of the river, till they should
be collected in sufficient numbers.

The enemy took no notice of their collection
of boats, or of the embarkation of the troops, till
after the first battalion, (the buffs,) were landed,
and had taken up their position under the com-
mand of Lieutenant-general Paget, on the oppo-
site side of the river. They then commenced an
attack upon them with a large body of cavalry,
infantry, and artillery, under the command of
Marshal Soult, which that corps most gallantly
sustained till supported successively by the 48th
and 66th regiments, belonging to Major-general
Hill's brigade, and a Portuguese battalion, and
afterwards by the first battalion of detachments,
belonging to Brigadier-general Richard Stewart's
brigade.

Lieutenant-general Paget was unfortunately
wounded soon after the attack commenced, when
the command of those gallant troops devolved
upon Major-general Hill.

Although the French made repeated attacks
upon them, they made no impression; and, at
last, Major-general Murray having appeared on
the enemy's left flank, on his march from Avin-
tos, which he had crossed, and Lieutenant-gene-
ral Sherbrooke, who by this time had availed
himself of the enemy's weakness in the town of
Oporto, and crossed the Douro, at the ferry, be-
tween the towns of Villa Nova and Oporto,
having appeared on their right, with the brigade
of guards and the 29th regiment, the whole re-
tired in the utmost confusion towards Amarantha;
leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight
ammunition tumbrils, and many prisoners. The
enemy's loss in this action was very great: it is
supposed they left upwards of 700 behind them in
Oporto sick and wounded. Brigadier-general the
honorable Charles Stewart now directed a charge,
by a squadron of the 14th dragoons, under the
command of Major Harvey, whomade a successful
attack upon the enemy's rear-guard. In the dif-
ferent actions with the enemy, the British lost
some, and the immediate services of other, valu-
able officers and soldiers.

After the evacuation of Oporto by the French,
the commander-in-chief took the laudable pre-
caution to issue the following proclamation:

"Inhabitants of Oporto!—As the French
troops have been expelled from this city, by the
bravery and discipline of the army which I com-
mand, I require from the inhabitants that they
shall comport themselves with compassion and
humanity towards the said troops who may be
made prisoners. By the laws of war they are
entitled to my protection, and it is my duty to af-
ford it. It would be very inconsistent with the
generosity and magnanimity of the Portuguese
nation to revenge upon unfortunate individuals
the outrages and calamities which it has suffered;
I direct the inhabitants of the city to remain
tranquil in the town, and that no person that
does not belong to a military corps shall appear
armed in the city. In case of this order being
contravened, or of any attack being made upon
the said individuals, such persons shall be pu-
nished as guilty of having disobeyed my orders
—I appoint Colonel Trant commandant of this
city, unless the government of his royal high-
ness shall object to this nomination. I order the
commander to use all the means necessary to en-
force obedience to this order, and to produce the
effect of complete tranquillity and peace, for which
I am so anxiously solicitous.

(Signed) "ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"Head-quarters, Oporto, May 13, 1809."

Nothing could be more judicious than this pro-
clamation in the second city of Portugal, where,
among the first objects which presented them-
selves, were the *stripped* bodies of the dead
enemy.

The army was there received, as it had been
every where, with the highest demonstrations of
joy; and as on the march the officers had been re-
ceived in the houses of the inhabitants, and the
troops into the convents; so in Oporto they were
all received by the inhabitants with hospitality.
The ladies graced their entrance by waving their
handkerchiefs from the balconies; the aged wept
and blessed them: and, indeed, though charges
of this kind are successively made as of course, by
every army which succeeds another, there was
sufficient evidence that the French soldiery under
Loison had so particularly degraded themselves,
by enormities against the people of Oporto, as to
hand his name down with the especial infamy of
those transactions.

Soult, notwithstanding his evident determina-
tion to evacuate Oporto, certainly did not count
upon the rapidity of the British operations, and
therefore fairly incurred the censure of being sur-
prised. Having destroyed the bridge of Amaran-
tha, by which Marshal Beresford was to pass,

and dispatched Loison there, he evidently counted upon a leisure which Sir Arthur Wellesley denied him. Above a thousand sick were found in the hospitals.

The British army continued indefatigable in the pursuit of the French, of which there was every prospect of success. By a variety of feints, however, and forced marches, their general drew them towards the mountains.

When Sir Arthur Wellesley determined upon the expedition to the north of Portugal, against Marshal Soult, he was in hopes that the Portuguese general, Silveira, would be able to hold his post upon the Tamaga till he should be reinforced, by which, and by the possession of Chaves, the enemy's retreat would have been cut off, excepting across the Minho; and Sir Arthur intended, if successful, to press him so hard, as that the passage of that river would have been impracticable. The loss of the bridge of Amarantha, however, on the 2d inst. altered his prospects; he had then no hopes that Marshal Beresford, who marched towards the upper part of the Douro on the 5th, and arrived at Lamego on the 10th, would be able to effect more than confine the enemy on that side, and oblige him to retire by Chaves into Galicia, rather than by Villa Real into Castile. General Beresford, however, having obliged the enemy's posts at Villa Real, and Maisan Frien, to fall back with some loss; and, having crossed the Douro, drove in General Loison's out-posts at the bridge of Amarantha, and again acquired possession of the left bank of the Tamaga on the 12th, the day which the corps under Sir Arthur Wellesley's command formed the passage of the Douro at Oporto.

Loison retired from Amarantha on the morning of the 13th, as soon as he had heard of the events at Oporto of the preceding day, and met the advanced-guard of the French army at a short distance from the town, which General Beresford immediately occupied. Sir Arthur Wellesley was unable to commence the pursuit of the enemy till the morning of the 13th, when the Hanoverian legion moved to Valonga, under Major-general Murray. On that evening he was informed that the enemy had in the morning destroyed a great proportion of his cannon, in the neighbourhood of Penafrel, and had directed his march towards Braga.

This appeared to be the probable result of the situation in which he found himself, in consequence of General Beresford's operations upon the Tamaga; and, as soon as Sir Arthur Wellesley had ascertained that the fact was true, he marched, on the morning of the 14th, with the army in two columns, towards the river Minho.

At the same time Sir Arthur directed General Beresford upon Chaves, in case the enemy should

turn to his right; and Major-general Murray to communicate with General Beresford, if he should find, as reported, that Loison remained in the neighbourhood of Amarantha. BOOK VIII.
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On the evening of the 14th Sir Arthur Wellesley was certain, from the movements of the enemy's detachments in the neighbourhood of Braga, that he intended to direct his retreat upon Chaves, or Monte Alegre, and directed General Beresford, in case of the latter movement, to push on for Monterey, so as to stop the enemy, if he should pass by Villa de Ric. General Beresford had anticipated Sir Arthur's orders to march his own corps upon Chaves, and had already sent General Silveira to occupy the passes of Tuivaes and Melgassy, near Salomonde, but he was unfortunately too late.

Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived at Braga on the 15th, General Murray being at Guimaraens, and the enemy about fifteen miles in their front; and at Salomonde, on the 16th, they had an affair with the rear-guard. The guards, under Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke and Brigadier-general Campbell, attacked their position; and, having turned their left-flank by the heights, they abandoned it, leaving a gun and some prisoners behind them. This attack was necessarily made at a late hour in the evening.

On the 17th, Sir Arthur Wellesley moved to Ruiveas, waiting to see whether the enemy would turn upon Chaves, or continue his retreat upon Monte Alegre, and on the 18th to Monte Alegre; where Sir Arthur Wellesley found that he had taken a road through the mountains towards Orense, by which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for him to overtake him, and on which he had no means of stopping him.

The enemy commenced his retreat, by destroying a great proportion of his guns and ammunition. He afterwards destroyed the remainder of both, and a great proportion of his baggage, and kept nothing, excepting what the soldiers and a few mules could carry. He left behind him his sick and wounded; and the road from Penafrel to Monte Alegre, was strewed with the carcasses of horses and mules, and French soldiers, who were put to death by the peasantry before the British advanced-guard could save them.

Their soldiers had plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure; and Sir Arthur Wellesley saw many persons hanging in the trees by the sides of the road, executed for no reason that he could learn, excepting that they had not been friendly to the French invasion and usurpation of the government of their country; and the route of their column, on their retreat, could be traced by the smoke of the villages to which they set fire.

The British took about 500 prisoners. Upon

BOOK VIII. the whole, the enemy had not lost less than a fourth of his army, and all his artillery and equipments, since attacked upon the Vouga.

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Notwithstanding the desolation produced in the French army by this pursuit, the loss of the British was, according to the best estimates, more trifling than could be admitted as probable, were it not that while the troops pursued with the utmost rapidity, they did not abandon any of the equipments or stores of their force as was constantly the case with the French.

After Sir Arthur Wellesley had determined to discontinue the further pursuit of Marshal Soult's army, and to return with the British troops to the southward, he heard that Marshal Victor had broken up on the Guadiana, and had made an attack, and had carried Alcantara on the 14th.

A small garrison, consisting of the second battalion of the Lusitanian legion, under Colonel Mayne, and the Idanha Nova battalion of Portuguese militia, had occupied that place since the army marched to the northward, which it was forced to evacuate with some loss, in consequence of this attack.

An attempt was made to blow-up the bridge over the Tagus, which failed, and the enemy's cavalry crossed immediately.

The extensive line of country occupied by the 1st battalion of the Lusitanian legion, and the Spanish troops and Portuguese cavalry by which it was reinforced, forming the advance of the corps of observation, left by Sir Arthur Wellesley under General Mackenzie, at Abrantes, extending from Almeida on the left, to the inaccessible Sierra de Franca on the right, with a garrison of six thousand Spaniards at Ciudad Rodrigo, in their rear, made such a demonstration towards the enemy as could not but leave him in doubt,—a doubt difficult to solve,—whether a force, by many multiplications more powerful, might not defend the whole eastern frontier of Portugal.

In fact, not only every means was strictly practised to preclude the enemy from ascertaining the real strength, or rather weakness, of the force employed; but even the allies had reason to conceive it much greater than it ever was. For the advanced posts of the French were even attacked, and piquets surprised and captured, and every thing wore the appearance of offensive activity, so that the supreme junta of Spain placed under the chief command of Sir Robert Wilson the whole of the Spanish troops in Leon.

That the reader may form some idea of the gallantry of the Lusitanian legion, we shall instance a few of their early efforts.

A small French force, forming an out-post at the village of Labobada, Sir Robert Wilson with his British officers and some dragoons of the legion, galloped into it, surprized, and after a

short resistance, made the whole prisoners. Captain Picaluci, Lusitanian light-horse, acting aide-de-camp to Colonel Mayne, leading his men forward in the most gallant manner, received a ball through his heart. The arms of the prisoners were delivered to Spanish peasants, and themselves sent into the woods.

Irritated at the loss, the French sent a considerable body to redeem it, but without any other success than compelling the little party to retire, and taking Lieutenant l'Estrange, seventy-first regiment, prisoner; who had mounted one of the captured horses, as superior to his own. General D'Urban and Lieutenant-colonel Grant eminently distinguished themselves in this affair.

Intelligence having been obtained that the French had made a very considerable requisition of money and horses, from the town of Sedesma, on the Toures, under penalty of its destruction, with its magistrates; the same officers, with a squadron of cavalry mounted on mules and horses, with 100 infantry, (both including by the way several stragglers of Sir John Moore's army) proceeded to that town for the purpose of intercepting the enemy with his booty.

The junta were found waiting in state, with the requisitions in readiness, the rapacious plunderers not having yet returned for it, so that it was deemed best to transfer it into the safer hands of the junta of Ciudad Rodrigo, leaving instead Sir Robert Wilson's receipt for the enraged enemy, who arrived within an hour afterwards, but was thus precluded from exercising any severities against the inhabitants.

A French garrison was in consequence immediately sent to occupy it; the out-posts of which Lieutenant-colonel Grant almost immediately after surprized, and destroyed or dispersed, with a detachment of the legion, as they were sitting round their fires in the woods.

Those and similar affairs cleared the neighbourhood from the French marauders, who were intimidated by their active intrepidity, which excited also the spirit and vigilance of the Spanish peasants and Guerillas, and prevented the corps under General La Pisse from entering Portugal by Almeida, in aid of Marshal Soult against Sir Arthur Wellesley.

When the occupation of Puerto de Baines became necessary to prevent the communication between that general and Marshal Victor, opposed to General Cuesta, on the Tagus, at Almaraz, Colonel Mayne, with two battalions of the legion, were employed on that service with similar effect. The colonel strengthened this pass by artillery, on the commanding points, and mining the roads through it. He also assisted in fortifying the town of Bejar; receiving in compliment from its inhabitants the celebrated ducal sword preserved

there. And, though last, not least, on this subject, among other passing captures, was that of a large convoy with important dispatches from Paris mails for Madrid. Of these, the first naturally were appropriated to the consideration and disposal of Sir Robert Wilson; there were, also, of no less consequence, the seals of the *soi-disant* King Joseph's government; and there were also presents for the French officers, with a handsome watch for the Intendant-general Danet, at Madrid. There were, also, innumerable love-letters, of the tenderest nature, from the Parisian fair, which must ever remain sacred; to say nothing of the effects of such *billets doux* on the vivid imaginations of generous partizans, wandering amid the lonely and romantic scenes of the lofty Sierra d'Estrella.

But among the tokens of imperial favor and affection, there was one which was neither exempt, reserved, nor sacred, though, as an object of domestic endearment, it might certainly claim a various tribute of regard.—It was French *butter* for the table of King Joseph, and was, by the laws of want and war, entirely estranged for his pseudo majesty.

A subsequently-captured dispatch of La Pisse to Victor, also, described his having marched a column of 6,000 men towards him, and its return in consequence of the occupation of Puesto de Baines. His feelings on this subject was soon after demonstrated, by an attack on the post of Major l'Estrange, at the bridge of Esia, in which that officer was made prisoner, and his force compelled to retire. Also in a severe attack upon the post of Colonel J. Wilson, by General Hammerstein's regiment of chasseurs à Cheval, which was, however, compelled to retire.

An attack on Ciudad Rodrigo succeeded by the force of 7,000 men from Salamanca threatening assault, which Lieutenant-colonel Grant, with a detachment of the legion, and four guns posted in front, received by a salute of artillery, and a reply of the governor, that accession was inconsistent with his duty. Upon which General La Pisse thought it best to remonstrate gently on the *impropriety* of the Spanish general and Garus *suffering themselves to be misled* by British officers to resistance against his soldiers, plunder the King of Spain, &c.

To the repulsion of this tricking siege is to be added another brilliant affair with a French column at San Felices, on the Agueda, at the same time, in which Lieutenant-colonel Grant eminently distinguished himself.

Sir Robert Wilson had gone to Coria, to take the command of a corps sent by General Beresford, to be united with another detached by General Cuesta, to act on the rear and right flank of Marshal Victor. On his way he received information that Cuesta was retreating, and that the combination could not take place.

On the morning of the 1st of April, he marched with the detachment of troops, consisting of about 200 men of the regiment of Avila, 130 of the legion under his command, sixty Spanish and thirty Portuguese dragoons, with one howitzer and one field-piece, with the intention of surprising or carrying the posts of the enemy at Barba del Puerco.

When within a quarter of a mile of the village, he detached Lieutenant-colonel Wilson, with eighty Spaniards and some horse, to alarm the enemy in his rear, in case of resistance; the main body was close upon the village before the enemy's sentries perceived its approach; when Lieutenant-colonel Grant, and Lieutenant-colonel Don Carlos D'Espagne, aid-de-camp to his excellency the captain-general, galloped forward with the cavalry, and killed or secured such part of the enemy as could not reach in time the rocks in the descent of the mountains.

The commanding officer and sixteen men were pressed so hard by the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Wilson, that they were unable to reach the bridge, and were obliged to throw themselves into a cave at the base of the mountain, which was extremely difficult of access.

The Spaniards and a part of the legion went down the sides of the mountain, and Sir R. Wilson posted the remainder of the legion, with the howitzers, on the height commanding Barba del Puerco, and the road of San Felices; and he brought the gun through the village to the ridge of the path leading to the bridge, from which situations the artillery played with very great effect, on the guards ascending the San Felices road, and the reinforcements which subsequently descended.

The enemy sent immediately forward from San Felices, where he had 3,000 men, detachments of light troops, who took post on the side of the mountain opposed to Sir Robert's troops, and where they kept up a very brisk fire; which was as briskly answered, from eight o'clock in the morning until two in the afternoon, but with considerable loss on their part, from the activity and excellence of some of Sir Robert Wilson's marksmen, particularly some officers and chasseurs, peasants.

Finding that the enemy persevered in throwing more troops forward, and not having the means or intention to occupy the post of Barba del Puerco, especially as Sir Robert was aware that he could, and did, by single persons, pass and assemble a large force on this side of the bridge, who could divide and turn the British position to right and left; he withdrew his guns from Barba del Puerco to its height; when the Spaniards re-ascended the hill, and formed on a height about 400 yards from the village. The troops of the legion maintained the ground obstinately against

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BOOK VIII. the tirailleurs of the enemy, who appeared on every side.

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Sir R. Wilson gradually withdrew his guns and the Spanish infantry in separate divisions; then the cavalry, as the ground did not admit of its acting; and when the main body had thus descended the hill, and passed an intervening open space, extremely unfavorable to cross under an enemy's fire from the height, he withdrew the troops of the legion; and, by keeping up a fire from behind the rock that favored his skirmishers, he passed also the rear-guard, without any loss or the smallest disorder, to the rocky height beyond the plain, where, again making a stand in some strength, the enemy halted and retired up the hill.

The troops had directions to halt at Viella de Cervo, where Sir Robert remained during the night, constantly patrolling to Barba del Puerco; and where he found that the enemy early at night had, from fear of an attack, withdrawn his forces, leaving only a small guard.

At this time the enemy was guilty of a most flagitious breach of faith and military honor. When Sir Robert Wilson was informed of the officer and his party being in the cave, at whom the Spaniards were endeavouring to pour fire from every direction, he desired Lieutenant Wilson to offer them their lives, on condition of surrendering; and Lieutenant-colonel Don Carlos D'Espagne accompanied him, to prevent the Spanish infantry from firing. Finding that the communication could not be made on this side of the bridge, these officers, joined by Lieutenant-colonel Grant and Lieutenant Charles, of the Royal British artillery, passed the bridge, advanced with a white handkerchief, and proposed the terms Sir Robert desired. The officers came forward, and said it was what they wished, and begged Lieutenant-colonel Wilson to approach nearer. At the instant a volley was fired at him and the rest of the officers; and the fire was continued until they passed the bridge again. Unfortunately it happened at the moment that the enemy's detachments were descending the hill, so that the complete example could not be made which such conduct imperiously demanded; but most of the assassins perished, for only the officer and four men came out of the cave alive.

The co-operation and communication of the French general being cut off, and the peasantry of the surrounding country excited against him, he found himself impelled to make a sudden movement towards the south, for a junction with Victor's corps on the left bank of the Tagus, by crossing it at the bridge of Alcantara.

Colonel Mayne's division was thus brought into an embarrassing situation in his front. The resources of this excellent officer, however, did not fail him; he moved on Cacillas de Flores, and

tried to gain the pass of Peralis, which headed the enemy's column, with the hope of arresting its progress, till a junction of every Spanish and Portuguese force could be effected; and, finding this in vain, endeavoured to cut off their detachment at Payo, and, though unsuccessful, made some prisoners. It, however, formed a junction at this place with Colonels Wilson and Grant, to whom at night arrived Sir Robert Wilson, who had made a considerable number of prisoners.

This whole force, with irregular additions, pursued the enemy, for two days, with every species of annoyance, the enemy conceiving himself pursued by a large and efficient army.

On the 14th of May, the enemy, under Victor, having made an attack on the small garrison of Alcantara, carried it. The inhabitants of this ancient and renowned, though poorly fortified, city, endeavoured to obstruct the passage of the river, over which is a magnificent Roman bridge, built by the dignified Trajan. They excavated the road to the depth of near twenty feet, and also constructed a kind of abatis across it. They then urgently solicited, by every means, a British force for its defence.

Colonel Mayne, under whose command the brigade at Alcantara remained, had, on the 7th of May, issued the following orders:

"In the event of the enemy moving upon Alcantara in great force, you will order immediately the two hundred infantry under your command to fall back to the heights of Alcantara, on the east side of the Tagus, remaining with the cavalry under your orders as long as you can in safety, for any information concerning the enemy's advance. I find the town of Alcantara so thoroughly indefensible, that it is out of the question to take any steps for its defence; and the greater object being the pass of the Tagus, it must be abandoned; but should the enemy come forward in small force, or in any numbers equal to our own, I should recommend a skirmishing retreat, falling back upon my force, which shall, in this case, be prepared to give them a very warm reception.

"You will patrol on the line of Caceres, towards Aroydo de Puerco, and in the circle of Alcantara, as your judgment may point out to you, keeping a watchful eye on the upper line of the Tagus.

"You will send reports to my head-quarters every third day, of every thing that passes under your command; being careful in procuring and forwarding, immediately, every other information of greater importance.

"I have the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "WILLIAM MAYNE,

"Colonel, commanding the
brigade at Alcantara."

On the following day, General Cuesta thus addressed him for a co-operation.

"Most excellent Sir,—The news that I have received, that 2,000 troops have arrived under your command in the place of Alcantara, has given me the greatest satisfaction, and the more particularly so, as I understand these to be the advance of a large army of British troops, under his excellency General Wellesley, moving into Spain.

"I should think Marshal Victor with his army will make a disposition to enter Portugal from Estremadura, to relieve General Soult; and it will give me much pleasure to concert any plans for the impediment of the enemy's movement in the vicinity of Badajos and Elvas, the former place being now fortified and strengthened in the best possible manner. It is also probable, they may try to pass the Tagus at Alcantara, and to move on to Castello Branco, in Portugal.

"Your excellency may depend upon every information that I can obtain; and of my determination to pursue the enemy's movement in either case; and to harass them by every means in my power.

"I trust your excellency will have the goodness to inform me of all the circumstances that may transpire for the good of our common cause, and to believe that it will be my greatest desire to render every assistance to the allies, as captain-general of the province of Estremadura.

"May God preserve your excellency, &c.

(Signed) "GREG. DE LA CUESTA."

The several juntas, in their addresses to Colonel Mayne, returned their most cordial thanks for the military skill which he had displayed with his few, but valiant troops, for the defence of Alcantara and its dependencies. But, notwithstanding these views and hopes, to which the daring valour and discriminating zeal of this extraordinary little force had certainly given birth,

Alcantara could not be saved. It was cannonaded, and forced; and the determined spirit of the inhabitants, which would have inspired a generous enemy with respect, only produced the severe enormity of war.

In the Lisbon Gazette, dated May 20, we find the following account of this gallant battle:

"When the French army, in Estremadura, abandoned the Guadiana, they attempted to cross the Tagus at Alcantara. On the 14th of May, this place was attacked by a division of 10 or 12,000 men, commanded by Marshal Victor, Duke of Belluna, in person; they were opposed by the Loyal Lusitanian legion, with six pieces of cannon, the militia regiment of Idanhia Nova, and fifty horse of the 11th regiment of cavalry: the whole commanded by Colonel Mayne, of the Loyal Lusitanian legion, whose force did not exceed 1,800 men.

"This valiant commandant and garrison disputed the passage of the bridge of Alcantara for nine hours, and then retired in front of the enemy, so much superior to them, with all their artillery, to Lodiero.

"The fire of the enemy, whose whole force was engaged, was tremendous beyond conception, although the loss of the patriots was nothing in comparison with theirs, which at least amounted to 1,400 men.

"Lieut.-colonel Grant, the second in command, gave the greatest assistance to Colonel Mayne, and those two officers are entitled to the greatest merit for their bravery and conduct on this trying occasion. The enemy's cavalry followed them until dusk; but, by their judicious management, the retreat was effected in the greatest order.

"The courage of 1,800 Portuguese, at the battle of Alcantara, will remain a monument to posterity, and does not yield to the greatest actions of our ancestors."

CHAPTER VIII.

Wants of the British Army.—Sir Arthur Wellesley's Letter to Lord Castlereagh.—Second Attack of the Enemy at the Bridge of Alcantara.—General Blake's unsuccessful Attack on Saragossa.—Intercepted Dispatches, containing Details of the Enemy's Operations.—Symptoms of an approaching Battle.—A Plan of Operations concerted.—Battle of Talavera.—Remarks.—Biographical Sketch of Sir Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington.)

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY, about to proceed to the eastern frontier, found not only that the impediments which had attended the return of his army from the north of Portugal, arose from not being able to get forward the necessaries re-

quired with sufficient rapidity, but from the absolute want of them in the capital; and that an early supply would not only be necessary, but, perhaps, indispensable to his progress towards Spain.

This, however, did not impede the operations.

of his capacious mind. In a letter from Coimbra, dated May 31, his excellency thus addressed Lord Castlereagh.

"I have the honor to inform your lordship, that, since my letter of the 20th instant, the enemy has withdrawn the corps which had taken possession of Alcantara on the 14th, and his army is concentrated in the neighbourhood of Caceres, between the Jaqua and the Guadiana. The Spanish army, under General Cuesta, had advanced from its possession at Llena, upon receiving accounts of the enemy's march from the Guadiana, and the advanced-guard had attacked a fortified post which the enemy still held at Merida. But, by a letter from General Cuesta, of the 20th instant, I find that he had discontinued the attack, owing to the difficulty of supporting it, in consequence of the swelling of the Guadiana. His head-quarters were, by the last accounts, at Fuente del Mistre.

"General Mackenzie is in the mountains, behind Castello Branco, and he had been directed again to occupy Alcantara in such force as to be able to secure that passage over the Tagus.

"The army is in march towards this place: the leading brigades have already arrived here, and I expect the whole in the course of a few days.

"The march has been delayed in some degree, in consequence of the badness of the weather, and the general want of shoes by the troops; it having been impossible to bring up from Lisbon a sufficient supply before this time.

"The arrangements, however, are all made for the early movement of the troops to the Tagus; and they will begin their march on the day after to-morrow."

This letter, at the same time, was accompanied with a request that directions might be given for a supply of 30,000 pair of shoes, for the use of the British troops, to be sent to Lisbon at an early period. It was also desirable (he added) that the store-keeper should give directions that these shoes should be of the best quality. Sir Arthur Wellesley also begged Lord Castlereagh to order, that 1,500,000 pounds of biscuits should be sent to Lisbon, for the use of the army, and 3,000,000 pounds of hay, and 3,000,000 pounds of oats. To this Sir Arthur added:—

"That, from every information he had received of the probable supply of money for bills upon England, it was his opinion that a sum, amounting to not less than 300,000 pounds sterling, ought to be sent to Lisbon at an early period."

This did not, however, impair the zeal of the army in its progress, and Sir A. Wellesley was enabled to add the arrival of his van in Spain.

"Since I wrote last, Marshal Victor has broken up in the neighbourhood of Caceres, has removed his head-quarters to Trinsillo, and passed a di-

vision of his army over the Tagus by the bridge of Alcantara. It is probable that the whole are about to retreat.

"A part of the army of General Cuesta was, by the last accounts of the 3d of June, on the Guadiana, near Medellin, and one division near Merida; the whole are, I understand, advancing towards that river.

"A part of the troops under my command have arrived upon the Tagus, at Abrantes, and the remaining four brigades are following them."

In the mean time, the corps under General Mackenzie, forming the advance, Colonel Mayne, with a reinforcement to his legion, was appointed by him to command the van of the allied army moving into Spain.

Colonel Mayne returned to the post of Alcantara, which unfortunate town was now rendered a scene of desolation by the French. The enemy at this time occupied all the villages in its vicinity, and patrolled within five miles of the town. On the morning of the 10th of June, Colonel Mayne was again attacked by four columns of infantry, three squadrons of horse, and four pieces of artillery. The cannonading continued on both sides a short time, when, in obedience to the orders he had received from Marshal Beresford, he blew up the centre arch of the bridge of Alcantara; the last act of Trajan's grandeur, and the only one remaining in that part of Spain.

Colonel Mayne's army did some execution with their shells from the heights, dispersing two columns of infantry, and one of cavalry, when they were advancing on the town. The French were about 6,000; when they discovered the destruction of the bridge, they retired by the road of Brosas, and never again took a regular position.

The joint army of Valentia and Arrogan, under the command of General Blake, on the 19th of May proceeded against Alcaniz, a town in the kingdom of Arragon, seated on the river Guadalupe, near the frontiers of Catalonia, then occupied by the French. These the Spaniards drove, in great disorder, from that important post; and afterwards routed and forced smaller parties of the enemy from other stations. Under such success, General Blake was induced, on the 15th of June, to make an attack on Saragossa; but, was repulsed with great loss. Souchet attacked him for two days in the neighbourhood of Belshite; General Blake, however, was enabled to repel him; but on the third day, when the battle was renewed in the valley of Almonazir, the whole of the Spanish army, without firing a shot, though opposed by only one-third of their numbers, suddenly took flight, and left their general, attended by only six or seven officers. The Spaniards not only abandoned their baggage but

threw down their arms. This army was composed principally of raw recruits from Valencia: they had acted with courage on sundry former occasions; and would probably have continued to display the same spirit, had not the most villainous, insidious arts been employed to excite alarm, and thus produce their sudden dispersion.

General Blake, in his extreme grief and anxiety for this transaction, was not sparing of his reprobation, in his dispatches to the junta, and treated the base cowardice of his army in the terms such conduct truly deserved. His own character and conduct he vindicated with becoming spirit, observing, at the same time, that "it was not in the power of any general to foresee the circumstances which gave rise to panic fear, nor was the contagion, under such circumstances, to be prevented." In some instances, indeed, parties of Spaniards, after having made their escape from the dangers of the field, before the issue of the battle in which they had been engaged, were received by their countrymen without marks of displeasure or disrespect; but the fugitives of Belshite were treated, and every where spoken of, with ridicule and contempt.

In the correspondence of Sir Arthur Wellesley with Mr. Canning, secretary for foreign affairs, printed and laid before parliament in May, 1809, is the following extract: "I am of opinion, that an effort should immediately be made for clothing the Spanish troops in a national uniform. The adoption of this measure would put a stop to the custom which so generally prevails of their throwing down their arms and accoutrements, dispersing, and betaking themselves to flight, on pretence of their being not soldiers, but simply peasants."

By two curious dispatches from Marshal Soult, which had been intercepted, it was discovered that he had effected his retreat from Gallicia, and arrived, on the 24th of June, at the Cueba de Sanabria. His letters, which were directed to King Joseph, contained a detail of his proceedings since the 2d, and of the whole of his retreat through Monforte, Montefurado, Bello, and Viana. This retreat was proceeded by an attempt to crush the Marquis of Romana's force by an operation combined with Marshal Ney; but it seemed to have been defeated by the check which the latter received at Puerto de San Cayo, and which determined him to fall back upon Santiago.

The two generals appeared to have been upon very bad terms; Marshal Soult thought that the situation of his army, in consequence of the retreat from Oporto, was such as made it impossible to remain in Gallicia, where there were no means of providing them the necessary equipments; and in addition to this, he had another

powerful motive, from the knowledge of Sir Arthur Wellesley's march to the southward, to attack General Victor; and he plainly insinuated that Marshal Ney failed in the co-operation intended to have been directed against Orense, with the intention of obliging him, Marshal Soult, to remain in Gallicia. Marshal Ney, on his side, had not admitted the justness of the calculation, according to which Marshal Soult concluded that it would be possible for him to maintain himself alone in Gallicia. Soult's letter, though very cautiously worded, plainly indicated the disgust of a part of his army at the species of war which they had to carry on, and their weariness of the atrocities which they had been committing, and which had been followed, in some instances, by a terrible retaliation.

Marshal Ney left Corunna on the 22d, and had entirely evacuated the whole of the province on the 28th.

In the state of incertitude in which the allies remained, even the following dispatch from General Cuesta, dated "Bridge of Almaraz, June 26, 1809," appeared important.

"Most excellent Sir,—When my van-guard passed the Tagus I received notice that the enemy's whole force was at a short distance between this and Oropesa, and a great part of them in ambuscade in the woods, hoping to surprise and cut off my van-guard, in case of its advancing incautiously. This intelligence made me more circumspect, and I suspended the passage of the river, and am occupied in repairing the bridge, having, in the mean time, formed my infantry and artillery on the left bank, in order to protect the retreat of the van-guard in case it should be obliged to effect it.

"We have no intelligence of the enemy having abandoned the bridge of Arzobispo, nor is it to be supposed they will do so as long as they continue in the above project: on the other hand, their delay may be of advantage to us, by affording time for the arrival of the British army, which I consider is already advanced on its march to the banks of the Tietar."

The whole of the circumstances of this period, though in their immediate results not decisively important, afforded strong presages of the active operations about to ensue, like the first distant motion of a tempest; and prepared the British army fully to expect a grand struggle with the enemy, in which the character of the allied troops, and the value of their co-operation, would be evinced, and the nature of the campaign at least decided.

Though Sir Arthur Wellesley had been for a considerable time inactive, he was anxious, if possible, to strike some decisive blow; but before this could be attempted, he deemed it necessary

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that some plan of co-operation should be concerted between him and the Spanish generals, particularly with General Cuesta. Indeed he was more desirous of the co-operation of this general than solicitous that the Spanish generals should make any kind of attempt of importance, without the assistance of the British army. General Cuesta heartily coincided in Sir Arthur's wishes, and promised that he would suspend any particular operations till the British army had reached the banks of the Tagus. Sir Arthur, according to the correspondence which was afterwards laid before parliament, had also many obstacles which intruded themselves, in managing and coming to a perfect understanding with the central junta; the junta had likewise great difficulty in calling forth the means and energy of the country. A plan of operations was, however, concerted, and their armies commenced their march towards Madrid.

On the 20th of July a conjunction of the forces took place, and measures were immediately consulted, for carrying into effect the plan which had been agreed upon by the generals. The result was, that Sir Robert Wilson, commanding a corps of Portuguese, amounting to from 3,000 to 4,000 men, whom he had been at very considerable pains to bring into a state of excellent discipline, was ordered to proceed to Escalona, on the river Alberché; the corps under Venegas advanced to Argonda; and the main strength of the allied army marched on to meet the enemy, who were posted at Olalla, a town in New Castile.

The junction and march of the allied army up the valley of the Tagus having taken place, and a march having commenced towards the French under Victor, a general engagement was daily expected. Prayers were offered up for the success of the allies, to the Supreme Disposer of all events, at the cathedral church of Seville, at which the central junta attended in a body. General Cuesta's advanced-guard was attacked on the 26th of July, near Torrijos, and was obliged to fall back to the left bank of the Alberché. The army of the enemy, remaining still at Olalla, indicated its determination of trying the result of a general action.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, prompted by such a seeming resolution of the French, was not one to disappoint them in their intentions; and therefore, considering that the neighbourhood of Talavera del Reyna, a town half-way between Placentia and Madrid, and about sixty or seventy miles distant from both, was a good position; and General Cuesta having consented to take up this position, on the 27th in the morning, the British General Sherbrooke was ordered to retire with his corps to its situation in the line, leaving General Mackenzie, with a division of infantry and

a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood on the right of the Alberché, which covered the left flank of the allies.

An extent of nearly two miles was taken up by the position of the troops at Talavera. Where the British troops were stationed, the ground was open on the left, and was commanded by a height, on which a division of infantry, under Major-General Hill, was drawn up in echelon, and in second line. Still farther to the left was a valley, unoccupied on account of being commanded by the height, which was situated between that height and the mountains, the range of which appeared at too much distance to have any influence on the expected action. Immediately in front of the town of Talavera, down to the Tagus, were stationed the Spanish troops, forming the right wing of the allied army. Great part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and intersected by banks and ditches. A heavy battery, in front of a church, was occupied by Spanish infantry, which defended the high-road, leading from the bridge over the Alberché. The town itself, and all its avenues, were defended in a similar manner. There was also a commanding spot in the centre, between the British and Spanish armies, on which the British had begun to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in the rear; at this spot was posted a division of infantry, supported by a brigade of dragoons and some Spanish cavalry.

The alacrity of the British forces in preparing to join the Spanish army was mentioned, in a very expressive manner, by Sir Arthur Wellesley in his first dispatch to Lord Castlereagh, dated from Placentia, 15th July, 1809, and is as follows:

"My Lord,—After I had written to your lordship on the 1st instant, Joseph Bonaparte crossed the Tagus again, and joined Sebastiani with the troops he had brought from Madrid, and with a detachment he had brought from Marshal Victor's corps, making the corps of Sebastiani about 28,000 men, with an intention of attacking Vanegas' corps. Vanegas, however, retired into the mountains of the Sierra Morena, and Colonel Larcy, with his advanced-guard, attacked a French advanced corps in the night, and destroyed many of them.

"The French troops then returned again to the Tagus, which river Joseph had crossed with the reinforcements which he had taken to Sebastiani's corps; and this last corps, consisting of 10,000 men only, was on the left bank of the Tagus, about Madnelejos, in front of Vanegas, who was again advancing.

"The last accounts from this quarter were of the 8th.

"The French army under Victor, joined by

the detachments brought by Joseph from Sebastiani's corps, and amounting in the whole to about 35,000 men, are concentrated in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and on the Alberché; General Cuesta's army has been in the position which I informed your lordship that it had taken up since I addressed you on the 1st instant.

"The advanced-guard of the British army arrived here on the 8th, and the troops which were with me on the Tagus arrived by the 10th; the 23d light dragoons, and the 48th arrived yesterday; the 61st regiment will arrive to-morrow.

"I went to General Cuesta's quarters at Almaraz on the 10th, and stayed there till the 12th, and I have arranged with that general a plan of operations upon the French army, which we are to begin to carry into execution on the 18th, if the French should remain so long in their position.

"The Spanish army under General Cuesta consists of about 28,000 men, (exclusive of Vanegas's corps) of which 7,000 are cavalry. About 14,000 men are detached to the bridge of Arzobispo, and the remainder are in the camp under the Puerte de Mirabete.

"I have the pleasure to inform your lordship, that the seven battalions of infantry from Ireland and the islands, and the troop of horse-artillery from Great Britain, arrived at Lisbon in the beginning of the month.

"General Craufurd's brigade is on its march to join the army, but will not arrive here till the 24th or 25th.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

This dispatch was truly indicative of the energy with which the British government was desirous to conduct the campaign in the Peninsula; but the next dispatch, dated at Talavera del Reyna, July 24th, fully evinced the vast inconveniencies which both the British and Spanish forces were compelled to suffer.

"My Lord,—According to the arrangement which I had settled with General Cuesta, the army broke up from Placentia on the 17th and 18th instant, and reached Oropesa on the 20th, where it formed a junction with the Spanish army under his command.

"Sir Robert Wilson had marched from the Venta de Bazagon, on the Tietar, with the Lusitanian legion, a battalion of Portuguese chasseurs, and two Spanish battalions on the 15th; he arrived at Arrenas on the 19th, and on the Alberché, at Escalona, on the 23d.

"General Vanegas had also been directed to break up from Madrilejos on the 18th and 19th, and to march by Trembleque and Ocana to Puente duenas on the Tagus, where that river is

crossed by a ford, and thence to Arganda, where he was to arrive on the 22d and 23d.

"On the 22d, the combined armies moved from Oropesa, and the advanced-guards attacked the enemy's outposts at Talavera. Their right was turned by the 1st hussars and the 23d light-dragoons under General Anson, directed by Lieutenant-general Payne, and by the division of infantry under the command of Major-general Mackenzie, and they were driven in by the Spanish advanced-guards, under the command of General Sarjas, and the Duke d'Albuquerque.

"We lost eleven horses by the fire of cannon from the enemy's position on the Alberché, and the Spaniards had some men wounded.

"The columns were formed for the attack of this position yesterday; but the attack was postponed till this morning by desire of General Cuesta, when the different corps destined for the attack were put in motion, but the enemy had retired at about one in the morning to Santa Olalla, and thence towards Torrijos; I conclude to form a junction with the corps under General Sebastiani.

"I have not been able to follow the enemy as I could wish, on account of the great deficiency of means of transport in Spain. I enclose the copy of a letter, which I thought it proper to address upon this subject to Major-general O'Donoghue, the adjutant-general of the Spanish army, as soon as I found that this country would furnish no means of this description.

"General Cuesta has urged the central junta to adopt vigorous measures to relieve our wants; till I am supplied, I do not think it proper, and indeed I cannot continue my operations. I have great hopes, however, that before long I shall be supplied from Andalusia and La Mancha with the means which I require, and I shall then resume the active operations which I have been compelled to relinquish.

"I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Perplexed with these untoward circumstances, and encompassed with difficulties, the British commander-in-chief determined on hazarding an action. He did not suffer trifles to suspend his operations; and, though disaffection pervaded the minds of too many of his countrymen in Great Britain, he considered much more than their haggard ideas had suggested; he considered, as it afterwards proved, that the only effectual warfare to harass French policy must take place in the Peninsula.

His resolution did not waver; for about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the 27th of July, an attack was made on the division under General Mackenzie, who gradually fell back in good or-

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der, though not without some loss, on the left of the position of the combined armies. Towards evening the French made an attempt to overthrow the Spanish infantry, which formed the right wing of the allied army, but the endeavour was unsuccessful. They commenced a general attack, towards the dusk of the evening, on the allies, by a cannonade on the left of their position, and by an attempt with cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry; in this, also, they entirely failed. A division was then pushed along the valley on the left of the height occupied by Major-general Hill, by which the French gained a momentary possession; but Major-general Hill, by an attack with the bayonet, displaced the enemy, and regained his position. His positions were again twice attacked in the night, and at day-light in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of the French infantry; but in both those attacks they were bravely repulsed by General Hill and his troops. The French had also made similar attacks on the troops under General Campbell, but were equally unsuccessful; for that officer, supported by a regiment of Spanish cavalry and two battalions of Spanish infantry, completely discomfited them, and took their cannon. General Sherbrooke's division, which formed the left and centre of the first line of the army, was next attacked; but that division instantly received the enemy with the points of their bayonets, and drove them back with great slaughter. In this part of the contest, the brigade of guards, which had formed part of this division, in their eagerness to pursue the enemy, advanced too far, and were thrown into a temporary confusion, by having exposed their left flank to the fire of a battery; but a part of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, on observing this, pushed forward, and covered them, till they were enabled to regain their original position.

Thus foiled, in every point of attack against the allied army, having also lost twenty pieces of cannon and some of their men, who were taken prisoners, the French considered it most advisable to commence a retreat, which they effected, in good order, across the Alberché.

Their loss in killed and wounded was never calculated with any degree of exactness; but Sir Arthur Wellesley estimated it at 10,000: though the French wished to make it appear that the loss of the allies must have been greater than theirs, owing, they asserted, to the greater number of cannon they were enabled to bring into the field against them. The loss of the British amounted to nearly 6,000 in killed, wounded, and missing. Among the killed, were Major-general Mackenzie, Brigadier-general Langworth, and Brigadier-general Beckett. As the Spanish troops were only engaged partially, their loss was com-

paratively small, not exceeding 1,000 in killed, wounded, and missing.

In order to do sufficient justice to the merits of the commander-in-chief, and those under his command, we think it proper to give the account of this brilliant action which Sir Arthur Wellesley addressed to Lord Castlereagh:

“Talavera del Reyna, July 29, 1809.

“My Lord,—General Cuesta followed the enemy's march with his army from the Alberché on the morning of the 24th, as far as Santa Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced-guard as far as Torrijos.

“For the reasons stated to your lordship, in my dispatch of the 24th, I moved only two divisions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry across the Alberché to Casalegos, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between General Cuesta and me, and with Sir Robert Wilson's corps at Escalona.

“It appears that General Vanegas had not carried into execution that part of the plan of operations which related to his corps, and that he was still at Damiel, in La Mancha; and the enemy in the course of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, collected all his forces on this part of Spain, between Torrijos and Toledo, leaving but a small corps of 2,000 men in that place.

“His united army thus consisted of the corps of Marshal Victor, of that of General Sebastiani, and of seven or eight thousand men, the guards of Joseph Bonaparte, and the garrison of Madrid, and it was commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, aided by Marshals Jourdan and Victor, and General Sebastiani.

“On the 26th General Cuesta's advanced-guard was attacked near Torrijos, and obliged to fall back, and the general retired with his army on that day to the left bank of the Alberché, General Sherbrooke continuing at Casalegos, and the enemy at Santa Olalla.

“It was then obvious, that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, for which the best position appeared to be in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and General Cuesta having consented to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, I ordered General Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving General Mackenzie, with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood on the right of Alberché, which covered our left flank.

“The position taken up by the troops at Talavera extended rather more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was, in echelon and in second

line, a division of infantry under the orders of Major-general Hill.

"There was a valley between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, which valley was not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height before-mentioned; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence upon the expected action.

"The right, consisting of Spanish troops, extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberché, was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks on the roads which led from the town and the right, to the left of our position.

"In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which we had commenced to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear.

"Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell was posted at this spot with a division of infantry, supported in his rear by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, and some Spanish cavalry.

"At about two o'clock on the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberché, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie's division.

"The attack was made before they could be withdrawn; but the troops, consisting of General Mackenzie's and Colonel Donkin's brigades, and General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and supported by General Payne with the other four regiments of cavalry, in the plain between Talavera and the wood, withdrew in good order, but with some loss, particularly by the 2d battalion 67th regiment, and 2d battalion 31st regiment, in the wood.

"Upon this occasion the steadiness and discipline of the 45th regiment, and of the 5th battalion 60th regiment, were conspicuous; and I had particular reason for being satisfied with the manner in which Major-general Mackenzie withdrew his advanced-guard.

"As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in larger numbers on the right of the Alberché, and it was obvious that he was advancing to a general attack upon the combined army.

"General Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the position of the combined armies, where he was placed in the second line, in the rear of the guards, Colonel Donkin being placed in the same situation fur-

ther upon the left, in the rear of the King's German legion.

"The enemy immediately commenced his attack in the dusk of the evening, by a cannonade upon the left of our position, and by an attempt with his cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry, posted, as I have before stated, on the right. This attempt failed entirely.

"Early in the night he pushed a division along the valley on the left of the height occupied by General Hill, of which he gained a momentary possession, but Major-general Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and regained it.

"This attack was repeated in the night, but failed, and again, at day-light in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of infantry, and was repulsed by Major-general Hill.

"Major-general Hill has reported to me in a particular manner the conduct of the 29th regiment, and of the 1st battalion 48th regiment, in these different affairs, as well as that of Major-general Tilson, and Brigadier-general Richard Stewart.

"We have lost many brave officers and soldiers in the defence of this important point in our position; among others I cannot avoid to mention Brigade-major Fordyce, and Brigade-major Gardner; and Major-general Hill was himself wounded, but I am happy to say, but slightly.

"The defeat of this attempt was followed, about noon, by a general attack with the enemy's whole force upon the whole of that part of the position occupied by the British army.

"In consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on our left by the valley, I had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d'Albuquerque's division of Spanish cavalry.

"The enemy then placed light infantry in the range of mountains on the left of the valley, which were opposed by a division of Spanish infantry, under Lieutenant-general De Bassecourt.

"The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to attack the height occupied by Major-general Hill. These columns were immediately charged by the first German light dragoons and 23d dragoons, under the command of General Anson, directed by Lieutenant-general Payne, and supported by General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23d dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy's plan.

"At the same time he directed an attack upon Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell's position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British.

"This attack was most successfully repulsed

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by Brigadier-general Campbell, supported by the King's regiment of Spanish cavalry, and two battalions of Spanish infantry; and Brigadier-general Campbell took the enemy's cannon.

"The Brigadier-general mentions particularly the conduct of the 97th, the 2d battalion 7th, and of the 2d battalion of 53d regiments, and I was highly satisfied with the manner in which this part of the position was defended.

"An attack was also made at the same time upon Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army.

"This attack was most gallantly repulsed by a charge with bayonets, by the whole division, but the brigade of guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were exposed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy's battery, and of their retiring columns; and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position, under cover of the second line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, which I had moved from the centre, and of the 1st battalion 48th regiment.

"I had moved this regiment from its original position on the heights, as soon as I observed the advance of the guards, and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and covered the formation of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division.

"Shortly after the repulse of this general attack, in which apparently all the enemy's troops were employed, he commenced his retreat across the Alberché, which was conducted in the most regular order, and was effected during the night, leaving in our hands twenty pieces of cannon, ammunition tumbrils, and some prisoners.

"Your lordship will observe by the inclosed return the great loss which we have sustained of valuable officers and soldiers in this long and hard-fought action, with more than double our numbers. That of the enemy has been much greater. I am informed that entire brigades of infantry have been destroyed, and indeed the battalions that retreated were much reduced in numbers. By all accounts, their loss is 10,000 men, Generals Lapisse and Morlot are killed; Generals Sebastiani and Boulet wounded.

"I have particularly to lament the loss of Major-general Mackenzie, who had distinguished himself on the 27th; and of Brigadier-general Langworth, of the King's German legion, and of Brigade-major Beckett, of the guards.

"Your lordship will observe, that the attacks of the enemy were principally, if not entirely, directed against the British troops. The Spanish commander-in-chief, his officers and troops, manifested every disposition to render us assistance, those of them which were engaged did their duty; but the ground which they occupied was so important, and its front at the same time so diffi-

cult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement on the left of the enemy while he was engaged with us.

"I have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of all the officers and troops. I am much indebted to Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke for the assistance I received from him, and for the manner in which he led on his division to the charge with bayonets.

"To Lieut.-general Payne and the cavalry, particularly General Anson's brigade, to Major-generals Hill and Tilson, Brigadier-generals Alexander Campbell, Richard Stewart, and Cameron, and to the divisions and brigades of infantry under their commands respectively, particularly the 29th regiment, commanded by Colonel White, the first battalion 48th, commanded by Colonel Donnelan, afterwards, when that officer was wounded, by Major Middlemore; the 2d battalion 7th, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Myers; the 2d battalion 53d, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Bingham; the 97th, commanded by Colonel Lyon; the 1st battalion of detachments, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Bunbury; and the 2d battalion 31st, commanded by Major Watson; and of the 45th commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Guard; and the 5th battalion 60th, commanded by Major Davy, on the 27th.

"The advance of the brigade of guards was most gallantly conducted by Brigadier-general Campbell, and when necessary, that brigade retired, and formed again in the best order.

"The artillery, under Brigadier-general Horwath, was also, throughout these days, of the greatest service; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the assistance I received from the chief engineer, Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, the adjutant-general, Brigadier-general the Hon. C. Stewart, and the Quarter-master-general, Colonel Murray, and the officers of those departments respectively, and from Colonel Bathurst and the officers of my personal staff.

"I have also received much assistance from Colonel O'Lawlor, of the Spanish service, and from Brigadier-general Whittingham, who was wounded when bringing up the two Spanish battalions to the assistance of Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell.

"I send this by Captain Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who will give your lordship any further information, and whom I beg leave to recommend.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Though the battle of Talavera has been censured by some, yet the impartial politician must confess that it was highly honorable to the commander-in-chief, and equally so to the army

under his command. The latter evinced, in an exemplary manner, their steadiness, discipline, and courage. Sir Arthur Wellesley displayed his skill in military operations, and his wisdom, by his confidence in such an army of British heroes: and, in one circumstance, his prudence was as remarkable as his prowess, in the use he made of the assistance of the Spanish army. Had he allowed that army to have taken an active part in the battle, he thought it very probable that the Spaniards might have been agitated, as in former instances, by panic, and consequently be defeated, and throw the whole army into confusion; he therefore, well considering their nature, posted the Spaniards on strong ground, difficult of access; thus at once employing them as an impenetrable wing to his own army, and securing them for future operations. An army, which had not consistency enough to impel their courage to commence an attack, might yet be equal to the service of a pursuit; and thus it was that Sir Arthur thought proper to employ them.

In the annals of history there can be nothing traced to surpass the bravery which the British troops evinced in this battle, where 24,000 British stood the attack, and defeated such superior numbers of French, headed by generals of known celebrity, after two days and nights hard fighting. The dispatches, and the letter of thanks from his majesty to the troops after the battle, proved how highly the government appreciated the valour of the army; and medals were struck off and presented to commanders of regiments, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonels.

It is a circumstance worthy of observation, because it shows the coolness and intrepidity of the troops, that, during the action of the 28th, and at the time the enemy's guns were playing on the left of the British line with great effect, a solitary hare was started on the plain and valley on the left of the height, by a shell accidentally bursting near the cover of the affrighted animal, who, being discovered by the divisions on the height, and in the valley, a *halloo* was set up by the men, much to the annoyance of the general officers, who, however, could not prevent them enjoying the chase in fancy, until the timid creature, unable to extricate itself, (the artillery playing from every direction in which it attempted to retreat,) was shot with a bullet by a soldier of the rifle battalion of the 60th regiment. The diversion this chase afforded to the soldiers sufficiently proves that their minds could not have been overpowered by fear.

During the second day of the battle, the face of the ground changed from straw-colour to black, the power of the sun having parched the ground, together with the weed and stubble, then its only produce. The explosion of a shell instantly fired it; and on reaching the pouch or

magazine of the wounded, who were unable to assist themselves, would either blow up the sufferer altogether, or irretrievably injure him.

The effect of a shell when exploding in a proper range, is terribly destructive, twenty men falling under the influence of this combustible in a second. Sometimes it will make its way through an entire column; and, in one instance, where a shell exploded in the centre of a French column, the whole were thrown into entire disorder. A ricochet-ball having struck an English tumbril near the height, blew up its contents and killed Brigadier-major Gardiner, of General Stewart's brigade, and badly wounded some officers of the sixtieth regiment:—the 48th regiment and buffs received much damage in the same way; and one shell fell on the height on which the commander-in-chief placed himself, and destroyed a tumbril, four horses, and all the people near it at the time.

Colonel Gordon, 83d regiment, after being previously wounded, and in the act of being removed from the field in a blanket, was (together with those around him) blown to pieces by a shell, which, in a most unhappy manner, rolled after him. This officer had the respect of his regiment, and was considered by all to be a great loss to the service.

Colonel Muter, third buffs, was struck by a shell on the head, while sitting, among a number of officers, on the side of the height, remarking upon the enemy's movement. He was universally esteemed, and deeply regretted by the buffs.

Among the many brave officers who fell, or received mortal wounds, at Talavera, none was to be more regretted than Lieutenant-colonel Charles Donnellan, first battalion 48th regiment, who received a wound in the knee, which proved mortal, while leading his battalion to the charge, in support of the guards, who were thrown into confusion from having advanced too far after the enemy. Colonel Donnellan was one who governed his regiment without flogging; and Sir David Baird publicly declared the second battalion forty-eighth regiment, when on the Curragh, of Kildare, in 1808, as fine a regiment, and in as high a state of discipline, as he could desire to command. The abolition of flogging, of course, gained him the affection of the privates; and although he frequently spoke harshly to the officers, he never would injure them by unnecessary courts-martial, or stopping their promotion: and, with the name of a very severe commanding-officer, he was looked upon as a father by all, and familiarly styled Charley, an appellation by which he frequently heard himself commented on in the tents or barrack-rooms, by the men, unconscious of his proximity at the moment. He was promoted to the first battalion in Gibraltar, and

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joined it early in the year 1809; his removal was deeply regretted by the soldiers of the second. On the day of the battle, the colonel was dressed according to his regimental order, for a garrison town—stiff leather breeches and long boots, hair powdered, &c. and expressed much displeasure against the enemy, who wounded two of his horses with their (as he expressed himself) “long muskets, made to shoot from two miles off.” On receiving his wound, he was in front of the battle; it was very severe, and seemed to disable him at once. He, however, took off his hat, and, gracefully bowing, called Major Middlemore to take the command. If there had been surgical assistance in time, and his leg and part of his thigh amputated, it was thought he might have lived; but, in three days symptoms of mortification appeared, and he was left in Talavera, where he almost immediately died; on his death-bed, he desired to be particularly remembered to all his brave officers, and begged, if he had offended them, that they would excuse his hasty temper, when he was no more. This brave officer was buried by the French grenadiers of the regiment in Talavera, on or near the spot where he received his wound, with the real honors of war.

We shall devote the remainder of this chapter to a biographical sketch of the illustrious commander-in-chief, (afterwards Duke of Wellington) previously to his sailing from Ireland to take the command of the expedition to Portugal and Spain.

Arthur Wellesley, the fifth son of the Earl of Mornington, received the rudiments of his education at Eton College, whence he was removed to the Military Academy at Angers, in France. He applied himself with great industry, during his residence there, in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the theory of that profession to which he had devoted his future life, entered the British army as a subaltern, at an early period, and obtained the rank of a field-officer, without having had any opportunity of distinguishing himself till the year 1794, when he displayed his military talents, while conducting the retreat of three battalions, which he effected with great credit.

The Marquis Wellesley having been appointed to be the Governor-general of Bengal, Sir Arthur, who had purchased the lieutenant-colonelcy of the thirty-third, accompanied his regiment to India. On his arrival, an expedition being then on foot for the reduction of Manilla, Sir Arthur was appointed to it, and had actually embarked, when it was found necessary to abandon the expedition, on account of the intrigues of France with Tippoo Sultan.

Lieutenant-general Harris had been appointed to command the Madras army, destined to act against Tippoo, and penetrate into the Mysore country; upon the arrival of the Nizam's sub-

sidary force, consisting of nearly 15,000 native troops, General Harris appointed Colonel Wellesley to command it, as a separate body. When Seringapatam was stormed, (See Book III. chap. XV.) the colonel commanded the reserve at that ever memorable assault; and he was thanked in public orders by General Harris, for his gallant intrepidity. In the commission of British officers, selected to arrange the division of the Mysore territories, Colonel Wellesley was appointed for the division of the prize treasure taken in Seringapatam.

Our hero's next appointment was that of governor of the conquered capital; a task the most difficult, and which required great integrity and military ability, united to much prudence and judgment. In this arduous employment, and for the meritorious discharge of this difficult duty, Colonel Wellesley received the thanks of the governor-general in council.

General Harris having quitted India for Europe, and the command of the Madras army devolving upon Major-general Braithwaite, Colonel Wellesley was entrusted with an expedition against the freebooter, Dhondia Waugh, of whom it was necessary to make a severe example, from the excesses which he had committed on the company's possessions. Having taken the field, at the head of a proper force, our hero entered the Nizam's territories, and after a series of rapid and vigorous movements, intercepted Dhondia Waugh's force at Conaghuill, where it was strongly posted, having its rear and left flank covered by a rock and the village. Although the horse only had come up, Colonel Wellesley, with his wonted intrepidity, determined on an immediate attack; and having placed himself at the head of the nineteenth and twenty-fifth light dragoons, and first and second regiments of native cavalry, which he extended into one line, to prevent his being out-flanked, he formed a sudden attack on the enemy. Dhondia's force shewed much firmness, but could not withstand the charge. His army gave way, and were pursued for several miles. Dhondia himself, with immense numbers of his followers, were killed, and the whole body completely and effectually dispersed. The thanks of General Braithwaite, and of the governor-general in council, were conveyed to Colonel Wellesley, for the great and unremitting activity, with which he had conducted these important operations.

On the commencement of the Mahratta war (November, 1802) Lord Clive, then at the head of the Madras government, having assembled an army of 19,000 men, the command of which he had entrusted to Lieutenant-General Stuart, it became necessary to detach a part of this force towards Poonah, the capital of the Perishwah, the British ally, which was menaced by Schindeah

and Holkar. Colonel Wellesley, who had now attained the rank of a major-general, was selected for the important command of the proposed expedition, having under him Colonel Stevenson, and a body of 35,000 men, with a proportionable train of artillery. Of this army, two-thirds were furnished as subsidy by the Nizam, and comprised altogether about 9,000 native cavalry. The Nizam's force being placed under the command of Colonel Stevenson, General Wellesley, at the head of his army of 12,000, deemed it expedient to push on with the greatest rapidity towards Poonah, as it was known that Holkar was in possession of that capital, as well as the person of the Peishwah. On the night of the 19th of April, information having been received, that it was the determination of Holkar to plunder and burn Poonah on the approach of the British troops, General Wellesley pushed forward, over a rugged and difficult country, and through a dangerous pass; and after having accomplished a forced march of sixty miles, reached the Peishwah's capital in the short period of thirty-two hours. The astonishing and unheard-of celerity of this movement saved Poonah from its impending destruction; and in a few days General Wellesley had the satisfaction of restoring this city to its lawful sovereign.

After displaying considerable talent in taking of the city and fortress of Ameduagar, Sir Arthur Wellesley, on his arrival at Naulnair, received information that the combined Mahratta army was posted within six miles of the ground which he intended to occupy; but that the enemy had indicated an intention of breaking up his camp and retreating on the approach of the British army. With a boldness of resolve which shewed the vigour of his judgment, Sir Arthur instantly determined to move forward and force the enemy to a general engagement, although Colonel Stevenson's subsidiary division, which had marched by a different route, had not joined him as he had expected. This resolution having been adopted, he halted and refreshed his army, which had that morning marched fourteen miles. He then moved forward; and after a further march of six miles, performed under the rays of a scorching sun, he came in sight of the enemy, posted with his right on the village of Bokerdun, and his left on that of Assye on the northern bank of the river Kaitreak, near to the Adjunttee pass. Scindeah's army consisted of 38,500 cavalry, 10,500 regular infantry, 500 match locks, 500 rocket men, and 190 pieces of ordnance. General Wellesley's army consisted of only 4,500 men, of whom 2,000 alone were Europeans.

Notwithstanding this awful inequality, the British general approached in front of the enemy's right; but finding he had posted his infantry and guns on the left, he resolved to make his attack

there, formed the necessary movement for that purpose, and placed the British cavalry in the rear, to cover the infantry as they moved round; while on his right flank he stationed the cavalry of the Peishwah and Nizam. He then forded the river beyond the left of the enemy, and formed his army in order of battle, extending his infantry in two lines, the British cavalry in a third, as a reserve, and posting the auxiliary native force so as to cover the left flank of the whole, menaced by a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had followed them from the right of their own position.

The enemy had, by this time, commenced a distant cannonade, when General Wellesley evinced an intention of attacking their left; they then changed their position with great steadiness, as clearly perceiving the mode in which they were to be attacked. Hereupon the British advanced under a most tremendous fire of nearly 150 pieces of the enemy's ordnance, extremely well served. The English artillery, in turn, opened upon the enemy, at an interval of about 100 yards; but were soon rendered incapable of advancing, from the number of men and bullocks that had fallen.

Such a circumstance induced the British general to abandon his guns, and try the event of a close combat. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his whole line, and placing the British cavalry, under Colonel Maxwell, to cover his right, he advanced with such intrepidity, as completely dismayed the Mahrattas. Notwithstanding their numerous artillery, the enemy's forces found themselves unable to withstand such a charge, and quickly retired upon his second line, which he had posted in front of the Juah river. Here the 74th regiment, which covered the right of the British line, having suffered severely by the enemy's cannon, was charged by a body of Mahratta cavalry; but the British cavalry posted on the right, having repulsed them, charged, in turn, with such resistless impetuosity, that several of the enemy's battalions were driven into the Juah with immense slaughter. The enemy's line now gave way in all directions, and were pursued by Colonel Maxwell, at the head of the British cavalry, across the Juah river, beyond which they were cut down in great numbers.

Several of the enemy's guns had been unavoidably left in the rear, during the heat of the action; at this period they were returned upon the British troops in advance, by the perfidious Mahrattas, who had thrown themselves on the ground, and were consequently passed unmolested by the British soldiers. Such a circumstance encouraged some of the enemy's regular infantry battalions, that had retired in rather better order, to face about and commence a second action, which, being maintained for a short time with great fury, again made the fortune of the day doubtful. But General Wellesley, with his usual gallantry,

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placing himself at the head of the 78th regiment, and 7th battalion of sepoy, compelled the parties who had seized the guns to surrender; though not without some further loss, and considerable personal danger to himself, his horse having been shot under him. The gallant Colonel Maxwell finished the destruction of the enemy, by charging with the 19th light dragoons the battalions which had rallied, and which he entirely broke and dispersed; but unfortunately fell himself in the performance of this duty. These attacks, however, proved decisive to the enemy; the Mahrattas fled in all directions, their dead, amounting to 1,200, covered the field, and their wounded strewed the adjoining country for miles. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon, the whole camp-equipages of the enemy, all their bullocks and camels, and a vast quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors.

General Wellesley now turned his attention to the Rajah of Berar's army, which, after a most fatiguing and unremitting pursuit, he defeated on the plains of Agram, in as decisive a manner as he had done that of Scindeah at Assye, capturing the whole of their elephants and baggage, thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition.

The general then turned his victorious arms against the only remaining important fortress belonging to the enemy—an almost impregnable citadel, named Gawilghar, seated on the summit of a steep hill; which in the course of two days was carried by escalade.

The Rajah of Berar, terrified and amazed at the rapidity of General Wellesley's operations, determined on concluding a peace, without waiting for the concurrence of his ally, Scindeah. This was instantly made known to the British general; and a treaty of peace was immediately concluded. Soon after General Wellesley had the good fortune to conclude a peace with Scindeah. Both treaties were speedily ratified by the

governor-general at Calcutta, and excited the admiration of India, not only for the decision and dispatch with which these acts of diplomacy were executed, but for the moderation and equity which were evident in the conditions. General Wellesley, in the whole of this contest, proved to the world that he possessed, in an eminent degree, those talents for council, as well as for the field, which cannot, without the greatest disadvantage, be separated.

The Mahratta war being thus brought to a happy conclusion, General Wellesley found the reward of his victories in the gratitude and love of his countrymen. A sword, valued at 1,000*l.* was presented by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Thanks were voted to him by both houses of parliament; and his sovereign honoured him by creating him a knight of the Bath. Added to which, the companions of his toils and dangers, as a token of their esteem and regard, presented him with a golden vase, of 2,000 guineas value.

Soon after his return, Sir Arthur accompanied Lord Cathcart in his expedition to Hanover, as commander of a brigade; and this army having again returned to England, he was appointed to the command of a district on the coast. On the death of Marquis Cornwallis, he was gratified with the colonelcy of the 33d regiment, in which he had served thirteen years as lieutenant-colonel.

During the short-lived administration of Lord Grenville, Sir Arthur Wellesley represented an Irish borough in the British parliament, and took an active part in the debates, as far as they concerned his brother, Marquis Wellesley, whose measures, while governor-general of India, were then under discussion. On the appointment of the Duke of Richmond to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Sir Arthur was declared his chief secretary, and accompanied his grace to that kingdom.

The remainder of our hero's brilliant enterprises have been, and, more particularly, remain to be, the subjects of the present history.

CHAPTER IX.

Operations which succeeded the Battle of Talavera.—Daily Progress and Difficulties of the British Army.—Character of the Spanish Leader.—His Resignation.—Arrival of the Marquis Wellesley on a Military Mission.—Retirement of the British Army from the Scene of their recent Triumphs.—Atrocious Conduct of the French in the South and West of Spain.—Affair of St. Payo.—The British Army move towards the Portuguese Frontier.—Positions of the various Armies.—Battle of Ocana.—Action of Alba.

ON the arrival of Joseph Bonaparte, he publicly reproached Victor for not having beaten or taken

the British and Spanish armies, and assured his troops that this grand object should be accom-

plished the next day; but on the evening of that day (July 28) he was seen retiring from the field, the picture of melancholy and despair.

It is now necessary to turn to a relation of the events which caused a gallant and successful British army to retire precipitately from the scene of their late triumphs, and act upon the defensive.

During the stay of the army at Talavera, both before and after the action, the supplies of every kind had been very insufficient, and the inhabitants of that town evinced no disposition to relieve the wants of the British, and to accommodate the sick and wounded. Their removal from Talavera, therefore, was become an object of too much interest to be any longer delayed, particularly as, by Marshal Soult's arrival at Placentia, the provisions expected from that quarter, and for which arrangements were made by the commissariat, had fallen into the enemy's hands.

On the morning of the 3d of August the British army moved from Talavera; but, for an hour after the troops were under arms, they remained uncertain whether it was Sir Arthur Wellesley's intention to advance upon Madrid, or proceed against Marshal Soult, in the contrary direction. Their doubts, however, were soon at an end, for, on leaving the wood of olives, the army began to retrace its former steps, and about two in the afternoon again halted near the town of Oropesa. Although, by this retrograde movement, the British were of necessity compelled to leave behind a considerable number of their sick and wounded, yet less anxiety was felt on this account, as they relied on the Spaniards keeping Victor in check, should he, on being informed of Sir Arthur Wellesley's departure, again attempt to advance: besides, under any circumstances, it would not have been consistent with humanity to have attempted the removal of more of the sick and wounded than were really brought off.

Cuesta, whose force remained nearly entire, having taken little share in the action, promised to maintain the position which the British had so successfully defended; but, in a few hours after their march, the Spanish leader abandoned his post, and, with the whole of his army, followed the route of the British.

This conduct of General Cuesta increased the embarrassments of the situation in which the British army was already placed by Marshal Soult's arrival at Placentia; and all hopes of any effectual co-operation being now at an end, the commander of the forces determined to withdraw his troops over the bridge of Arzobispo, with a view of covering Seville and the south of Spain, and at the same time to preserve the communication open with Lisbon.

In pursuance of these objects, on the following morning the march was resumed; and, after

having experienced considerable difficulties and privations, the whole of the British army arrived in the valley watered by the Elmonite on the 11th of August.

Although there can be no pleasure in dwelling on the particulars of a march performed under such circumstances, yet, perhaps, a detail of the daily progress made by the British troops, through these inhospitable mountains, may prove somewhat interesting.

At day-break on the 4th of August, the troops were under arms, but did not move from the ground on which they bivouacked until nine o'clock. A very small quantity of bread was issued to the army, which then marched down two leagues to the bridge of Arzobispo, and crossing the Tagus, halted for the night on the opposite bank. It was reported that the Spaniards, on the approach of the enemy, had removed the bridge of Almaraz, and many expected the one at this place would have been destroyed, the more effectually to secure the rear.

The troops advanced six leagues over a difficult country, on the 5th, and about four in the afternoon bivouacked on a hill near the village of Val-de-la-Cosa.

On the 6th, their march, three leagues only, was through a mountainous district. About noon the column halted in a romantic spot, near the small river d'Ibor. Several working parties were employed in dragging the artillery up the heights until a late hour.

The country, on the 7th, was even more mountainous and rugged than that through which the army passed the preceding day; consequently, little progress was made. The heat was excessive, and the troops began to sink under their fatigues. The army had been without bread on the 5th and 6th. A small quantity of flour was received on the 6th, but no wine could be procured to raise the drooping spirits and recruit the exhausted strength of the soldiers.

Although the troops assembled at four in the morning of the 8th, yet the march was deferred nearly five hours, to give the artillery time to ascend the heights. About noon, they halted on the banks of a small stream, a league from Deleytosa. The villages through which the British had passed, since leaving Arzobispo, were nearly deserted and ruinous. Not one article of the necessities of life could be procured in any of them.

At five, on the morning of the 9th, the troops were in motion. About eight o'clock they passed the town of Deleytosa, and halted two miles beyond, in a wood on the left of the town of Truxillo, situated on a hill, apparently at the distance of six leagues. A very inadequate proportion of flour and biscuit was issued the day before, but the troops received a tolerable supply of the latter this morning.

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Marshal Soult, after making an unsuccessful attempt to force the bridge of Arzobispo, passed the Tagus, with a body of cavalry, at a ford about two miles above, and surprised the Spaniards in their position. The latter retreated, after a slight resistance, pursued by the French. It was feared the whole of their artillery would fall into the enemy's hands. The Duke of Albuquerque had arrived at head-quarters.

In the general orders of this day the army was informed that the charge of three-pence *per diem* only would be made to those troops who had not received their rations regularly since the 22d of July. During the march a number of bullocks, sheep, and goats, were driven forward, for the daily consumption of the army. The provisions were cooked over-night for the following day, and being divided into messes, each man carried his dinner in his tin. This was in general the arrangement throughout the campaign.

On the 10th the troops halted, but were kept in readiness to move at a moment's notice. It was asserted, that the French were marching to the south, by the way of Guadaloupe. This halt proved extremely serviceable from the repose it afforded to the troops and to the horses of the artillery, whose labours had been very severe for some days past. The Spaniards, indeed, declared that the road by which the army marched over the mountains was impracticable; but, contrary to their opinion, the whole of the artillery and stores were ultimately brought forward. Many horses died from fatigue, and the troops, in several places, were obliged to drag the guns and ammunition-waggons up the heights.

The troops moved off their ground at day-light, Aug. 11, and about eight o'clock came upon the high-road from Madrid to Cadiz, one of the best in Europe; shortly afterwards they passed the ruined village of Iaracejo, where are the remains of a Moorish castle, and halted about mid-day on the banks of the Elmonte. Their head-quarters were at Iaracejo.

Marshal Soult was again in Placentia, and his out-posts at Coria. Some British soldiers, who were left sick in that city, fell into his hands, but afterwards made their escape, and arrived at Zarza Major, where Marshal Beresford was, with the two brigades of infantry, under the command of Generals Lightburne and Catlin Craufurd. Sir R. Wilson had retired into Portugal, after a severe action with part of Ney's corps, near the pass of Banos. The French had their piquets on the right bank of the Tagus, opposite to Almaraz, where General Robert Craufurd was stationed with a division in advance. His men bathed in the river, and exchanged civilities with the enemy, without receiving the smallest molestation.

The Spanish leader, General Cuesta, was such an infirm old man, that he was obliged to be lift-

ed into his saddle, and as he could not remain long at a time on horseback, an ancient family-coach, drawn by six mules, was in constant attendance. He was said to possess the entire confidence of his troops, which was no doubt the reason of his being selected to command an army of patriots which ought to have had an officer of youth, vigour, and talent at its head. Cuesta, however, thought proper to resign the command, and was succeeded by General d'Eguia.

By the courtesy of Marshal Mortier, who commanded at Talavera, accounts had been received of the wounded. He had placed sentries over the quarters of the officers and hospitals, to prevent any of their property being pillaged, and had advanced money to some out of his own pocket.

On the morning of the 20th of August, soon after day-break, the 1st and 4th divisions of the army quitted the valley d'Elmonte, in which they had halted since the 11th, and, after a march of four leagues, reached Truxillo, close to which the troops bivouacked for the night, and proceeded in a similar manner on their retreat.

The resignation of General Cuesta was immediately communicated by the British general to his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, who on the 31st of July had arrived at Cadiz, on a military mission, and met with a splendid reception.

Such was the incapacity of the British forces, from want of supplies, that their retirement (as before observed) was judged absolutely necessary. The British general accordingly quitted Truxillo, and was induced to halt for a few days at Merida. He ordered Brigadier-general Catlin Craufurd to join the army with the 11th and 57th, and four of the battalions arrived from Ireland, and that the horse-artillery, and the horse for the artillery, recently sent from Cork, should come up from Lisbon.

At this time (September 4) the enemy continued nearly in the same positions they were on the 21st of August. Marshal Ney was at Salamanca, and there appeared to be another French corps in Old Castile, supposed to be the 6th corps, under the command of General Kellermann. Marshal Soult was at Coria, with his advanced posts at Moralejo and Zarza Major; but he had not with him more than from 6,000 to 8,000 men. Marshal Mortier was at Arzobispo, and two divisions of Victor's corps were at Talavera, and the remainder in La Mancha with the 4th corps, hitherto called Sebastiani's. That general was dead of his wounds.

The Spanish head-quarters had been moved from Deleytosa to Truxillo, partly in consequence of their finding it difficult to support their army in the exhausted country upon the left bank of the Tagus, and partly on account of orders received from the junta, to detach the greatest

part of the army to La Carolina, leaving only 12,000 men in Estremadura. They still occupied La Mesa d'Ibor and the Puerto de Mirabete, opposite Almaraz, in which last post they relieved the British troops on the 20th. Sir Arthur Wellesley apprehended much danger from this disposition of the forces, and urged the government to make an exertion to maintain their strong position upon the Tagus. But he remained in doubt whether his remonstrances would have any effect; and expected that, if the enemy should make an attack upon Ciudad Rodrigo, he would possess himself of the Tagus, and probably of the Guadiana at the same time.

About the 8th of September, the British army was stationed near the Portuguese frontier; a part of the army was in Portugal, and the remainder on the Spanish territory, occupying a position calculated to menace the flank and rear of the enemy, if he advanced towards Andalusia.

The patriotic cause was considerably assisted by the atrocious conduct of the French in the south and west of Spain, who, finding their condition unsafe, took the strongest measures against the clergy and inhabitants who were attached to their king. The Spaniards, on the other hand, regularly announced to their countrymen the flagrance of these enormities, and failed not to hold up the conduct of those who suffered with courage and dignity as examples.

It was thus that the Seville Gazette, in July, held up the conduct of the following worthy members of the community:—

“The victims who were sacrificed here, on the 3d of June, were, Dr. Pon, Father Gayeta, Juan Massana, N. Aulet, and a serjeant from Soria. The first was a doctor of civil and canon law, of the university of Cervera, and rector of the fortress. Being asked by the judge whether he had distributed fifty muskets, he answered, yes; and that he should do it again, had he an opportunity. Being asked for what purpose he had done it, he answered, to defend his king, religion, and country. It being retorted upon him that he was doing the contrary, since his religion forbade the shedding of blood, his king did not desire it, and his country abhorred it; he replied, that they neither professed nor understood the Roman Catholic apostolic religion, nor acknowledged Ferdinand VII. as their king; that they had, therefore, another country, and it was no wonder that they should speak as they did. Being asked to whom he distributed those muskets, he said, to good and faithful Spaniards, that he would not betray their names. He suffered the *garrote*, a sort of swift and certain strangling to death, by means of a screw.

“The second was a priest, the superior of St. Cayetano. He died the last, having administered

the last consolations of religion to the others, and suffered the *garrote* with the utmost serenity.

“The third was a merchant's clerk, belonging to the house of Llordella. He was convicted of offering to purchase stores belonging to the commandant. Being reproached by the French general with being a traitor, he replied, ‘it is your excellency who is the traitor; who, under the mask of friendship, seized our fortresses. I have but tried to regain what you wickedly robbed us of.’ He was *hanged*.

“This punishment was, in course, to mark by degradation, even in death, so *abominable* an *insinuation*.

“The fourth was also a young man, of whom, as well as of the serjeant, the particulars are not ascertained; but all accounts agree that they were both *hanged*, having merited the appellation of martyrs of their country, and perhaps of their religion.”

Innumerable were the instances of a similar description.

Nor was this confined to the civil classes. The Duke del Parque, as captain-general of Old Castile, finding that, on the advance of some detachments from Ciudad Rodrigo towards Salamanca, the people were so rejoiced as to venture, during the evident despondency of the French divisions there, to shout *Viva Fernando septimo!* and were, in consequence, subjected to punishment, published the following letter, which he had addressed to the French general commanding the troops in Salamanca:

“I have learned that some detachments of my cavalry have arrived at the gates of your city, attacking your advanced-posts, and that they have spread disorder and confusion among your followers; that the renegade Spaniards thought their last hour was come, which probably is not far distant; and that their malice availed itself of this opportunity to gratify private revenge; accusing their fellow-citizens of having affixed writings written by themselves, to furnish a pretence for their iniquities, and who, in consequence, have been thrown into prison, and loaded with irons.

“I cannot behold, with indifference, that the worthy inhabitants of Salamanca should suffer innocently, in consequence of the movements of my troops. I therefore give you notice, general, that I shall execute reprisals, inflicting the same punishment upon an equal number of French prisoners, which you may cause the people of Salamanca to suffer.

“I have also been informed that you do not consider as soldiers the officers and scouts of my army, because they do not wear an uniform, styling them robbers and insurgents, and treating such as fall into your hands as malefactors. Know, general, that they are soldiers, and de-

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serve to be considered as such. They know the laws of war, and observe them better than your men do. One of your generals, and his two adjutants, who were those of Joseph Napoleon, fell into the hands of these partisans, were well treated, and sent to this fortress in safety and with decency. Such has not been the lot of the Spanish generals who have had the misfortune to become your prisoners. Compare the difference there is between the humanity of the Spaniards, whom you call insurgents, because they defend their country and hearths against the most horrible and tyrannical invasion, with your inhumanity, who burn, ravage, and destroy, like Vandals, whatever you reach, profaning temples, massacring women and children, violating women, and committing atrocities unknown to the Goths, Vandals, and even the Moors, when they made their irruptions into Spain. What has your boasted philosophy wrought? Where have the ancient French people hidden themselves, who were once so famed for the gentleness of their manners, and their amiable and enlightened character, and who knew for ages to carry on war, and preserve the characteristic honor of true warriors? No, you do not belong to that noble and distinguished race: or, if you have a connexion with them, it is only as their spurious descendants. As such you have comported yourselves, and as such I shall treat you, if you misuse my brave men, and commit in Old Castile the crimes and horrors you have exhibited in Galicia and Asturias."

Fortune occasionally smiled on the patriotic exertions of the Spaniards. The affair of St. Payo has claims to the title of a battle, and is thus recorded by an intelligent English officer, employed under the most peculiar circumstances on the spot.

"The division of the Minho, the left of the Marquis of Romana's army, under the command of Count Noronia, has obtained a decisive victory over the enemy, at the bridge of St. Payo.

"The division of the Minho, under the command of General Carrera, having defeated the enemy at St. Jago, obliging them to retreat precipitately to Corunna, taking from them forty arobas of church-plate, and a great quantity of other plunder, proceeded to Ponte Vedra, for the purpose of arming the peasant soldiers, and was returning in pursuit of the enemy. On his arrival at Padron, his advanced-guard met that of the enemy, who, having received reinforcements at Corunna, was advancing towards Ponte Vedra.

"The great want of arms and stores under which the Spanish army laboured, and the very heavy rains which had for some days fallen, by which about 40,000 cartridges were destroyed, from the peasants being without cartridge-boxes,

induced the Count of Noronia (who had just joined General Carrera) to fall back towards Vigo, for the two-fold object of receiving the supplies he so much wanted, and securing a position where he might oppose the enemy with advantage.

"The Spanish army passed the river at St. Payo, in launches, the bridge having been previously destroyed, and occupied a strong military position on the left bank. The passage was not impeded by the enemy, who might, from the very superior number of their cavalry, and then of artillery, also have cut off, at least, their rear-guard.

"On the next morning the enemy, in force 8,000, including 600 cavalry and six pieces of artillery, headed by Marshal Ney and General Loison, commenced a vigorous attack, and seemed determined to force the passage of the river: the patriots evinced equal determination to resist. After an incessant fire of cannon and musketry on both sides for ten hours, the enemy ceased at seven in the morning.

"At day-light, the next day, the enemy renewed his attack, and seemed determined at all risks to cross the river; but those who had passed the bridge of Lodi, could not pass the bridge of St. Payo; those who had rapidly crossed the Adda and the Po were not only checked, but obliged precipitately to retreat, before the brave patriots on the banks of the Soto Major. The enemy again opened a heavy fire of shot and shells, with the object of concealing another meditated attack against the bridge of Caldenos, a league and a half higher up the river.—This position, as well as every other where the river was fordable, had been previously occupied by the vigilance of the Spanish generals.

"After a fire of five hours, the enemy, being unable to gain a foot of ground, relinquished the attempt of forcing the bridge of Caldenos, defended by an inferior force.

"In the evening, the enemy proceeded to reconnoitre and sound the river close to the sea-shore—an attempt they were soon obliged to abandon, from the well-directed fire of the regiment of Murrago, which particularly distinguished itself on this and several other occasions.

"That night the enemy devoted himself to his accustomed occupation previous to a retreat, burning houses, destroying provisions, and killing the defenceless. The flight of the peasantry, however, on the enemy's approach, prevented the perpetration of cruelties to the extent to which this barbarous army has had an opportunity, in other parts, of gratifying their inhuman disposition.

"The few, however, who were unable to escape, became victims of their cruelty. One instance is worthy of remark: an infirm old woman, unable to join her family in their flight, was inhumanly butchered in bed.

"At one o'clock the next morning, the enemy commenced a precipitate retreat, leaving thirty-nine unburied dead close to the bridge, forty muskets, a great quantity of clothes, and other plundered articles, and some provisions. Their retreat was towards St. Jago. The Spanish army consisted of 13,000, including 150 cavalry; 4,000, however, of the peasants, were without muskets. The number of cannon was equal on both sides; each had six pieces: the enemy, however, had on their side a six-inch howitzer, of which description of ordnance the Spaniards were destitute. The loss of the Spaniards in killed and wounded amounted to 111; that of the enemy, from what came under our observation, and from the information we have already received, must have been considerably above 300. The number of carts that passed to Ponte Vedra with their wounded, the bones and remains of several bodies which they had burnt, and those discovered buried and hid away, combine to prove this number rather underrated.

"Four gun-boats were fitted out, with the greatest promptness, by the orders of the Spanish commodore. This force contributed most materially to the repulse of the enemy, having kept up a heavy and well-directed fire upon the enemy's flank, wherever the tide permitted their approach to the beach. One two-gun battery was completely razed, and the guns dismounted by the well-directed fire of one of the gun-boats.

"Nothing can exceed the confidence the patriots seem to repose in their generals. Carrera, who has thrice led them to victory, appears to possess the unbounded admiration and confidence of his troops.

"If the enemy had succeeded in forcing the passage of the Soto Major, his object was to attack the castle of Castro, now committed to the custody of Colonel Carrol. *The garrison consisted of a detachment of British soldiers, stragglers from Sir John Moore's army, collected in Asturias by Colonel Carrol, and some marines under Captain Craufurd.*"

The movement of the British army towards the Portuguese frontier became now an important crisis. On the 9th of October the guards broke up their hut encampment, and marched to Talavera la Real; as did General Campbell's brigade to Lobon.

They were next day quartered in Badajos (the capital of Estremadura); the officers on the inhabitants, the men in convents.

To gratify the Spanish feelings, the commander-in-chief (now Lord Viscount Wellington) on the 7th of October gave a ball, on occasion of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke being invested with the order of the Bath. A splendid retinue was assembled from all the principal inhabitants, and softer victories succeeded to that of Talavera.

The birth-day of Ferdinand VII. (October 14) was duly observed, a royal salute fired from the ramparts, &c.

The following were the positions of the various armies, at this time, of the enemy:—

Victor's division was between La Mancha and Talavera de la Reyna. Of the Generals Sebastiani at La Mancha; Mortier at Oropesa, Arzobispo, and Naval Moral; Ney, at Salamanca, with 14,000 men. By the 1st of September Soult was at Placentia, Zarza Major, and Coria, with 8,000 men; Victor at Oropesa with 4,000; Mortier at Talavera, with 10,000; and Sebastiani moving to the south.

The Duke del Parque (who succeeded the Marquis Romana on his departure for the supreme junta as a member) at Ciudad Rodrigo; the Duke of Albuquerque in front, with 10,000 men; General Eguia about to join Vanegas in la Mancha, with 25,000 men, the remains of Cuesta's army.

Early in November, General Areyzaga, with whom were Colonel Roche and Lord Macduff, was at Daniel. Lieutenant-general Don Luis Bassecourt, with his troops, occupied a line between Merida and the Tagus.

On the 13th of September, Lord Blantyre, with the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment, joined General Cameron's brigade at Talavera de Real, &c. and on the 14th General Catlin Craufurd's brigade, comprising 28th, 2d battalion, Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby; 34th, Lieutenant-colonel Maister; and 39th, Lieutenant-colonel Wilson, proceeded to join Lieutenant-general Hill's division at Montijo, Puebla, Nova, and Torremajor.

Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotton was at Merida with the principal cavalry; the light-infantry, under Brigadier-general Robert Craufurd, at Campo Major; Major-general Cole at Olivenza.

The army was reinforced by a troop of horse-artillery, that under Captain Ross having lost many horses when the army retired from Talavera; and the finer brigade of light-infantry under General Craufurd. The spirit of the troops was never higher, notwithstanding the evils they had encountered in the ordinary effects of the close of autumn and a campaign, both of which were on this occasion severer than usual, from the malignance of a fever which prevailed on the frontiers of Spain and Portugal.

The battle of Ocana, however, soon occasioned a change of position in the British army.

Don Juan de Areyzaga, appointed to a Spanish army in all its circumstances respectable, by a mis-judged confidence descended from the mountains to encounter the enemy in the plain, was beaten and dispersed. To this precipitate conduct was principally ascribed the movement of

the British army from the borders of Estremadura, which took place on the 8th of December.

At eight in the morning of that day the guards marched from Badajos with Captain Lawson's brigade of heavy six-pounders, and on the following the king's German legion, with General Cameron's brigade; and early in January, 1810, the whole of the British army had taken up a new position, and was settled in winter quarters.

The commander of the forces, after a visit to Lisbon, to inspect and direct the chain of works constructing there for its defence in the last resort, established himself at Vignu. The main body of the infantry was cantoned in the several towns and villages on the road to the frontier, the 2d division and Major-general Slade's brigade of cavalry excepted, which, under the command of Lieutenant-general Hill, continued in the line of the Tagus.

Brigadier-general Robert Craufurd commanded the out-works on the banks of the Coa, with the light brigade, and 1st German hussars. Next in advance was the 3d division, and Major-general Picton, supported by the 4th. Major-general Cole's was at Guarda Celerico, and the villages in the valley of the Mondego. The brigade of heavy cavalry, under General Fane, was cantoned in Coimbra, and the 16th light dragoons at S. Cambadao.

The rash ignorance of Areyzaga, the commander-in-chief at Ocana, certainly set at nought even the talents of the generals who served under him, among whom there were several who had seen service and obtained considerable credit; and indeed himself had acquired greatly the reputation of personal courage. With his army served the Baron de Crossard, a German nobleman of great experience, who had distinguished himself in the service of Austria, and was employed in a confidential mission from that court, similarly to those British officers who were sent from England on this particular service, upon the simultaneous rising of Spain. To him the Spanish general looked for advice, and from him he received it with a generous frankness that merited the highest praise, and deserved to have been of more utility to the good cause.

By this nobleman, and by the well-informed Lord Macduff, who was also (on the part of Great Britain) with this Spanish army, was laid a plan of operations that promised to produce the best possible result. The army of La Mancha was to pass rapidly through the open country, carry off the detached corps of the enemy, and place itself upon the eastern Tagus, with one division passed over. The rest of the army was to entrench in the mountains. If the positions were found not tenable, it was not to come to battle, but manœuvre so as to gain the mountains of the Guadarama. The Duke of Parque was to ma-

neuvre upon the Escorial, and alarm the French on that side of Madrid; while the Duke of Albuquerque was to move in the direction of Talavera. The British were requested to favour these movements, which, as far as possible, would have been done, though it was not much in a condition to have complied. Thus, by the mere effect of manœuvre, the enemy would have been obliged to retire, until his reinforcements arrived, behind the Ebro, without being able to fight a battle. The first part of the plan was well executed; but owing to the imprudence and folly of Areyzaga, all was lost.

Lieutenant-general Areyzaga was appointed late in October to the command of the army of La Mancha, which had been for some time stationed in and about La Carolina, behind the pass of the Opincopeno, and in the mountains of the Sierra Morena. On the 3d of November, the army, consisting of 6,600 defective cavalry, 43,000 effective infantry, and sixty pieces of cannon, with eight day's provisions in waggons, left La Carolina, and, descending from the mountains into the plains of La Mancha, marched partly by Daymel to the left, and along the high road to Madrid, through Valdepenas and Mansanares, towards the Tagus, in the following order:—the advanced-guard, consisting of 2,000 cavalry, were one day's march in front; then the seven divisions of infantry, with the reserve of cavalry and the head-quarters last. The army had no tents, marched from twenty to thirty English miles a day, and slept in the towns. The French, on its approach, retired across the Guadiana. About the sixth day's march, General Freire, who commanded the cavalry, and who always marched with the advanced-guard, was very near surrounding and taking the French General-of-division Latour Maubourg, with 2,100 horse, at Madrilejos. A serjeant of the dragoons of Alcantara, having deserted at night, gave the enemy intimation; and they had just time to get out of the town, when the Spanish hussars and dragoons attacked them at day-break, with great courage, and killed a great many. The army continued its march through Tembleque to Los Barrios. For three or four days the Spanish cavalry were engaged in very spirited combats with the French cavalry, and always succeeded in driving the enemy. At La Guarda, the day before the army arrived at Los Barrios, the horse-grenadiers of Ferdinand VII. the regiments of Farnese and Pavia, sabred, for four miles, the dragoons of the French rear-guard. No prisoners were taken on these occasions.

The army marched on Ocana. The march was admirable, and the conduct of the cavalry brilliant; the infantry had not been engaged. Just in front of Ocana the French rear-guard of the cavalry presented itself, and was charged. It

opened right and left, and the Spanish dragoons came upon a regiment of infantry, who were drawn up against the town, which gave them a volley, killed 200, and took two pieces of cannon of the horse-artillery: 10,000 French staid all night in the town, and retreated across the Tagus early in the morning, although 30,000 Spanish infantry bivouacked close to the town. The general-in-chief was with them, and of course bore all the blame of this fatal inactivity.

The general, on quitting Carolina, said his intention was to march rapidly upon Madrid, before the French could collect and concentrate their army; but his incapacity became soon evident. He delayed three days at Los Barrios. He then made a very dangerous flank march, by his right, parallel to the Tagus, to Santa Cruz de la Zarza, twenty English miles from Los Barrios. While the army remained at Los Barrios the cavalry was engaged every day. The royal carbiniers distinguished themselves, particularly at Mora, on the left. At Santa Cruz the general threw bridges over the Tagus, and passed a division over. The army continued in this position three days. It had suffered much; the clothing was very bad. The long marches and wet had destroyed the shoes; half the army was barefooted, but the troops were in high spirits. Nothing can exceed the Spanish soldiers for long marches, and supporting hunger and privation of every kind. The French pushed their patrols of cavalry to within half a league of the town. The next morning the general drew out his army in order of battle. The rains had now ceased, but the French did not appear.

In war, one error generally begets another. The Spanish general took the fatal resolution of quitting the mountains, which were behind him, and of going to seek the French, and give them battle in the plains, with soldiers half-famished, badly armed, and imperfectly disciplined.

On the 18th of November the army marched from Santa Cruz back to Los Barrios. The greatest part of the army was ten miles in front of Ocana. Major-general Bernez and the cavalry arrived at Ocana at four o'clock in the afternoon. They found there the French general, Paris, with 800 dragoons and Poles. About 400 Spaniards attacked them. The engagement was well contested: 400 or 500 men on both sides fell by the sword, among whom was General Paris, who was singled out and carried out of the saddle by one of the lanceros of Pavia.

The army bivouacked that night. The next morning the French army, which had been collecting some days, presented itself, having crossed the Tagus in the night. General Areyzaga drew out his army to receive them. His disposition was bad. He divided it into two equal parts; one on each side of Ocana, which stands in an im-

mense plain, and touching the town, both wings *en l'air*. This was bad, because, though it was easy to communicate before and behind the town, yet it divided the line. The ground fell a little in front, and there was a gentle slope to some olive plantations about two miles in front, behind which the French were, amounting to 43,000. There was another error in the disposition: the second line was too near the first, so that there was not room to rally the latter in case of disorder. Most of the cavalry were upon the right flank, in four lines; a vicious disposition, because they made little show, and were neither column nor line. The artillery was all stationed upon the flanks of each division, and was admirably served; the Spanish artillery is their best arm.

At seven o'clock in the morning the skirmishers of the Spanish army, under the young, but distinguished General Zayes, who commanded the advanced-guard, attacked and drove back the French cavalry. Between eight and nine all the Spanish army was in order of battle, about 50,000 men, and the cannonade began on both sides. The French fired from a battery in their centre, diagonally, upon the Spanish right, and struck the cavalry often, who supported the cannonade for a long time with great steadiness and discipline. The French then advanced several strong columns from the olives, and marched towards the Spanish centre and right.

At this moment the Spanish general gave orders to the whole of the line on the right of Ocana to advance, and charge with bayonets; the cavalry moving on also in line with the infantry. The line advanced more than 200 paces. The French columns in the mean time deployed, and gave a great fire of volleys, by battalions, and grape, which checked the Spaniards. The French cavalry attacked the left, and were repulsed; but they entered with their cavalry the centre. They manœuvred under the fire of the Spaniards with several columns, and their cavalry shewed itself on their left. The 7th Spanish division, which was on the right of the infantry, and immediately next the cavalry, was thrown into some confusion, but often rallied, formed column, and returned to the attack. Two regiments of that division behaved nobly; the 1st battalion of the Spanish guards, and the 5th of Seville. They remained in line the whole time, floating backwards and forwards, but always facing the enemy. The guards, who were 900 strong, left fourteen officers and 450 men on the field; the 5th of Seville had 450 in action, and about eighty were accounted for. This was the regiment which so much distinguished itself with Sir Robert Wilson at Puerto de Banos, and which was mentioned by him.

At length a French close column, under Marshal Mortier, marched *au pas de charge*, broke

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the line, and its head came equal to the second line of cavalry. At this instant the French deployed. A great many pieces of artillery in front of the cavalry kept up a heavy discharge of grape, supported by a line of infantry, and the cavalry advanced to charge the right of the Spaniards. The battle was now lost; in a few minutes the whole of the infantry on the right gave way; and the cavalry, seeing this, turned their horses to the rear. The whole of the left of the infantry stood firm, and cheered the general as he passed them; but without saying a word, except that the left should follow him, he quitted the field.

No effort was afterwards made to make the least stand. The whole army fled in the most dreadful confusion. A few squadrons attempted to form up, but gave way again. The rapid fire of the French, their shouts of victory, and the sound of the horses' feet (a sound terrible to the Spaniards in the plains where they had so often been cut to pieces,) augmented the confusion. The cannon was abandoned, and the whole of it was instantly in the power of the French. The French cavalry found themselves in the midst of 30,000 fugitive infantry, who had no position nearer than La Carolina, and were obliged to traverse a plain more than 150 miles in many parts. The French did not pursue beyond the Guadiana.

It is impossible to ascertain what the loss on each side was. The battle lasted about five hours, and the troops were often very near each other, and sometimes mixed. Persons who were on the side of the Tagus with the French, said they lost 6,000 men, but the number was probably exaggerated. It is certain that up to the battle they had lost 1,000 cavalry. The Spaniards only saved four or five pieces of artillery, and hardly any baggage. The Spanish soldiers fought with great valour; but what folly to commit on a plain such young troops with veterans! Had they been in a position, or in mountains, the battle would have probably had a different termination. The Spaniards cannot manœuvre under fire, which the French do with almost as much facility as on parade. The regiment of Murcia was cut to pieces. The Spanish loss was 5,000 killed and wounded, and 15,000 prisoners.

Marshal Victor, who had crossed the Tagus at Villanaurique, pursued all night. At ten o'clock he overtook 800 Spanish dragoons at Sillo, twenty miles from Ocana, who were so fatigued, having been saddled thirty-six hours, and who had unbridled their horses, that they were all made prisoners.

General Areyzaga, on the first appearance of the enemy, mounted into the steeple of Ocana. On descriing the enemy he felt much alarmed, and now, for the first time, perceived what was

likely to be the consequence of his rashness and presumption. He went to the left, and before the battle was quite lost, he quitted the field. At this time Lord Macduff, who had been constantly in the midst of the battle, anxiously-entreated Major-general the Marquis of Molespina, who commanded the horse, and was second in command of the army, to endeavour to retrieve the fortune of the day. At that instant the French cavalry broke the centre!

As if too render this unfortunate affair the more signal, previous to the fatal march, the Baron de Crossard thus addressed himself in writing to the Spanish general:

"Possessing too slight a claim to the confidence of your excellency, to be personally informed of your present and ulterior intentions, the situation of your army, that of the co-operating corps, and also that of the enemy, I can only form my opinion by what I see, and by the reports of those whom every appearance concurs to accredit. If I am to confide in these reports, your excellency is resolved to march against the enemy, to offer him battle.

"Upon this supposition, I should be unworthy of the confidence with which I have been honoured by the supreme governing junta of the Kingdoms of Spain and the Indies, and also of your excellency's esteem, if I had not, at the present moment, the firmness respectfully to submit to you the reflections suggested by that resolution.

"Yesterday your excellency concurred with me as to the danger there would be in putting to hazard the affairs of your country, and of thus compromising the interests of Europe, so intimately united with those of Spain. You appeared to me to be sensibly impressed with the honor of delivering Madrid and Castile, by continuing the same grand movements by which you have hitherto driven the enemy before you; and seemed to be very little influenced by the glory of gaining a battle, the success of which is almost always owing more to chance than to the talents of the general; whereas the success acquired by movements crown his trophies, by attesting his genius. But as a battle is the last resource of a general, permit me, with a view to a just decision, to state the causes which authorize a recourse to the chances of an engagement. A general offers battle when he finds his supplies cut off, or obstructed; when, by a combined operation, he is sure of totally destroying the enemy; when either from the quality of his troops, or the advantage of the ground, he possesses a manifest and decided superiority; when it is necessary to anticipate the arrival of reinforcements expected by the enemy, and whose junction would reduce him to an impossibility of keeping the field; when it is of importance to relieve a besieged place; when the consequences of a defeat can,

in no case, countervail the advantages that would result from victory; in short, when his object cannot be attained but by a battle.

"These, sir, if I am not mistaken, are the principal situations in which every thing may be abandoned to the hazard of a battle. But I am of opinion, that your excellency is in no one of these situations.

"Having in your rear the most fertile provinces of Spain, and master of the main-roads that lead to them, the abundance which prevails in your excellency's camp banishes every idea of scarcity.

"It is important that a battle should be part of a combined plan between your excellency and the co-operating corps; but such a supposition, in the present case, would shew the absence of all calculation.

"With the exception of the valour and good dispositions with which your excellency has been able to animate your troops, the superiority in all military points incontestably belongs to the enemy.

"By marching voluntarily against the enemy, your excellency yields to him all the advantages of a position which he will have studied in every respect, to which he will have adapted his evolutions, and where he will have distributed his artillery; whereas the march of yesterday has proved to your excellency the difficulty of putting yours in motion.

"The same cause leaves your excellency as little hope of deriving any advantage from the services of your cavalry.

"I conceive it a physical impossibility, that the enemy should be so speedily joined by reinforcements; otherwise, the government, in communicating such information, would have enabled you to be powerfully seconded by diversions on the part of the co-operating corps.

"No besieged place expects direct succours from your excellency.

"Troops newly formed, if beaten, present only the certain prospect of dispersion; and this risk cannot be counterbalanced by any hope of success.

"The object of your excellency being the deliverance of Madrid and the Castiles, it is manifest, that by continuing those manœuvres which are already drawing to a close, this object will be attained without, in any respect, hazarding the existence of the army.

"If I now proceed to examine the advantages that may result from the gaining of a battle, in order to contrast them with the injurious consequences of a defeat, how easy it is to perceive, that the petty amount of the former can never compensate the enormous extent of the latter!

"The evacuation of Madrid and the Castiles are the only advantages which I can discover in the gaining of a battle. Your excellency would not in vain flatter yourself, that, though fighting at the very gates of the capital, you should be powerfully aided by the efforts of the inhabitants; for if the battle of Talavera furnished a proof of the patriotic attachment of those loyal Spaniards, it also demonstrated that very little is to be expected from their exertions.

"Your excellency cannot calculate on a superiority of numbers, on account of the rapidity with which the French constantly effect their junctions. Besides, certain English officers that escaped from the prisons of Madrid, have assured Colonel Dillon, that the French considered this superiority of number as an element of disorder, upon which they founded a part of their hopes.

"What evils would not, on the other hand, flow from a defeat, which a river, fordable, it is true, but extremely confined, would render destructive! Your excellency would in one instant lose your army—that army which is the hope of Spain, the focus of its forces, the school of its numerous levies, of which circumstances, now more than ever, urge and accelerate the formation, at a dead time of the year, appropriated to negotiations. How dreadful the shock which this fatal blow might give to the political system! If, by any chance, a portion of the troops co-operating in the Peninsula did not carry into their operations a spirit of unmixed and absolute good will, such portion would not neglect to lay hold of a legitimate pretext for retreating; and from that moment the activity of the other corps would not only become useless, but would be even dangerous to themselves.

"From this statement I conceive that your excellency will obtain the glory of delivering Madrid and your country, by continuing these movements, and by rigorously abstaining from committing yourself to the hazard of a general engagement. To effect this purpose, it would be sufficient that your excellency should proceed a few leagues farther to your right; and there, taking a position as near as possible to the left bank of the Tagus, you might employ all the means of nature and art to entrench yourself. From the point in question, you might push beyond the right bank of the river a strong advanced-guard, to be supported by an intermediate corps placed in echelon. These two corps, which should likewise be entrenched, might, at pleasure, send out strong detachments in all directions, in front and rear of Madrid, and upon Madrid itself. In this situation your excellency might employ the right in making incursions as far as the post of Guadarama, and by daily attacking the French, you would thus give

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confidence. to the inhabitants of Madrid, dishearten and intimidate the enemy, obstruct his supplies, and give experience to the Spanish troops.

"In this position it would be easy to wait for intelligence from the Dukes del Parque and d'Albuquerque, to establish a communication with them by the most simple signals, and at length to terminate with success a manœuvre completely decisive.

"But in the most unfortunate event, should your excellency be attacked and defeated in your position, that could not happen until your excellency had previously made the enemy sustain the most sensible loss; and then, falling back upon Cuenca and Valentia, and occupying, at pleasure, the chains of mountains leading into the four kingdoms, your excellency would be still formidable, even in defeat, and would powerfully protect your country."

The discomfiture of General Areyzaga operated upon the Spanish generals, as the experience of defeat did upon their unsettled armies. However, new armies, or rather bodies of men, invariably arose, though their efficiency was not what was required.

In consequence of the intelligence received by the Duke del Parque, commander-in-chief of the army of the left, of what had happened to the army of La Mancha at Ocana, he made the necessary disposition for his retreat from Carpio, which he began on the night of the 26th, and continued the whole of the 27th with the utmost order, as far as Vittoria and Cordovilla, where he halted in order to allow his troops some repose. On the same day, the 27th, at ten o'clock at night, he pursued his retreat with the same order as on the preceding day; and arrived on the 28th, at seven o'clock in the morning, at Alba de Tormes, without his march having in the least been obstructed by the enemy, although the French closely pursued him. He drew up his troops on the heights, which command that town on the right of the Tormes, and ordered part of them to take post on the other eminences, which also command the above town on the left bank of that river, in order to cover his rear-guard, the bridges, and shallows, where the depth of water was very trifling.

In this situation the enemy attacked him in his first position; but was gallantly repulsed by the infantry and artillery. A body of French thereupon appeared on his right flank; and the cavalry, which, according to the general's orders, was to charge the enemy's horse, meanly retreated before it came within pistol-shot; and although part of them were made to rally and return to their post, yet they took to flight again, abandoned the camp, and uncovered the right flank of

the army. The enemy taking advantage of this incident, charged the first division of foot, which occupied that point, and although it made the most gallant resistance, yet it was at length compelled to yield to the superior force of the French horse, who broke its line, notwithstanding the exemplary valour it displayed. The van-guard, posted on the left, sustained several charges of the same cavalry, but repulsed it three times, supported by the second division. At length it formed an oblong square, in which were Don Gabriel de Mendizabal, second in command of the said army, and Don Martin de la Carrera, commanding-general of the van-guard, and in this it withstood the enemy's attacks with the greatest valour. A trumpeter was sent by the French to call upon them to lay down their arms; they listened not to this proposal, and continued their defence.

In this state of things night came on, and the van and second division, availing themselves of it, were able to retreat by the heights on the left banks of the Tormes. The Duke del Parque ordered thereupon the whole army to retreat in the direction of Tamamer, and this retrograde movement was accordingly effected with all the order that could be desired, until the following morning, when the army had arrived within a little more than two leagues distance from that town. A rumour flew through the ranks of the rear of the army that the enemy was advancing in force to charge the infantry; this rumour, and a small party of dragoons which made its appearance, occasioned some disorder, and a considerable dispersion; and part of the same soldiers, who fought like heroes on the heights of Alba, threw away their firelocks, knapsacks, and whatever else they carried, to be able to effect their escape. The army then took a position in the mountains of Franza, where the dispersed troops rejoined their corps. In the action of Alba, the van, the first division, and part of the second, behaved with distinguished gallantry, and actions were performed by several officers, which proved uncommon intrepidity and spirit. The enemy's loss was stated, by the commander-in-chief, to be considerable; but that of the Spanish army was also great, for want of horses.

In consequence of the unfortunate action of Ocana, the supreme junta came to the resolution that their excellencies the Marquis de la Romana and Don Rodrigo Riquelme should proceed to the head-quarters in Carolina, with the most ample powers, to make, jointly with his excellency Don Joas Dios Gutierrez Rare, as commissioner with the army of La Mancha, for all such arrangements as they should judge most expedient to repair the loss sustained, and prevent similar unfortunate events for the future. The

Marquis de la Romana having declined this charge, the supreme junta appointed, in his stead, his excellency the Marquis of Campo Sagrado, and ordered at the same time all the generals who were in this residence town, and in whom the said commissioners placed confidence, to at-

tend them, and execute their orders in whatever branch of the service the commissioners might deem it expedient to employ them.

The bridges of Almaraz and Arcebispo continued to be occupied by Spanish troops.

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CHAPTER X.

Affairs of Austria.—Bonaparte repairs to his Head-quarters at Ingolstadt.—Sanguinary Engagements.—Surrender of Vienna to the French.—Battles of Aspern and Wagram.—An Armistice.—Conditions degrading to the Emperor Francis.—A Treaty of Peace between France and Austria.

AUSTRIA, after humiliating herself in every possible way to the French emperor, found it impossible to obtain peace on terms compatible, even with her existence as an independent nation. An opportunity for war occurred whilst Bonaparte was in Spain, and the Austrian cabinet evinced a disposition to embrace it; but his sudden return to Paris totally disconcerted their measures. It was, however, too late to retract; therefore an Austrian army, under the command of the Archduke Charles, marched into Bavaria, in the month of April, the telegraphic news of which movement induced Bonaparte to quit Paris, and repair to his head-quarters at Ingolstadt.

The French emperor having, after some sanguinary engagements near Abensberg, Hausen, and Dinzlingen, in which the fortune of war favored the Austrian arms so as to force the French garrison at Ratisbon to surrender, succeeded in cutting off the left wing of the Austrian army, and driving it back to Landsbut, and afterwards in advancing by Eckmühl with a superior corps of cavalry, taking the road of Egloffsheim, and forcing to retreat those Austrian corps that were posted on the heights of Leikepoint and Talmessing; the Archduke, on the 23d of April, crossed the Danube near Ratisbon, and joined the corps of Bellegarde, who had opened the campaign by several successful affairs in the Upper Palatinate, had reached Amberg, Neumarkt, and Heman, and had by this time approached Stadt-am-Hof, in order to execute its immediate junction with the Archduke.

Bonaparte ordered the bombardment of Ratisbon, occupied by a few battalions who were to cover the passage of the Danube. On the 23d, in the evening, he became master of it, and immediately hastened along the right bank of the Danube to enter the Austrian states, in order, as he openly declared, to dictate peace at Vienna.

The Austrian army had taken a position near

Cham, behind the river Regen, which was watched by some of the enemy's divisions, while the Emperor Napoleon called all disposable troops, in forced marches, from the north of Germany to the Danube, and considerably reinforced his army with the troops of Wirtemberg, Hessa, Baden, and some time after with those of Saxony.

Near Kirn and Nittenau, some affairs had happened between the out-posts, which, fortunately, had no influence upon the armies.

However easy it would have been for the Archduke to continue his offensive operations on the left bank of the Danube without any material resistance, and however gratifying it might have been to relieve provinces which were groaning beneath the pressure of foreign dominion, the preservation of his native land did not permit him to suffer the enemy to riot with impunity in the entrails of the monarchy, to give up the rich sources of its independence, and expose the welfare of the subject to the devastations of foreign conquerors.

These motives induced the Archduke to conduct his army to Bohemia, by the way of Klentsch and Neumarkt, to occupy the Bohemian forest with light troops and part of the militia, and to direct his march towards Budweis, where he arrived on the 3d of May, hoping to join near Lintz, his left wing, which had been separated from him, and which was under the command of Lieutenant-general Baron Hiller.

But the latter had been so closely pressed by the united force of the French armies, that after several spirited engagements, and even after a brilliant affair in which he had the advantage near Neumarkt, and in which the troops achieved all that was possible against the disproportionate superiority of the enemy, he was indeed able to reach Lintz, but was incapable of crossing the Danube, and obliged to content himself with destroying the communication with the left bank.

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and taking up a position behind the Traun, near Ebersberg. This was the occasion of an extremely murderous engagement, during which the enemy, in storming the bridge, lost near 4,000 men; Ebersberg was set on fire, and Lieutenant-general Hiller continued his retreat, till he got so much the start as to pass the Danube near Stain, without being disturbed by the enemy, and to wait the approach of the Archduke, who, after having in vain attempted a junction of the army near Lintz, had marched from Budweis to Zwettel; still hoping, by a quick passage of the Danube, to arrest the enemy's progress towards the metropolis.

Meanwhile a corps of Wurtembergers had advanced from Passau along both the shores of the Danube, had occupied Lintz and the bank opposite to it; had restored the bridge, and signalized itself by destroying the defenceless villages and castles which could not be protected by the small advanced-guard proceeding by the side of the main army.

The enemy, by marching through the valley of the Danube in the straightest line, had got so much a-head, that all hopes of coming up with him in front of Vienna vanished; still, however, if that city had been able to hold out for five days, it might have been relieved; and the Archduke resolved on venturing the utmost to rescue that good city, which, by the excellent disposition of its citizens, the faithful attachment to its sovereign, and its noble devotion, has raised to itself an eternal monument in the annals of Austria. All his plans were now directed towards gaining the bridges across the Danube near Vienna, and endeavouring to save the imperial residence by a combat under its very walls.

Vienna, formerly an important fortress, was in vain besieged by the Turks, and would, even now, from the solidity of its ramparts, the strong profiles of its works, and the extensive system of its mines, be capable of making a protracted resistance, had not, for upwards of a century back, the luxury of a large metropolis, the wants of ease, the conflux of all the magnates in the empire, and the pomp of a splendid court, totally effaced every consideration of military defence. Palaces adorn the rampart, the casemates and ditches were converted into workshops of tradesmen, plantations mark the counter-scarpes of the fortress, and avenues of trees traverse the glacis, uniting the most beautiful suburbs in the world to the Corps de la Place.

Although, under such circumstances, no obstinate resistance of the capital was to be expected; yet, from the unexampled loyalty of the inhabitants, it was confidently hoped that Vienna might, for a few days, serve as a tête-de-pont to cover the passage of the river; whence all preparations amounted to no more than to secure the place against a coup-de-main; and, for this reason, the

Archduke had some time before directed Field-marshal Hiller to send part of his corps along the right bank towards the capital, in the event of his (the Archduke's) passage to the left shore.

Field-marshal Hiller now received orders to burn the bridge near Stain in his rear, to leave a small corps of observation near Krems, to hasten by forced marches with the bulk of his army to the environs of Vienna, and, as circumstances would permit, by occupying the small islands, to keep up the communication with the city and the debouche across the bridges.

The army of the Archduke advanced, without interruption, by Neupolla, Horn, and Weikendoff upon Stockerau; and, in order to overawe such enterprizes as the enemy might project from the environs of Lintz, part of the corps of the general of artillery, Count Kollowrath, which till then had remained near Pilsen with a view to secure the north and west frontier of Bohemia, was ordered to march to Budweis.

Bonaparte had used so much expedition on his march to Vienna, that on the 9th of May his advanced troops appeared on the glacis of the fortress, whence they were driven by some cannon-shot. From 3 to 4,000 regular troops, as many armed citizens, and some battalions of country militia, defended the city; ordnance of various calibre was placed upon the ramparts; the suburbs were abandoned on account of their great extent; and the numerous islands and low bushy ground behind the town were occupied by some light troops of the corps of Hiller as well as by militia.

The corps itself was posted on what is termed "the Point," on the left shore of the river, waiting the arrival of the army, which was advancing in haste.

The occupation of Vienna formed too essential a part in the extensive plans of the French emperor; its conquest had been announced by him with too much confidence, and was of too great importance towards confirming the prejudice of his irresistible power, for him not to employ every method of taking it before the assistance which was so near could arrive.

For the space of twenty-four hours the howitzers played upon the town; and though several houses were set on fire, the courage of the inhabitants remained unshaken. But a general devastation threatened their valuable property, and when at length the enemy, availing himself of the numerous craft which he found there, crossed the smaller branches of the Danube, dislodged the troops from the nearest islands, and menaced their communication with the left bank; the city was justified in capitulating, while the troops retreated by the great bridge of Tabor, which they afterwards set on fire.

The Archduke received this intelligence in his head-quarters, between Horn and Meissau, and

though it was scarcely to be expected that the city, surrounded as it was, should continue its resistance, the Archduke proceeded on his march without interruption, flattering himself that he might be able to execute his favorite project by a bold attempt to pass the Danube near Vienna. This city capitulated on the 13th of May, so that there was no further occasion to expose the army to hazard by crossing the Danube, for which no sufficient preparation had been made, and which must have been effected in the face of the enemy, and under local circumstances of the greatest disadvantage. By the surrender of Vienna the army had also lost a point of support on which to rest its military operations.

In this situation of affairs the Archduke resolved to collect his army at the foot of the hill Bisamberg, and allow it a few days of rest, which, after so many forced marches, it urgently wanted. The cavalry, for the convenience of water, was posted along the Russ, a small rivulet, which is concealed by ground covered with bushes, and the advanced-guards pushed forward to the Danube, in order to observe the movements of the enemy, and prevent his passing the river, which he had already attempted to do from Nussdorf, to what is called the Blacke Lacke, but with so little success that a battalion of his advanced-guard was taken. The chain of the outposts extended on the left side as far as the march, and on the right to Krems; this place and Presburg were occupied by some battalions; and the head-quarters of the Archduke were, on the 16th of May, at Ebersdorf, near the high road leading to Brunn.

On the 19th the outposts reported, that the enemy had taken possession of the great island of Lobau, within about six English miles of Vienna; that his numbers increased there every hour, and that he seemed to be employed in throwing a bridge across the Great Arm of the Danube behind the island. From the top of the Bisamberg, the whole of the opposite country appeared to be enveloped in a cloud of dust, and the glitter of arms evinced a general movement of troops beyond Summering, towards Kaifer Ebersdorf, whither, according to other accounts, the Emperor Napoleon had removed his head-quarters, and was by his presence hastening and promoting the preparations for passing the river.

On the following morning, at day-break, the Archduke resolved to reconnoitre the island, and employ for this purpose part of the advanced-guard, under the command of Field-marshal Lieutenant Count Klenau, supported by some regiments of cavalry. The isle of Lobau forms a convenient place of arms, which is about six English miles long, and four and a half broad, and being separated by the large arm of the Da-

nube from the right bank, nothing prevents the building of a bridge, which is concealed by ground covered with bushes; and the great extent of the island affords the advantage of sending troops and ordnance from so many points of it, that the passage across the smaller arm to the large plain of Marchfeld, may be made good by force of arms.

It was soon perceived, by the strength of the enemy's columns which advanced upon the island, and placed their cannon so as to support the second passage, that he meditated a serious attack. The advanced-guard sustained a tolerably warm engagement, and the cavalry routed the first division of the enemy, which debouched from the low grounds on the edge of the river, late in the evening; upon which the Archduke, whose intention was not to prevent the passage of the enemy, but to attack him the following day, retreated with his cavalry to Anderklau, and ordered the advanced troops to fall back to Maass, according as the enemy should extend himself. On the 21st at day-break the Archduke ordered his army under arms, and formed it in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, and between the Bisam-hill and the rivulet Russ. The corps of Lieutenant-general Hiller formed the right wing near Stammersdorf; on its left was the corps of the general of cavalry, Count Bellegarde, and next to that the corps of Lieutenant-general Prince Hohenzollern, in the alignment of Deutsch-Wagram. The corps of Prince Rosenberg was posted by battalions in column on the Russbach on the rivulet Russ, kept Deutsch-Wagram strongly occupied, having, for the security of the left wing, placed on the heights beyond that place a division in reserve. The whole cavalry, which the day before had advanced under the command of Prince Lichtenstein by Anderklau, was called back into the line, filling, in two lines, the space intervening between the left wing of Prince Hohenzollern and the right of Prince Rosenberg.

The vast plain of the Marchfeld spread like a carpet before the front of the line, and appeared, by the absence of every obstruction, to be destined to form the theatre of some great event. The grenadiers remained in reserve near Seienaring, and the corps of the general of artillery, Prince of Reuss, kept the Bisam-hill and the low bushy ground along the Danube strongly occupied. Part of it was still near Krems, the corps being almost broke up by having so many of its divisions detached to so considerable a distance. At nine o'clock the Archduke ordered the arms to be piled, and the troops to dine. The piquet of observation on the Bisam-hill reported, that the bridge across the Danube, behind the Isle of Lobau, being now quite finished, was plainly perceivable, and that troops were without inter-

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According to this plan the attack was to be made in five columns. The enemy had availed himself extremely well of the advantages of the ground to cover his passage. The extensive villages of Essling and Aspern, mostly composed of brick houses, and encircled all round by heaps of earth, resembled two bastions, between which a double line of natural trenches, intended to draw off the water, served as the curtain, and afforded every possible security to the columns passing from the isle of Lobau. Essling had a granary furnished with loop-holes, and whose three stories afforded room for several hundred men, while Aspern was provided with a strong church-yard. The left side of the latter village borders on an arm of the Danube. Both villages had a safe communication with the bushy ground near the Danube, from which the enemy had it constantly in his power to dispatch, unseen, fresh reinforcements. The Isle of Lobau served at once as a place of arms, and as a tête-de-pont, a bridge-head for the bridge in the rear, across the main arm of the river.

The enemy with the divisions of Generals Molitor, Boudet, Nansouty, Legrand, Espagne, Lasalle, and Ferrand, under the Marshals Massena and Lannes, as well as Marshal Bessieres, together with the guards of the Wirtemburgh, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Baden Auxiliaries, had already left this position, and was directing his march towards Hirschstetten, when the first Austrian advanced-guards met him.

On the 21st of May, exactly at twelve o'clock, the five Austrian columns began to put themselves in motion for the attack. A general enthusiasm had taken possession of the troops: joyful war-songs, accompanied by Turkish music, resounded through the air, and were interrupted by shouts of "Long live our Emperor, long live the Archduke Charles!" whenever the Imperial General appeared, who had placed himself at the head of the second column. Every breast panted with anxious desire and high confidence after the decisive moment; and the finest weather favored the awful scene.

The advanced-guard, under General Nordman, consisting of two battalions of Gyulay and Lichtenstein hussars, had formed near the destroyed bridge of Tabor, and leaving the villages of Ka-

gran and Hirschstetten to the left, and Stadelau to the right, marched in the plain towards Aspern.

It was followed by the first column, which, having left the high-road before the Post-office at Stammersdorf, had marched from the right by half divisions. Its right flank along the Danube was covered by a battalion of St. Georgians, by the first battalion of Vienna volunteers, and by a battalion of militia, under the command of Major Count Colledero. Within a cannon-shot of Stadelau the outposts met the enemy's piquets, which gradually retreated to their original divisions. At this time General Nordman ordered two battalions of Gyulay to draw up *en echelon*, in order to favor the advance of the column. The enemy, drawn up in large divisions, stood immediately before Aspern, having, to cover his front, occupied all the ditches of the fields, which afforded excellent breast-works. His right was covered by a battery, and his left by a broad and deep ditch (one of those that carry off the waters of the Danube when it overflows), as well as by a bushy ground, which was likewise occupied by several bodies in close order.

Though the enemy had the advantage of position all to himself, inasmuch as the freshes of the Danube were only passable by means of a small bridge, at which he kept up a vigorous fire from behind the ditches, both with cannon and small arms, it did not prevent the second battalion of Gyulay, immediately after the first had penetrated as far as the bushy meadow, to pass the bridge in a column, to form without delay, and with charged bayonets to attack the enemy, who precipitately retreated to Aspern, on which occasion that village, after a vigorous but not very obstinate resistance, was taken for the first time. It was, however, not long before the enemy had it in his power, by the arrival of a fresh reinforcement, to expel again the battalions of Gyulay. By this time some battalions of the column had arrived, the chasseurs of Majon-Schneider, of the second column, joined the advanced-guard of the first; Gyulay formed again, and the enemy was a second time pushed to the lower end of the village, though he succeeded again in regaining what he had lost.

Both parties were aware of the necessity of, maintaining themselves in Aspern at any rate, which produced successively the most obstinate efforts both of attack and defence; the parties engaged each other in every street, in every house, and in every barn; carts, ploughs, and harrows were obliged to be removed during an uninterrupted fire, in order to get at the enemy; every individual wall was an impediment of the assailants, and a rampart of the attacked; the steeple, lofty trees, the garrets and the cellars were to be conquered before either of the parties could style itself master of the place,

and yet the possession was ever of short duration; for no sooner had the Austrians taken a street or a house, than the enemy had gained another, forcing them to abandon the former. So this murderous conflict lasted for several hours; the German battalions were supported by Hungarians, who were again assisted by the Vienna volunteers, each rivalling the other in courage and perseverance. At the same time the second column combined its attacks with those of the first, having to overcome the same resistance, by reason of the enemy's constantly leading fresh reinforcements into fire. At length General Bacquant, of the second column, succeeded in becoming master of the upper part of the village, and maintaining himself there during the whole of the night. By the shells of both parties many houses had been set on fire, and illuminated the whole country around. At the extremity of the right wing on the bushy meadow the combats were not less severe. The left flank of the enemy was secured by an arm of the Danube: impenetrable underwood, intersected only by footpaths, covered his front; and a broad ditch and palisades afforded him the advantage of a natural rampart.

Here fought, at the beginning of the battle, the first battalion of Gyulay under Colonel Mariassy; then the battalion of chasseurs under Major Mihailovich; and, finally, the two battalions of Vienna volunteers, under Lieutenant-colonel Steigentesch, and St. Quentin. Here, also, the enemy was defeated; and the first day of this sanguinary engagement terminated by the occupation of Aspern by General Bacquant, at the head of eight battalions of the second column, while Lieutenant-field-marshal Hiller drew the troops of his corps from the village, placed them again in order of battle, and passed the night under arms.

The advanced-guard, commanded by Lieutenant-general Fresnel, advanced by Leopoldau and Kagrau towards Hirschstetten, and consisted of one battalion of chasseurs, and two battalions of Anton Mitsovsky, under General Winzingerode, as well as the brigades of cavalry, Klenau and Vincent, under General Veesev. It was followed in the same direction by the second column, from its position near Gerasdorf. The enemy having been discovered, from the eminences near Hirschstetten, to be near Aspern and Esslingen, the brigade Veesev was detached against the latter place, and the brigade Winzingerode to dislodge the enemy from Aspern. The column deployed before Hirschstetten in two lines, in order to support the advanced-guard, and leaving Aspern to the right, followed upon the plain at a proper distance.

The brigade of Winzingerode, however, met with so spirited a resistance in its attempt upon

Aspern, that an attack upon the front alone was not likely to be attended with success; the cavalry, therefore, of the advanced-guard was pushed forward from Aspern on the left, in order to support the attack on the flank with the two batteries of cavalry, as well as to facilitate the junction with the third column, which was advancing by Breitenlee. At the same time the regiment of Reuss Plauen was ordered to the right side of Aspern, with a view to an attack on that place, the rest of the corps was formed into close columns of battalions.

Meanwhile the enemy formed his left wing, without delay, towards Aspern, and his right upon Esslingen. Thus he advanced with columns of infantry and cavalry upon the main army, while an extremely brisk cannonade supported him. A line of twelve regiments of cuirassiers formed the centre of the second line of the enemy, giving to the whole an imposing aspect. Meanwhile the attack of a battalion of Reuss-Plauen on Aspern was repulsed, and it gave way, being thrown into consternation by the loss of its commander, but it rallied immediately after. Count Bellegarde ordered General Bacquant to renew the attack with the regiment of Vogelsang, and to carry the village at all hazards. The latter obeyed the order with the most brilliant success, and Aspern, though defended by 12,000 of the best of the enemy's troops, was carried by storm; Bacquant being assisted by the regiment of Reuss-Plauen, by a battalion of Archduke Rainer, and by the brigade of Maier, of the third column.

To frustrate this attack, the enemy advanced with two columns of infantry, supported by his heavy cavalry, upon the main army, repulsed the two regiments of Klenau and Vincent's light horse, and fell upon the infantry. The latter expecting him with their firelocks ready, and with cool intrepidity, fired at ten paces distance, so effectually as totally to rout the enemy, upon which General Veesev, at the head of a division of Klenau, attacked the enemy's cuirassiers with such energy, that their retreat was followed by that of the infantry. Hereby the army along the whole of its line was disengaged from the enemy, obtained communication on the left with the corps of Prince Hohenzollern, and became possessed of the important post of Aspern. The enemy being in full retreat attempted no further attack, and confined himself merely to a cannonade. The corps remained during the night under arms. The enemy repeated, indeed, his attacks on Aspern, but they all proved unsuccessful.

The third column, according to its destination, had begun its march from its position at Seiering, by the road of Sussenbrunn and Breitenlee. Some divisions of O'Reilly's light-horse and

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chasseurs formed the advanced-guard of the column, and at three o'clock in the afternoon met near Hirschstetten, the left wing of the enemy, which consisted mostly of cavalry. As about this time the first and second columns advanced intrepidly upon Aspern, and the enemy began to fall back to his position between Esslingen and Aspern, Lieutenant-general Hohenzollern ordered up his batteries, and a very brisk cannonade commenced on both sides.

The first line formed in close columns of battalions, and advanced with the greatest resolution upon the enemy, when his cavalry suddenly rushed forward in such disproportionate numbers, and with such rapidity, that there was scarcely time to save the artillery which had been brought up, and the battalions were left to defend themselves by their own unsupported exertions. This was the remarkable moment in which the regiments of Zach, Joseph Colloredo, Zettwitz, Froon, a battalion of Stein's, and the second battalion of the Archduke Charles's legion, under the conduct of Lieutenant-general Brady, and Generals Buresch, Maier, and Koller, demonstrated, with unparalleled fortitude, what the fixed determination to conquer or die is capable of effecting against the most impetuous attacks. The enemy's cavalry turned these battalions on both wings, penetrated between them, repulsed the squadrons of O'Reilly's light-horse, who were unable to withstand such a superior force, and in the confidence of victory, summoned these corps of heroes to lay down their arms. A well-directed and destructive fire was the answer to this degrading proposition, and the enemy's cavalry abandoned the field, leaving behind them a considerable number of dead. This corps, as well as the others, passed the night on the field-of-battle.

The fourth and fifth were both composed of the corps of Lieutenant-general Prince Rosenberg, on either bank of the Russbach, and directed their march from their position, to the right and left of Deutsch-Wagram. The fourth proceeded through Roschdorf straight to Esslingen. Colonel Hardegg, of Schwarzenberg's Uhlans, conducted the advanced-guard. The fifth directed its march towards the left, in order to go a circuit round the little town of Enzersdorf, and drive the enemy out of the place. It was reinforced by Stipsic's hussars, under the command of Colonel Frolich. Lieutenant-general Klenau led the advanced-guard of both columns. As this circuit round Enzersdorf obliged the fifth to describe a longer line, it was necessary for the fourth to advance more slowly. Enzersdorf, however, was quickly taken possession of by a detachment of Stipsic's hussars, and of the Wallacho-Illyrian frontier regiment, as it was already for the greatest part evacuated by the enemy, from whom no more than thirty prisoners could be taken. Both

columns now received orders to advance upon Esslingen. The fourth in close columns of battalions of Czartorisky's, Archduke Louis's and Coburgh's, who were twice successively attacked by upwards of 2,000 of the enemy's heavy cavalry; but these were each time put to flight by the brave infantry with considerable loss. Of the fifth column, two battalions of Chastellar's advanced directly upon Esslingen, while two battalions of Bellegarde's were ordered to penetrate the left flank of the village, and the small contiguous wood. Two battalions of Hiller's and Sztarray's, besides the Archduke Ferdinand's and Stipsic's regiments of hussars, and two divisions of Rosenberg's light horse, were in the plain in readiness to support them. These combined attacks were made twice successively with uncommon intrepidity, the enemy's troops were repulsed at all points, and driven into the village of Esslingen which had been set on fire. But as the enemy's army, drawn up in several lines between Esslingen and Aspern, met each new attack with fresh reinforcements, because the safety of his retreat depended on the possession of this village, the Austrian troops were obliged to abandon it at the approach of night, and to await, under arms, the arrival of morning.

The reserve corps of cavalry had marched in two columns, under the command of General Prince of Lichstentein, and advanced upon the New Inn, between Raschdorf and Breitenlee, General Count Wartensleben, with Blankenstein's hussars, conducted the advanced-guard. No sooner did the enemy perceive the general advance of the army, than he placed the bulk of his cavalry, supported by some battalions of infantry, in order of battle between Esslingen and Aspern, and commenced a brisk cannonade upon the columns of Austrian cavalry as they approached.

Prince Lichtenstein directed his columns to march forward in two lines, on which the enemy detached 4 or 5,000 cavalry from his position to the right by way of Esslingen, and excited some apprehension that he would impede the progress of the fourth column, or even break through it. The Prince therefore ordered four regiments to the left, and kept the second column formed in two lines, till he was convinced that the fourth would not meet with any impediment to its march.

During this movement the remainder of the enemy's cavalry advanced with the greatest confidence towards the right wing of the Austrians. They were received with a firmness which they probably did not expect. The intrepidity of the cavalry which had marched up, particularly Maurice Lichtenstein's regiment, and the Archduke Francis's cuirassiers, the former headed by its gallant colonel, Roussel, frustrated the repeated assaults of the enemy by counter-attacks,

by which they at length put a stop to his impetuous advance, and completely repulsed him with considerable loss. In these conflicts, the French General of Division, Durosnel, equerry to the emperor, was taken prisoner a few paces from him, as was also General Foulcr, equerry to the empress, after having been slightly wounded. Notwithstanding the fire of musketry which now ensued, the Prince ordered a general advance, by which the enemy was straightened in the alignment between Esslingen and Aspern; but, on account of the flanking fire from Esslingen, could not be pursued any further. The fire of his guns was answered with spirit by the horse-artillery. About seven in the evening, 3,000 horse were again detached towards the point of Union between the cavalry of reserve and the left wing of Prince Hohenzollern, and fell *en masse* upon the brigades of cuirassiers of Generals Kroyher, Klary, and Siegenhal; but by the steady intrepidity of the Blankenstein's and Riesch's regiments, who with the utmost gallantry made a sudden attack on the enemy's flanks, his cavalry was again repulsed, and part of it, which had fallen upon some of the regiments of the new levies, placed in the third line, was cut off, and there taken. Meanwhile night came on, and it was passed by the Prince in the best state of preparation on the ground which he had gained from the enemy.

For the first time Bonaparte had sustained a defeat in Germany. His glory was obviously at stake. New efforts were to be expected the following day; but he was also obliged to fight for his existence. By means of fire-ships sent down the Danube, the Archduke had caused the enemy's bridge on the Lobau to be broken down, and its repairs would take up several hours. Meanwhile Napoleon had already in the evening been joined by the corps of General Oudinot; and all the disposable troops followed from Vienna and the Upper Danube, and were transported across the river in vessels as fast as they arrived. The Archduke, on his part, ordered the grenadier corps, which had not had any share in the first engagement, to advance from its position near Gerasdorf to Breitenlee; and the short night was scarcely sufficient to complete the respective preparations for the commencement of a second tragedy.

Early on the 22d the enemy renewed his attacks, which far surpassed in impetuosity those of the preceding day. It was a conflict of valour and mutual exasperation. Scarcely had the French guards compelled General Bacquant to abandon Aspern, when the regiment of Klebek again penetrated into the burning village, drove back the choicest troops of the enemy, and engaged in a new contest, in the midst of the con-

flagration, till, at the expiration of an hour, it was also obliged to give way. The regiment of Benjowsky now rushed in, and at the first onset gained possession of the church-yard, the walls of which Field-marshal Lieutenant Hiller immediately ordered the first division of pioneers to pull down, and the church, together with the parsonage, to be set on fire. Thus was this regiment, supported by some battalions commanded by General Bianchi, at length enabled to maintain itself at the entrance of the village, after overcoming the resistance, bordering on despair, opposed by the flower of the French army. Neither could the enemy produce any farther effect upon the bushy meadow, after Lieutenant-general Hiller had ordered the force there to be supported by two battalions of Anton Mitsowsky's, and a battery: on which the Jagers, St. George's, and two battalions of Vienna volunteers, drove him from his advantageous position, which he never afterwards attempted to recover.

As about this time the left wing of the corps was likewise placed in security by three batteries sent by the lieutenant-general, to support the general of cavalry, Count Bellegarde, and the latter maintained his ground against the most desperate attacks of the enemy; the Lieutenant-general Hiller kept his position on the left flank of the enemy, and the victory was decided in this quarter. The corps was therefore again formed in two lines, and thus awaited the approaching events.

Count Bellegarde having received a message from General Bacquant, that the enemy were assembling in force near Aspern, before the bushy meadow, and apparently had in view an assault upon that point, was going to throw a fresh battalion of Argenteau's into Aspern, when the enemy, in heavy columns of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous artillery, began to advance upon the centre of the corps in the plain.

The troops stationed at Aspern, exhausted as they were with the incessant ~~fire~~ kept up during the night, were unable to withstand the impetuosity of the attack; their ammunition, both for artillery and musketry, began to fail, and General Bacquant retreated in good order to the church-yard. This post, gained at so dear a rate, was again taken from him, after several attacks sustained in conjunction with Lieutenant-general Hiller; the place was alternately taken and lost, till at length the fire obliged the enemy to abandon the houses, and a last assault of Hiller's corps prevented all further attempts.

From the moment of the re-taking of Aspern, it became possible to oppose an offensive movement to the enemy advancing upon the centre, and to operate upon his left flank and communication. The defence of Aspern was therefore left

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entirely to Hiller's corps; and while Count Bellegarde employed his right wing on Aspern, he formed his left and the centre in the direction of Esslingen, in such a manner that by degrees he gained the right flank of the enemy, compelled him to retreat, and by the complete effect of the artillery, brought to bear upon the left wing, which commanded the whole space from Aspern to Esslingen, gave him a most severe defeat.

Vain was every effort to shake the intrepidity of the Austrian troops. Napoleon rode through his ranks, and according to the report of the prisoners, made them acquainted with the destruction of the bridge, but added, that he had himself ordered it to be broken down, because in this case there was no alternative, but victory or death. Soon afterwards the whole of the enemy's line put itself in motion, and the cavalry made its principal attack on the point where the corps of cavalry of Prince Lichtenstein communicated with the left wing of Lieutenant-general the Prince of Hohenzollern. The engagement now became general; the regiments of Rohan, D'Aspre, Joseph Colloredo, and Stain, repulsed all the attacks of the enemy. The generals were every where at the head of their troops, and inspired them with courage and perseverance. The Archduke himself seized the colours of Zach's, and the battalion, which had already begun to give way, followed with new enthusiasm his heroic example. Most of those who surrounded him were wounded; his adjutant-general, the Count Colloredo, received a ball in his head, the wound from which was at first considered dangerous; a squeeze of the hand signified to him the concern of this sympathising commander, who, filled with contempt of death, now fought for glory and for his country.

About this time, Lieutenant-general the Prince of Hohenzollern observed on his left wing, near Esslingen, a column, which had been formed during the heat of the engagement, and afforded an advantageous point of attack. Frolich's regiment, commanded by Colonel Mecsery, was ordered thither in three corps, and repulsed four regiments of cavalry, accompanied with infantry and artillery. The corps remained in the position which they had taken, till the grenadiers of the reserve, which the Archduke had ordered forward from Breitenlee, arrived to relieve the battalions exhausted with the sanguinary conflict, and continued the attack upon the centre of the enemy's position. Lieutenant-general D'Aspre penetrated with the four battalions of grenadiers of Przezinsky, Puteany, Scovaux, and Scharlach, without firing a shot, to the enemy's cannon, where he was flanked by such a destructive fire from Esslingen, that nothing but the presence of the Archduke, who hastened to the spot, could have induced his grenadiers to maintain their

ground. Captain Count Dombasle had already reached the enemy's battery, when he was wounded by two balls, and quitted the field. About noon the Archduke ordered a new assault upon Esslingen, which was immediately undertaken by Field-marshal Lieutenant D'Aspre, with the grenadier battalions of Kirchenbetter and Scovaux on the left, and Scharlach and Georgy in front. Five times did these gallant troops rush up to the very walls of the houses, burning internally and placed in a state of defence; some of the grenadiers thrust their bayonets into the enemy's loop-holes; but all their efforts were fruitless, for their antagonists fought the fight of despair. The Archduke ordered the grenadiers to take up their former position; and when they afterwards volunteered to renew the assault, he would not permit them, as the enemy was then in full retreat.

Both divisions of Prince Rosenberg's corps, which, in advancing to the engagement, had composed the fourth and fifth columns, were formed before break of day for a new attack, for which the enemy likewise made preparation on his side, but with a manifest superiority in numbers. Prince Rosenberg resolved to attack the village of Esslingen with the Archduke Charles's regiment of infantry, to push forward his other troops in battalions, and in particular to go and meet the enemy, who was advancing in the open country between Esslingen and the nearest arm of the Danube. The village was already gained, and battalions advancing on the left, obliged the enemy, drawn up in several lines, to yield. The most violent cannonade was kept up incessantly on both sides, and it was sustained by the troops with the greatest fortitude.

Favored by a fog which suddenly came on, the enemy's heavy cavalry ventured to attack on all sides the corps formed by Sztarray's and Hiller's regiments of infantry. These brave fellows received him with fixed bayonets, and at the last moment poured in their fire with such effect, that the enemy was compelled to betake himself to flight with considerable loss. Five times were these attacks of Sztarray's and Hiller's regiments repeated, and each time were they repelled with equal courage and resolution. The cavalry contributed all that lay in their power to the pursuit of the enemy, and the support of the infantry. Coburg's, the Archduke Louis's and Czartorisky's regiments, belonging to the division of Lieutenant-general Dedovich, stationed on the right, renewed the exertions of the preceding day with the same distinction and the same success. After this severe conflict, the enemy seemed to have no inclination to expose himself to any fresh disaster, and confined himself merely to the operation of his superior artillery. About eleven A. M. Prince Rosenberg received orders from the Archduke, commander-in-chief, to make a new attack upon

Esslingen, and a message to the same effect was sent to Lieutenant-general Dedovich, who commanded the right division of this corps. Prince Rosenberg immediately formed two columns of attack under the conduct of Lieutenant-generals Princes Hohenlohe and Rohan, while Lieutenant-general Dedovich advanced against the citadel of the place, and the magazine surrounded with walls and ditches. The attack was made with redoubled bravery, and the troops rushed with irresistible impetuosity into the village. Still, however, they found it impossible to maintain this post, into which the enemy kept continually throwing new reinforcements, which was of the utmost importance for covering his retreat, which he had already resolved upon, and which he defended with an immense sacrifice of lives. Prince Rosenberg, therefore, resolved to confine himself to the obstinate maintenance of his own position, to secure the left flank of the army, and to increase the embarrassment of the enemy by an incessant fire from all the batteries. In the night between the 22d and 23d, the enemy accomplished his retreat to the Lobau, and at three in the morning his rear-guard also had evacuated Esslingen, and all the points which he had occupied on the left bank of the Danube. Some divisions pursued him closely, and took possession as near as possible of the necessary posts of observation.

Thus terminated a conflict of two days, which will be ever memorable in the annals of the world and in the history of war. The loss of the French during these two days could not be under 30,000 men; and that of the Austrians was admitted to be 20,000.

In the middle of a dark tempestuous night the French crossed the Danube, from Lobau, July 4, and having, by a feint, deceived the Austrians, took up a position on their left flank, and thus compelled them to abandon their works and offer Bonaparte battle, on the spot most convenient to him, at Enzersdorff. A series of hard fighting then commenced, and continued the whole of the 5th; but in which neither party had any decided advantage: the two armies remained on their ground, preparing for a renewal of the combat on the following morning. At break of day on the 6th, the battle was resumed at Wagram, with great fury; but the superiority of numbers, on the part of the French, and the advantage of those positions which they had obtained the day before, ultimately turned the battle in their favor.

The following account of this fatal battle appeared in the Austrian journals:

"By the 4th, the enemy had completed the new bridge from the Isle of Lobau across a branch of the Danube, in which he was much favored both by the ground and by an immense number of artillery. The imperial and royal army was drawn up on the eminence behind the

rivulet Russ, extending its right wing beyond Sussessbrunn and Kagan, and its left beyond Mackgrafen-Neusiedel. The centre was posted near Wagram. The enemy having, in the night between the 4th and 5th, crossed over to the left bank of the Danube, large masses appeared very early in the morning in the plain. Not long before noon he attacked the line of the imperial and royal army in all its points. But his greatest exertions were directed against the centre, probably with a view of forcing it. His attacks, though repeated with the greatest impetuosity, and supported by an immense number of ordnance, among which were many batteries of the heaviest calibre, proved this day abortive. The firing ceased at ten o'clock at night. The imperial and royal army had, on the whole of its line, maintained its positions, and made a considerable number of prisoners, among whom there are many Saxon, Badenese, Italian, and Portuguese soldiers.

"On the 6th, in the morning, at four o'clock, the enemy renewed his attacks with still larger masses and greater impetuosity than on the preceding day. Even thus his efforts against the centre and the right wing were attended with so little success, that the latter had even gained such advantages, as to justify the expectation of the completest victory, when the enemy, with fresh divisions and great superiority, suddenly penetrated the left wing near Mackgrafen-Neusiedel, and succeeded, after an obstinate engagement, in compelling it to retreat. One of the wings of the royal and imperial army being thereby exposed, his imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke and Generalissimo has directed the retreat by the way of Siammersdorf and the Bisamhill, in consequence of which the army occupies a new position, covering the communication with Bohemia. This retreat was made good in the best order, and without material loss.

"In the centre, as well as in the right wing, the enemy suffered very considerably. Six thousand prisoners were taken from him, among whom were three generals. He likewise lost twelve cannon with ammunition, and was in every respect so much weakened, that he has not attempted since to pursue the royal and imperial army further.—General Lasalle is among his dead.

"The imperial and royal army has also to lament a great loss. In General Nordman it has been deprived of a very eminent officer. Generals Peter Vecsal, D'Aspre, and Vukassovitz, are without hopes of recovery. Generals Prince of Hesse-Homberg, Stutterheim, and Paah, are less severely wounded. His Imperial Highness the Generalissimo himself, and Prince Lichtenstein, received slight musket-wounds, which, however, will not be attended with any dangerous consequences. It remains to be observed,

BOOK VIII. that the whole army has again afforded such proofs of courage and perseverance, as not to cloud our future prospects with any apprehensions."

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Though this official account appeared in some degree of a favorable nature, the results of the battle were very humiliating to the Emperor Francis and his dominions. Bonaparte, whose active and uneasy spirit was ever on the alert, pushed the advantages he had thus gained to the uttermost; his numerous hosts bore down all before them; and as neither he nor his armies were particular in their destructive policy of marauding and indiscriminate spoil, wherever they gained advantage, we must not be surprised that no terms of regular warfare were attended to, and that every method was devised, to strike terror among the vanquished. The Archduke Charles retired in disgust, and on the 12th an armistice was solicited and agreed to; though subsequent to the battles of the 5th and 6th, no engagement took place between the armies of any great importance. Massena, indeed, attacked and defeated the rear of the Austrians, on the 10th, at Hollabaren; and on the 11th, Znaim was attacked; but these partial affairs did not seem of sufficient moment, to compel the Emperor Francis to apply for an armistice; far less to accede to one on such humiliating conditions; viz.

Art. 1. "There shall be a suspension of arms between his majesty the Emperor of the French, and his majesty the Emperor of Austria.

2. "The line of demarkation shall be on the side of Upper Austria, the frontier that separates Austria from Bohemia, the circle of Znaim, that of Brunn, and a line traced from the frontier of Moravia, on Raab, which shall begin at the point where the frontier of the circle of Brunn touches the March, and descending the March to its confluence with the Taya; from thence to St. Johann and the road to Presbourg and a league round the town; the great Danube to the mouth of the Raab; the Raab to the frontiers of Stiria; Stiria, Carniola, Istria, and Fiume.

3. "The citadels of Brunn and Gratz shall be evacuated immediately after the signing of the present armistice.

4. "The detachment of Austrian troops which are in the Tyrol and the Voralberg, shall evacuate

these two countries. Fort Sachsenbourg shall be given up to the French troops.

5. "The magazines of provisions and clothes which shall be found in the countries to be evacuated by the Austrian army, and which belong to it, may be emptied.

6. "In relation to Poland, the two armies shall take the line which they at present occupy.

7. "The present suspension of arms shall continue for a month, and fifteen days notice shall be given before hostilities recommence.

8. "There shall be named commissioners respectively for the execution of the present dispositions.

9. "The Austrian troops shall evacuate the countries pointed out in the present armistice, and shall retire by daily marches.

10. "The fort of Brunn shall be surrendered on the 14th to the French army, and that of Gratz on the 16th."

After a protracted negociation, a treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed, at Vienna, on the 15th of October. According to the terms of this treaty the Emperor of Austria ceded a great portion of his territory to Napoleon; agreed to a contribution to indemnify France for the expences of the war; and to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain. To the King of Bavaria she gave up Saltzburg, and a tract of country along the banks of the Danube, from Passau to Lintz. To the King of Saxony she yielded the whole of Western Gallia; to Russia so much of the eastern part of that province as contained a population of 400,000 souls. To France she ceded Fiume and Trieste, with the whole of the country south of the Saave, to where that river enters Bosnia. She also gave up the inhabitants of the Tyrol, on condition of their receiving from Bonaparte a full and free pardon.

This brave people had manifested an heroic spirit of independence, and continued to resist the French, long after they were abandoned by the government in whose cause they fought. After repeatedly expelling the invaders of their country, they were at length subdued, their gallant chief, Hoffer, was taken, and, as no further mention was made of him by the captors, his fate may be readily conjectured by the reader.

CHAPTER XI.

Affairs of Sweden.—Denmark.—Russia.—Turkey.—Holland.—Prussia.—America.—East-Indies.—Great Britain.—Expedition against Italy.—Expedition under the Earl of Chatham.—A new Administration.—French Affairs.

DURING this eventful period, Sweden had become the prey of French intrigue. Impoverished by the loss of her detached province of Pomerania, she had been engaged in an arduous and unequal war against Russia, by which the whole of Finland had also been wrested from her. The distress and misery occasioned by these misfortunes were aggravated by the eruption of an infectious disorder, which greatly thinned the population. But undismayed by the triple scourge, war, pestilence, and famine, the Swedish monarch persisted in an unavailing opposition to France, which urged popular discontent, and fomented a revolution, which removed him from the throne. He was succeeded by his uncle, Charles, Duke of Sudermania, who became a willing agent in the blockading system of Bonaparte, and agreed to close his ports against the commerce of Great Britain.

Denmark, too weak, since the loss of her navy, to maintain even a shadow of independence, exposed to the maritime hostility of Great Britain on the one hand, and to the military thralldom of France on the other, suffered greatly from the pressure of the war. Her interest obviously inclined her to cultivate a commercial intercourse with Great Britain, yet she was compelled to forego that interest almost wholly, as the small portion of her trade that remained lay entirely at the mercy of the French Emperor and his subjects.

Russia, though jealous of the growing power of France, remained under her control; this may be gathered from the declaration of the two emperors at Erfurth. She had concurred, with apparent reluctance, in the war against Austria; an army under Prince Gallitzin penetrated into Galicia; but its movements were so tardy, that there is reason to believe it was destined to wait the result of the contest, and to side with the victor. This demonstrative co-operation was required at the peace by the cession of territory before-mentioned. In the war with Sweden she had acquired the province of Finland, the rivers Tornes and Meconio, the sea of Oland and the gulph of Bothnia being fixed, by treaty, as the

future boundaries of the two states. On the establishment of peace between Great Britain and Turkey, her arms were directed against the latter powers, but, notwithstanding the advantage of another revolution at Constantinople, they were attended with no decisive success. On viewing, therefore, the internal condition of the Russian empire, it was apparent that great inconvenience and much dissatisfaction arose from the adoption of the French anti-commercial system; and these effects might be considered as tending to advance the interests of Napoleon, in weakening the government, by alienating the people from their monarch.

During the negociation of peace between France and Austria, (mentioned in the close of the preceding chapter) Bonaparte dispatched the following extraordinary epistle to the Emperor of Russia:

“Monsieur my Brother,

“The Duke of Vicenza informs me that your imperial majesty wished for peace with Sweden, and that you have obtained the advantages which you desired. Will your majesty permit me to congratulate you upon the event?”

“The negociations of Altenburg have been transferred to Vienna. Prince John, of Lichtenstein, conducts them with M. De Champagny, and I expect I shall soon be able to inform your majesty of peace being concluded with Austria. You will see by the treaty, that, conformably to your wishes, the greater part of Galicia will not change masters; and that I have managed your interests as you would have done yourself, conciliating every thing with what honor required of me. The prosperity and welfare of the duchy of Warsaw require that it should possess the favorable regards of your majesty; and your majesty's subjects may rest assured that, in no case, nor under any circumstances, have they to expect any protection from me.

“I have given to Austria the most advantageous peace she could expect. She only loses Saltzburgh, and a mere trifle on the side of the Inn. She cedes nothing in Bohemia. On the

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BOOK VIII. side of Italy she cedes only what is indispensable for my communication with Dalmatia. The
 CHAP. XI. Austrian monarchy, therefore, remains entire.

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This is the second experiment which I have been willing to make. I have used towards her a moderation which she had no right to expect. In this I hope I have done what is gratifying to your majesty.

"I send your majesty the English journals last received. You will there see, that the English ministers are fighting with each other; that there is a revolution in the ministry, and that all is perfect anarchy. The folly and absurdity of that cabinet are beyond description. They have recently occasioned the destruction of from 25 to 30,000 men in the most horrible country in the world; it would have been just as well to have thrown them into the sea; so pestilential are the marshes of Walcheren! In Spain they have lost a very considerable number of men. General Wellesley has had the extreme imprudence to commit himself in the heart of Spain with 30,000 men, having on his flanks three armies, consisting of 90 battalions, and from 40 to 50 squadrons, whilst he had in his front the army commanded by the king, which was of equal force. It is difficult to conceive such an act of presumption. It remains at present to be ascertained who are to succeed the late ministry.

"The United States are on the worst terms with England, and seem disposed, sincerely and seriously, to approximate to our system.

"I pray God, Monsieur my brother, to have you in his high and holy keeping.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON.

"Schoenbrunn, Oct. 10, 1809."

The Turkish empire was at this time a prey to intestine commotions, and seemed ready to follow the fate of all those governments which, in the successive convulsions of Europe, by their own imbecility, and disgraceful adherence to feudal tyrannies, had been overthrown or enthralled.

The kingdom of Holland, fitted by nature and the habits of its people for the pursuits of commerce, suffered so severely by the continental system, that its ruler, in order to relieve the distresses of his subjects, relaxed the severe restrictions which his brother had obliged him to impose on their trade with England. This conciliatory policy by no means suited the arbitrary views of the French despot, who, bent on the total exclusion of the English from the continent, determined to reduce all the states of that vast tract under an entire submission to his will. He doubled the number of custom-house-officers in all the Dutch ports and trading-towns, and ordered his pacific brother to Paris, to receive new lessons of discipline in the art of governing;

which was a measure preparatory to an important change, which Bonaparte had in contemplation, to affect the affairs of Holland.

For this purpose, Napoleon found, in his younger brother Jerome, a more tractable, if not a more apt pupil. The kingdom of Westphalia he had consolidated from portions of territory and population wrested from Prussia, Hesse, Hanover, Brunswick, and other states, in which he also formed a complete epitome of the French empire, in the nature of its legislation and government. The law of conscription and the system of commercial exclusion prevailed there in full force, and reduced the heterogeneous mass to a condition purely military. A state so constituted, in the midst of what was denominated the Rhenish confederacy, operated as a powerful check on them, and served France in the future extension of her conquests.

With respect to Prussia, that nation, paralyzed by the shock of the French arms, its finances ruined, and its resources destroyed by the dire effects of war, monopoly, and abusive restrictions, had indeed become equally insignificant, both as a military and as a commercial state.

In Bonaparte's letter to the Emperor of Russia, (already quoted) the United States are represented to be inimical to England. Indeed, the intercourse of America with Europe had been completely interrupted by the prohibitory decrees of Napoleon, and by the orders in council of the British government. The Americans, considering these measures as equally an invasion on their commercial rights, that government passed a non-intercourse act against both the belligerents. The differences of America with Great Britain originated in two sources, the attack on the Chesapeake frigate, and the above orders in council. The British minister, Mr. Erskine, had offered reparation for the one, and a suspension of the other, on condition that America should renew her intercourse with Great Britain. These proposals were received with great satisfaction, and preparations were making to revive the trade, when orders arrived for the recall of Mr. Erskine, declaring that the arrangement he had made was unauthorised by his instructions. Mr. Jackson, who succeeded him, had to renew the negotiation under the disadvantages arising from the disappointment of the Americans, among whom he was, on other accounts, unpopular. A correspondence took place between him and the secretary of the United States, which, as it consisted chiefly in recrimination on their respective governments, tended rather to aggravate than to assuage the dispute; and at length Mr. Jackson became so obnoxious, that the American ministers declined all further intercourse with him.

The Americans sought an equivalent for the

loss of commerce, by promoting agriculture and domestic manufactures; and it was a subject of exultation in Mr. Jefferson's (the president's) speech, "that the arbitrary edicts of the contending powers had produced a revolution in the pursuits and habits of the people, and had directed them to improve their internal resources, and thus to render themselves less dependent on foreign intercourse."

Among the other transatlantic states, the extraordinary events of revolutionary principles produced in Europe had tended to foment changes. France lost her few remaining possessions, and was frustrated in her design of subjugating the Spanish colonies. The arbitrary and absurd policy which the mother-country had, from the earliest times, exercised towards these dependencies, did not entirely alienate them; and, probably, their attachment was rather strengthened by a sense of indignation at the insults and oppressions of their new enemy. Yet many expressions of public feeling testified that the time was fast approaching, when, by the natural course of human affairs, they should assert their independence. The conduct of Great Britain towards them grounded her alliance with Spain, and she abjured every project of seconding revolutionary proceedings, and of severing those possessions from the dominion of Ferdinand VII. With respect to the Brazils, the trade of Great Britain, though necessarily limited, was rendered more productive by the abolition of certain vexatious imports, and by other beneficial measures to which the Portuguese court acceded, for the mutual benefit of the two countries.

The East Indies were at this period threatened by foreign hostilities, and internal disputes; for Bonaparte, by means of his diplomatic and military emissaries, had endeavoured to persuade the court of Persia to make war on the English possessions. The governor-general made war-like demonstrations against that empire, but at the same time dispatched Sir Harford Jones as ambassador, who succeeded in destroying the French influence; and the good understanding thus restored with Great Britain, was testified on the part of the Persian government by the arrival of an embassy to London. At Madras, however, discord gained its malign influence, by disputes of a serious nature which took place between the civil and military governments, arising from certain allegations of grievances, by the officers who commanded the native troops; and matters grew so serious, that an appeal was made to the governor in council, who was compelled to adopt severe and rigorous measures before the restoration of tranquillity could be established.

In reverting to the affairs of Great Britain, during this period, we find that the labours of

ministers, for the deliverance of the continent, were interrupted by concerns of a domestic nature, which occupied parliament during almost the whole of the session of 1809. An investigation into conduct highly reprehensible, soon led to the discovery of many public abuses wherein persons of high rank and office were implicated. For the prevention of the sale of seats in the house of commons, (a practice destructive of all public and private integrity,) several plans were brought forward and rejected. The enactment of Mr. Curwen's bill, for better securing the purity of parliament, was, however, at length, after several modifications, enacted.

The correspondence, occasioned by the overtures of the Russian and French emperors from Erfurth, was laid before both houses, and plainly demonstrated the impossibility of making peace, consistently with those principles which Great Britain had proclaimed, and acted upon throughout the war, and more particularly after the commencement of the war in Spain. On the renewal of war between Austria and France, it was resolved to second the exertions of the former, by creating a most powerful diversion in her favor. With this view, preparations had been made for a most extensive and formidable expedition, which should not only relieve Austria from the pressure of the war, by distracting the attention of the enemy, but at the same time accomplish an object highly important to the interests of Great Britain. While the most anxious endeavours were making to hasten the execution of this plan, it was also deemed expedient to commence hostilities in another quarter. With this view, Sir John Stuart, who commanded the British forces in Sicily, undertook an expedition against the south of Italy and the kingdom of Naples. He embarked with 15,000 British, and was soon afterwards joined by a body of Sicilians, under one of the native princes. The better to secure the object of his expedition, he sent a detachment to Lower Calabria, which seized the line of posts that the French had formed opposite Messina. With his main body he proceeded against the islands of Ischia and Procida, and in a short time captured both these islands; but this success only afforded the means for ascertaining that the great object of the expedition was unattainable. Murat had recalled a considerable force which was on its march to co-operate with the French in the north. He had likewise collected a body of national guards, and was further reinforced by the troops which had taken possession of the papal states. In addition to the resistance to be expected from this concentrated force, the apathy of the Neapolitans, to any proposal of deliverance, operated as a serious obstacle. They chose to submit to the tyranny of their usurpers rather than make any effort

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to restore their legitimate sovereign, from whom they had not been taught to expect any very earnest endeavours for the bettering of their condition. Yet, notwithstanding this disappointment, Sir John Stuart deemed it advisable to retain Ischia, in order to control the operations of the enemy, and to prevent him from sending any assistance to the army in Upper Italy. After some further hostilities, however, during which the castle of Scilla was taken, and for a short time held by the British, the increased force of the French rendered it necessary to evacuate these conquests, and the British troops at length returned to Sicily.

Meanwhile, the preparations that were making on the English coast for a grand expedition, were stimulated and encouraged by the reverses of the French on the Danube, and by the reviving spirit of the German patriots. A force amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, aided by nearly thirty sail of the line, and a full quota of frigates, gun-boats, &c. forming the most numerous and well-appointed armament that ever left the shores of this country, was at length in perfect readiness for sailing, when intelligence arrived announcing the defeat of the Austrians at Wagram, and the armistice between the Emperors of Austria and France. A reverse, so untoward, occasioned serious embarrassment, but the cause was not on that account given up for lost; the impression made by a force so mighty, might give new impulse to the war, and at all events might answer the other purpose for which it was destined, the capture of Antwerp and of the French navy in the Scheldt. The expedition, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, sailed, and landing at Walcheren, after a fortnight's siege took Flushing. It was soon afterwards discovered that the ulterior objects of the enterprise were defeated. The French had by some means or other acquired an early intimation of the point to which this great armament would be directed; and before it left the English coast, had taken measures for the defence of Antwerp, and for the protection of the navy stationed there. Lord Chatham, determining not to sacrifice the lives of his soldiers to the attainment of a fruitless victory, embarked with the greater part of the army and returned home. The troops that remained gave up all their conquests except Walcheren, which the British ministry determined to retain, as a key to the Scheldt, in order to assist the trade between Great Britain and Holland. Here the troops were attacked by an enemy far more formidable than the French army, a pestilential fever incident to the climate. Against this foe a reinforcement of physicians was sent, whose operations, combined with that of the frost, partly checked its ravages. Still the mortality was dreadful,

and therefore a greater loss to the nation than could ever be compensated by the retention of so dear-bought a conquest. The army, thinned and weakened by disease, quitted and destroyed the barracks they had built, blew up the fortifications they had repaired, evacuated this ill-fated island, and returned to England.

Bonaparte, in his letter to the Emperor of Russia, stated "that the English ministers were fighting against each other." A duel had indeed taken place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, which was attended with no serious consequences. The only letters which passed on this unhappy occasion were the following:

St. James's Square, 19th Sept. 1809.

"SIR,

"It is unnecessary for me to enter into any detailed statement of the circumstances which preceded the recent resignations. It is enough for me, with a view to the immediate object of this letter, to state, that it appears a proposition had been agitated, without any communication with me, for my removal from the War-Department; and that you, towards the close of the last session, having urged a decision upon this question, with the alternative of your seceding from the government, procured a positive promise from the Duke of Portland (the execution of which you afterwards considered yourself entitled to enforce), that such removal should be carried into effect. Notwithstanding this promise, by which I consider you pronounced it unfit that I should remain charged with the conduct of the war, and by which my situation as a minister of the crown was made dependent upon your will and pleasure, you continued to sit in the same cabinet with me, and to leave me not only in the persuasion that I possessed your confidence and support as a colleague, but you allowed me, in breach of every principle of good faith, both public and private, though thus virtually superseded, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterprise of the most arduous and important nature, with your apparent concurrence, and ostensible approbation.

"You were fully aware that if my situation in the government had been disclosed to me, I could not have submitted to remain one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honor and public duty. You knew I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me.

"I am aware, it may be said, which I am ready to acknowledge, that when you pressed for a decision for my removal, you also pressed for its disclosure, and that it was resisted by the Duke of Portland, and some members of the government supposed to be my friends. But I never can admit, that you have a right to make use of such a plea, in justification of an act affecting my

honor, nor that the sentiments of others could justify an acquiescence in such a delusion on your part, who had yourself felt and stated its unfairness. Nor can I admit that the head of any administration, or any supposed friend, (whatever may be their motives) can authorize or sanction any man in such a course of long and persevering deception. For, were I to admit such a principle, my honor and character would be from that moment in the direction of persons wholly unauthorized, and known to you to be unauthorized, to act for me in such a case. It was therefore your act and your conduct which deceived me; and it is impossible for me to acquiesce in being placed in a situation by you, which no man of honor could knowingly submit to, nor patiently suffer himself to be betrayed into, without forfeiting that character.

"I have no right, as a public man, to resent your demanding, upon public grounds, my removal from the particular office I have held, or even from the administration, as a condition of your continuing a member of the government. But I have a distinct right to expect, that a proposition, justifiable in itself, shall not be executed in an unjustifiable manner, and at the expense of my honor and reputation. And I consider that you were bound, at least, to avail yourself of the same alternative, namely, your own resignation, to take yourself out of the predicament of practising such a deceit towards me, which you did exercise in demanding a decision for my removal.

"Under these circumstances, I must require that satisfaction from you to which I feel myself entitled to lay claim.

"I am, &c.

"CASTLEREAGH.

"The Right Hon. George Canning, &c. &c. &c."

Gloucester Lodge, Sept. 20, 1809.

"MY LORD,

"The tone and the purport of your lordship's letter, which I have this moment received; of course preclude any other answer on my part to the misapprehensions and misrepresentations with which it abounds, than that I will cheerfully give to your lordship the satisfaction which you require.

"I am, &c., and GEORGE CANNING.

"Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c."

The consequence of these dissensions was, that a new administration was formed, at the head of which was placed Marquis Wellesley.

It was hinted in the preceding chapter, that Sir Arthur Wellesley had been raised to the peerage of Great Britain. The London gazette, August 26, stated "that the Right Honorable Sir Arthur Wellesley, Knight of the most ho-

norable order of the Bath, and lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, (and his heirs male lawfully begotten) is raised to the dignity of the peerage, by the names, styles, and titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington, in the said county.

The Emperor of France now appeared sole uncontrolled lord of the continent; all submitted to his will; and only one consolation appeared to remain, that he himself was under the will of a higher power. The blockade system adopted by Napoleon for the purpose of crippling the British trade, which confirmed his inveterate malignity against the country, having been improved upon by the British cabinet by similar measures, induced M. Champagny, the minister for foreign affairs in France, to transmit the following official letter to General Armstrong, minister of the United States of America, at Paris.

"SIR,

"*Altenburgh, Aug. 22.*

"His majesty understanding that you are about to dispatch a ship to the United States, commands me to make known to you the unalterable principles which have and will regulate his conduct in the great question respecting neutrals.

"France admits the principle, that the flag protects trade. The trading vessel which carries the license of its government may be considered as a moving colony. To insult such a vessel by search, pursuit, or any act of arbitrary power, is a violation of the fundamental law of colonization, and is an attack upon the government of the same. The seas belong to every nation, without exception; they are the common property, and the domain of all mankind.

"Consistently with this doctrine, merchant vessels belonging to individuals may pass by inheritance to persons who never exposed themselves to be made prisoners of war. In all her conquests France has considered sacred private property deposited in the warehouses of the vanquished state, and such have had the complete disposal of matters of trade; and at this moment convoys by land of merchandise, and especially cottons, are passing through the French army and Austria, to proceed to the destination commerce directs. If France had seized the monopoly of the seas, she would have accumulated in her territory all the products of the earth, and she would have obtained unmeasurable wealth.

"Undoubtedly, if England had the dominion of land which she has acquired on the ocean, her acquisitions would have been equally enormous. She would, as in the times of barbarism, have sold the conquered, and distributed them as slaves throughout her land. The avarice of trade would have absorbed every thing, and the government of an enlightened nation, which has

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brought the arts of civilization to perfection, would have given the earliest instances of the return of the savage ages. That government is fully impressed with the injustice of its naval code. But what has that government to do with justice, which only inquires for profit?

"When France shall have established her naval power, which, with the extent of her coasts and her population, will be soon accomplished, then will the emperor reduce these principles to practice, and apply his mandate to render it universal. The right, or rather usurpation, of blockading rivers and coasts by proclamation is palpably contrary to reason and equity. A right cannot possibly spring from the will of an interested party, but must always be founded on the natural relations of things. A place is not properly blockaded unless it be besieged by land and water. It is blockaded to prevent the introduction of assistance, by which the surrender of the place might be protracted; and then we have only the right to prevent neutral ships from entering the port, when the place is thus circumstanced, and the possession of it is matter of doubt between the besiegers and besieged. On this is grounded the right to prevent neutrals from entering the place.

"The sovereignty and independence of its flag, like the sovereignty and independence of its territory, is the property of every neutral. A state may transfer itself to another state; it may destroy the archives of its independence, and pass from prince to prince; but the right of sovereignty is indivisible and unalienable; no one can renounce it.

"England has placed France in a state of blockade. The emperor has, in his decree of Berlin, declared the British Islands in a state of blockade. The first of these regulations forbid neutral vessels to proceed to France; the second prohibited their entering English harbours.

"England has, by her Orders of Council of the 11th of November, 1807, levied an impost on neutral ships, and obliged them to enter its ports before they sail to France. By the decree of the 17th of December of the same year, the emperor has decreed, that all such ships be denationalized which had entered English ports; or submitted to be searched.

"In order to ward off the inconveniencies with which this state of things threatened her commerce, America laid an embargo in all her harbours; and although France had done nothing more than used the right of retaliation, its wants, and those of its colonies, suffered much from this measure; yet did the emperor magnanimously connive at the proceeding, in order rather to endure the privation of commerce than to acknowledge the authority of the usurpers of the seas.

"The embargo was raised, and a system of non-intercourse was substituted for it. The powers

on the continent, in alliance with England, having the same object in view, made a common cause with her, that they might derive the same advantages. The harbours of Holland, of the Elbe, of the Weser, of Italy, and of Spain, were to enjoy those benefits from which France was to be excluded; and the one and the other were to be opened or closed to commerce as circumstances rendered expedient, so as France was bereft of it.

"Thus, Sir, in point of principle, France recognizes the freedom of neutral commerce, and the independence of the maritime powers, which she respected up to the moment when the maritime tyranny of England, that respects nothing, and the arbitrary proceedings of its government, compelled her to adopt measures of retaliation, to which she resorted with regret. Let England revoke her blockade with France, and France will recall her declaration of blockade against England. Let England revoke her Cabinet Orders of the 11th November, 1807, and the Milan Decree will expire of itself. The American commerce will then recover its complete freedom, and be assured of finding in the harbours of France favour and protection. But it belongs to the United States to attain this happy object by their firmness. Can a nation, resolved to remain free, hesitate between certain momentary interests and the great cause of maintaining her independence, her honour, her sovereignty, and her dignity?

"M. CHAMPAGNY."

There was certainly more virulence than truth exercised towards the British government in the above document. It was natural and prudent in that government, when threatened by France by every mode that could argue inveterate rancour, to provide for its own defence and security against the malignant efforts of the common enemy; consequently, the Orders of Council were justified by the reasons which caused their publication, whatever plea of justification France could assert to the contrary.

Bonaparte, not satisfied with secular victories and dominion, aimed at another conquest, and thought it right to attack the apostolic see of Rome. Pius VII. who filled the papal throne, alive to all the feelings of his situation, entered his protest against the encroachments suggested by Bonaparte, in which he declared, that

"The dark designs, conceived by the enemies of the apostolic see have been accomplished.

"After the violent and unjust spoliation of the fairest and most considerable portion of our dominions, we behold ourselves, under unworthy pretexts, and with so much the greater injustice, entirely stripped of our temporal sovereignty, to which our spiritual independence is intimately united. In the midst of this cruel persecution we are comforted by the reflection, that we encounter

such a heavy misfortune, not for any offence given to the Emperor of France, which has always been the object of our affectionate paternal solicitude, nor for any intrigue of worldly policy, but for an unwillingness to betray our duties.

"To please men and to displease God is not allowed to any one professing the catholic religion, and much less can it be permitted to its head and promulgator.

"As we, besides, owe it to God and the church, to hand down our rights uninjured and untouched, we protest against this new violent spoliation, and declare it null and void.

"We reject, with the firmest resolution, any allowance which the Emperor of the French may intend to assign us; and to the individuals composing our college.

"We should all cover ourselves with ignominy in the face of the church, if we suffered our subsistence to depend on him who usurps her authority.

"We commit ourselves entirely to providence, and to the affection of the faithful, and we shall be contented piously to terminate the bitter career of our sorrowful days.

"We adore, with profound humility, God's inscrutable decrees; we invoke his commiseration upon our good subjects, who will ever be our joy and our crown; and after having in this hardest of trials done what our duties required of us, we exhort them to preserve always untouched the religion and the faith, and to unite themselves to us, for the purpose of conjuring with sighs and tears, both in the closet and before the altar, the supreme Father of Light, that he may vouchsafe to change the base designs of our persecutors.

"Given at our Apostolic Palace, del Quirinale, this 10th of June, 1809.

"PIUS PAPA VII."

This protest was accompanied by the following excommunication against Napoleon Bonaparte:

"Pius VII. Pontiff.

"By the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Paul and St. Peter, we declare you and all your co-operators in the act of violence which you are executing, to have incurred the same excommunication, which we, in our apostolic letters, contemporaneously affixing in the usual places of this city, declare to have been incurred by all

those who, on the violent invasion of this city on the 2d of February last year, were guilty of the acts of violence against which we have protested, as well really in so many declarations, that by our order have been issued by our successive secretaries of state, as also in two consistorial colloquations of the 16th of March, and the 11th of July, 1808, in common with all their agents, abettors, advisers, or whosoever else have been accessory to, or himself been engaged in, the execution of those attempts.

"Given at Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, June 10th, in the tenth year of our Pontificate.

"PIUS PAPA VII."

On the 3d of October, the prince arch-chancellor, pursuant to instructions from his majesty the emperor, repaired to the senate to officiate at their meeting as president. Having been received with the accustomed ceremonies, and taken his seat, he addressed them as follows:

"Messieurs,—A message from his majesty, which you will hear read, acquaints the senate with fresh proofs of the magnanimous bounty with which his majesty has been pleased to acknowledge important services.

"His illustrious highness, the Prince of Neuchâtel, vice-constable, is created Prince of Wagram. Marshal the Duke of Auerstadt, is created Prince of Ekmul, Marshal the Duke of Rivoli, is created Prince of Eslingon.

"To these hereditary titles are annexed considerable estates, which the emperor has purchased from the legion of honour.

"The appellations given to the new principalities forcibly impress on our remembrance the victories and valour of the titulars, who have co-operated with the genius of his majesty.

"By means of this happy association, the reward which the emperor confers in honour of personal services, becomes, at the same time, a monument of national glory.

"The senate will feel no less satisfaction in receiving this communication, than I experience in making it, in conformity to the orders of his majesty the emperor and king."

Count Semonville, the secretary, then read the emperor's message, which described the various domains respectively attached to the new titles.

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I.

Bonaparte's Views and selfish Munificence.—Opening of the Legislative Body.—Bonaparte's Speech.—Intended Dissolution of his Marriage with Josephine.—Legislative Proceedings on this Occasion.—Articles of Divorce.—Addresses to the French Emperor.—His ostentatious Replies.—Holland declared a Part of France.—Bonaparte's second Marriage with the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa.—Decrees, &c.

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THE reduction of Spain was a circumstance of the utmost consequence to Bonaparte, as it furnished no further hindrance to his favourite object of subjugating all the nations of Europe under his control. The humiliation which Austria had experienced, joined to the mortifying consent of Russia and Sweden, exhibited in their late treaty of alliance, favorable to the insidious views of France, were also indicative demonstrations of the powers with which they seemed willing to invest that autocrat, who was so desirous to reduce the whole of Europe under his absolute authority, though nominally under the obedience of the several branches of his family. Thus a confederacy was about to be formed by a family originally obscured, but which the most extraordinary circumstances had raised in an equally surprising manner. Their interest and safety necessarily depending on their chief, they consequently considered themselves only as the ministers of a system suggested and maintained by the vast abilities of their chief, and could only cohere so long as the master-spring and principal movement remained unimpeded. Bonaparte, aware of the strength and necessity of such a principle, spared no efforts to keep it up, by the most munificent rewards to his adherents. Hence that apparent liberality which he exhibited about this period, so contrary to his selfish nature; and hence arose the various kingdoms, principalities, and dukedoms which he thought it convenient to confer.

On the 3d of December, at six o'clock in the morning, a discharge of artillery, at Paris, announced the opening of the legislative body, which was about to take place on that day.

At half-past ten Bonaparte left the Thuilleries to proceed to Notre Dame. He was in the coronation coach with his majesty the King of West-

phalia. The King of Naples, the princes, grand dignitaries, ministers, grand officers of the empire and of the crown, preceded him. He was received by the clergy at the entrance of the church, and conducted to the choir, under a canopy. The tribunals of the choir were occupied by his consort Josephine, the imperial family, the Kings of Wirtemberg and Saxony, and the Queen of Westphalia. One of the almoners said the mass. His eminence Cardinal Fesch, Grand Almoner, celebrated *Te Deum*. Bonaparte, reconducted under the canopy, as on his entrance to the church, proceeded to the palace of the legislative body. Being seated, the members of the legislative body newly elected took the oaths; after which the emperor made the following speech:—

"Gentlemen deputies of departments to the Legislative Body—Since your last session I have reduced Arragon and Castile to submission, and driven from Madrid the fallacious government formed by England. I was marching upon Cadiz and Lisbon, when I was under the necessity of treading back my steps, and of planting my eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months have seen the rise and termination of this fourth Punic war. Accustomed to the devotedness and courage of my armies, I must, nevertheless, under these circumstances, acknowledge the particular proofs of affection which my soldiers of Germany have given me.

"The genius of France conducted the English army—it has terminated its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. In that important period I remained 400 leagues distant, certain of the new glory which my people would acquire, and of the grand character they would display. My hopes have not been deceived—I owe par-

tiular thanks to the citizens of the departments of the Pas de Calais and the North. Frenchmen! Every one that shall oppose you shall be conquered and reduced to submission. Your grandeur shall be increased by the hatred of your enemies. You have before you long years of glory and prosperity. You have the force and energy of the Hercules of the ancients. I have united Tuscany to the empire. The Tuscans were worthy of it by the mildness of their character, by the attachment their ancestors have always shewn us, and by the services they have rendered to European civilization.

"History pointed out to me the conduct I ought to pursue towards Rome: the popes, become sovereigns of part of Italy, have constantly shewn themselves enemies of every preponderating power in the peninsula—they have employed their spiritual power to injure it.—It was then demonstrated to me that the spiritual influence exercised in my states by a foreign sovereign, was contrary to the independence of France, to the dignity and safety of my throne. However, as I acknowledge the necessity of the spiritual influence of the descendants of the first of the pastors, I could not conciliate these grand interests, but by annulling the denative of the French emperors, my predecessors, and by uniting the Roman states to France.

"By the treaty of Vienna, all the kings and sovereigns my allies, who have given me so many proofs of the constancy of their friendship, have acquired and shall acquire a fresh increase of territory.

"The Illyrian provinces stretch the frontiers of my great empire to the Save. Contiguous to the empire of Constantinople, I shall find myself in a situation to watch over the first interests of my commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Levant. I will protect the Porte, if the Porte withdraw herself from the fatal influence of England. I shall know how to punish her, if she suffer herself to be governed by cunning and perfidious counsels.

"I have wished to give the Swiss nation a new proof of my esteem, by annexing to my titles that of their mediator, and thus putting an end to all the uneasiness endeavoured to be spread among that brave people.

"Holland, placed between England and France, is equally bruised by them. Yet she is the *debouche* of the principal arteries of my empire.—Changes will become necessary; the safety of my frontiers, and the well-understood interests of the two countries imperiously require them.

"Sweden has lost, by her alliance with England, after a disastrous war, the finest and most important of her provinces. Happy would it have been for that nation, if the wise prince that governs her now had ascended the throne some years sooner! This example proves anew to

kings that the alliance of England is the surest BOOK IX.
presage of ruin.

"My ally and friend, the Emperor of Russia, has united to his vast empire, Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a district of Gallicia.—I am not jealous of any thing that can produce good to that empire. My sentiments for its illustrious sovereign are in unison with my policy.

"When I shall shew myself beyond the Pyrenees, the frightened leopard will fly to the ocean, to avoid shame, defeat, and death. The triumph of my arms will be the triumph of the genius of good over that of evil, of moderation, order, and morality over civil war, anarchy, and the bad passions. My friendship and protection will, I hope, restore tranquillity and happiness to the people of Spain.

"*Gentlemen deputies of departments to the legislative body*—I have directed my minister of the interior to lay before you the history of the legislation, of the administration, and of the finances of the year just expired; you will see that all the ideas I had conceived for the amelioration of my people, have been followed by the greatest activity—that in Paris, as in the most distant parts of my empire, the war has not produced any delay in the public works. The members of my council in state will submit to you different projects of law, and especially the law upon the finances; you will see in it their prosperous condition. I demand of my people no new sacrifice, though circumstances have obliged me to double my military means."

The design which Bonaparte was supposed to have long entertained of dissolving his marriage with Josephine, he at length avowed.—The happiness of France, involved in the tranquil transmission of the sovereignty to a scion from the stock of Bonaparte, was assigned as the motive for this extraordinary proceeding. Thus the governor of a nation still assuming the name of *Christians*, repudiated his wife with as much indifference as he would put off his robes, and without paying even the common homage of seeking a seeming concurrence from his church.—A sacrament of his religion was about to be annulled by a mere ordinance of the French state! Before the face of a whole people; and to the astonishment of the world, the French emperor, in contempt of the first ordinances of the religion he seemed to profess, took upon himself to promote a release from an obligation which he had solemnly contracted upon the altar! A divorce from his wife, against whom no neglect of duty, no want of affection, nor any other cause could reasonably be adduced.

The *projet* of a decree on this subject was submitted to the senate, December 16, and the following were the legislative proceedings on the occasion:

"By desire of his majesty the emperor, all

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the members of the senate assembled at eleven o'clock in the morning, in full dress, in the hall of their usual sittings. The sitting of the senate at which the Kings of Westphalia and Naples, Grand Admiral the Prince Vice-Roy of Italy, the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Prince Vice-Grand-Constable, and the Prince Vice-Grand-Elector, assisted, and at which the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire presided, formed, on account of the importance of the subjects which were discussed, an epoch in the annals of France. On that day was presented to the senator a *projet* of a *Senatus Consultum*, respecting a dissolution of the marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine. This dissolution of marriage, required by the two high parties, and approved of by a family council, at which all the princes and princesses of the imperial family, at present in Paris, assisted, received the same day the assent of the senate, after having been the object of examination of a special commission, named for this purpose. After having read the contents of the imperial decree, which enacted the convocation of the senate, and of that which directed that it should be presided by the prince arch-chancellor, and that the princes of the imperial family, hereafter named, should be present in the senate, the official journal gave an account of this memorable sitting in the following terms:— [Here followed a speech from the arch-chancellor of state, the prince arch-chancellor of the empire, president, and Duke of Parma.]

"The Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely laid before the senate the *projet* of the *Senatus Consultum*, and explained the motives of it, which were, that they mutually sacrifice their conjugal happiness to the welfare and interests of their country." [Here followed a speech from the Prince Vice-Roy of Italy; after which the Count Garnier, annual president, proposed to refer the *projet* of the *Senatus Consultum* to the examination of a special commission of nine members, which was named, and made its report during the sitting.]

"At half past four the senate resumed its sitting; and Count Lacépède, one of the members of the special commission, made the report, which terminated in proposing the adoption of the *projet* of the *Senatus Consultum*, and also the adoption of two addresses, one to the emperor and the other to the empress.

Extract from the Register of the Conservative Senate, of Saturday the 16th December, 1809.

"The conservative senate, assembled to the number of members prescribed by article 90th of the act of the constitution, and dated the 13th December, 1799, having seen the act drawn up, the 15th of the present month, by the prince arch-

chancellor of the empire, of which the following is the substance:—

"In the year 1809, and the 15th day of December, at nine o'clock in the evening, we, Jean Jacques Regis Cambaceres, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, Duke of Parma, exercising the functions prescribed to us by title the 2d of the 14th article of the statute of the imperial family, and in consequence of orders addressed to us by his majesty the emperor and king, in his private letter, dated that day, of the following tenor:—

"My cousin, our desire is, that you repair this day, at nine o'clock in the evening, to our grand cabinet of the palace of the Thuilleries, attended by the civil secretary of state of our imperial family, to receive from us, and from the empress our dear consort, a communication of great importance; for this purpose we have ordered that this present private letter should be sent you.

—We pray God to have you, my cousin, in his holy blessed keeping.

"Paris, December 15, 1809."

On the back was written, "To our cousin, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, Duke of Parma."

"We accordingly proceeded to the hall of the throne of the Palace of the Thuilleries, attended by Michel-Louis-Etienne Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely,) count of the empire, minister of state, and secretary of state to the imperial family. A quarter of an hour afterwards we were introduced to the grand cabinet of the emperor, where we found his majesty the emperor and king, with her majesty the empress, attended by their majesties the Kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples, his imperial highness the prince vice-roy; the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Spain; madame, and her imperial highness the princess Pauline. His majesty the emperor and king condescended to address us in these terms:—

"My cousin, prince arch-chancellor, I dispatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my cabinet, for the purpose of communicating to you the resolution which I and the empress, my dearest consort, have taken. It gives me pleasure that the kings, queens, and princesses, my brothers and sisters, my brothers and sisters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son-in-law, become my adopted son, as well as my mother, should witness what I am going to communicate to you.

"The politics of my monarchy, the interest and the wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require that after me, I should leave to children, inheritors of my love for my people, that throne on which providence has placed me. Notwithstanding, for several years past, I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort the Empress Josephine. This it is which induce

me to sacrifice the sweetest affections of my heart, to attend to nothing but the good of the state, and to wish the dissolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and sentiments, the children which it may please providence to give me: God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice beyond my courage, that I will not make, when it is proved to me to be necessary to the welfare of France. I should add, that far from ever having had reason to complain, on the contrary, I have had only to be satisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved consort. She has adorned fifteen years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wish she should preserve the rank and title of empress, but, above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend."

"His majesty the emperor and king having ended, her majesty the empress and queen spoke as follows:

"By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy and the interests of France, I am pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty; it was his hand which crowned me; and from the height of his throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people.

"I think I prove myself grateful in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage, which heretofore was an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendants of a great man, evidently raised up by providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will, in no degree, change the sentiments of my heart. The emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy and by interests so great, has chilled his heart; but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country."

"After which their imperial majesties having demanded an act of their respective declarations as well as of the mutual consent contained in them, and which their majesties gave to the dissolution of their marriage, as also of the power which their majesties conferred on us to follow up as need shall require the effect of their will, we, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, in obedience to the orders and requisitions of their ma-

jesties, have given the aforesaid act, and have in consequence executed the present *proces verbal*, to serve and avail according to law, to which *proces verbal* their majesties have affixed their signatures; and which, after having been signed by the kings, queens, princes, and princesses present has been signed by us, and countersigned by the secretary of the imperial family.

"Done at the Palace of the 'Tuilleries,' the day, hour, and the year aforesaid.

(Signed)

" NAPOLEON,	" EUGENE NAPOLEON,
" JOSEPHINE,	" JULIE,
" MADAME,	" HORTENSE,
" LOUIS,	" CATHERINE,
" JEROME NAPOLEON,	" PAULINE,
" JOACHIM NAPOLEON,	" CAROLINE,
" CAMBACERES, Prince Arch-Chancellor,	
" COUNT HEYNAULT, (de St. Jean d'Angely.)"	

"Having seen the *projet* of the *Senatus Consultum*, drawn up in the form prescribed by the fifty-seventh article of the act of the constitution of the 4th August, 1802; after having heard the motives of the said *projet*, the orators of the council of state, and the report of the special commission, appointed in the sitting of this day; the adoption having been discussed by the number of members prescribed by the fifty-sixth article of the act of the constitution of the 4th August, 1802, decree,

"Art. I. The marriage contracted between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine is dissolved.

"II. The Empress Josephine shall preserve the title and rank of Empress Queen crowned.

"III. Her dowry is fixed at an annual income of two millions of francs, on the revenue of the state.

"IV. All the assignments which may be made by the emperor in favor of the Empress Josephine on the funds of the civil list, shall be obligatory on his successors.

"V. The present *Senatus Consultum* shall be transmitted by a message to his imperial and royal majesty."

The two addresses proposed by the commission were afterwards put to the vote, and adopted.

The arch-chancellor, in consequence of the authority received from the emperor and empress, presented a petition to the diocesan court of the officiality of Paris. The court, after examining witnesses, and going through the usual forms of proceeding, pronounced a sentence of nullity as to their marriage, so far as regarded the spiritual bond of union, and on the 12th of January, 1810, the said sentence was confirmed by the Metropolitan officiality.

At this time Bonaparte received addresses from some of his dependent establishments, to which he returned answers in his usual style of

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selfish ostentation. One of them contained the following expressions:—"Myself and my ally, the Emperor of Russia, have made every effort to give peace to the world, but without success." Another: "I desire that such of your fellow-citizens, as have their children in foreign-service, should recal them." In another answer he uttered one of his accustomed vulgar and vindictive philippics against the King of England, whom he falsely accused of being the cause of the prolongation of the war, and boasted that the longer the contest was continued, the more would his means increase of distressing England, whom he described as being in the last stage of existence.

The kingdom of Holland was now pitched upon as necessary to be added to the French empire; for the *Exposé* expressly said, "Holland is, in fact, only a part of France. A definition of that country may be given, by saying, that it is a continuation of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt—that is to say, of the great arteries of the French empire."

The consequence of Bonaparte's divorce was, as might naturally be expected, a second marriage. On the meeting of the senate, Feb. 27, the prince arch-chancellor, who presided on the occasion, read the following message from the emperor: "Senators, we have dispatched to Vienna, as our ambassador extraordinary, our cousin, the Prince of Neufchatel, to solicit the hand of the Arch-duchess Maria-Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria. We have given orders to our minister for foreign relations to lay before you the articles of the treaty of marriage between us and the Arch-duchess Maria-Louisa, which has been concluded, signed, and ratified. We have been desirous of eminently contributing to the happiness of the present generation. The enemies of the continent have founded their prosperity upon its dissensions and divisions. They can no longer nourish war, by imputing to us projects incompatible with the ties and duties of affinity, which we have just contracted with the imperial house reigning in Austria. The brilliant qualities which distinguish the Arch-duchess Maria-Louisa have acquired her the love of the people of Austria. They have fixed our regards. Our people will love this princess from their love for us, until, being witnesses of all the virtues which have given her so a high a place in our thoughts, they shall love her for herself.—Given at our palace of the Tuilleries, the 27th of February, 1810.

Signed

"NAPOLEON."

After the message was read, the Duke de Cadore communicated to the senate the articles of the marriage treaty, which were in the usual form. The articles were, with regard to portion,

dowry, and jewels, in all respects the same as those in the marriage treaties, in preceding reigns, between the kings and dauphins of France and the princesses of Austria. The value of the jewels, and the nuptial ornaments which Napoleon had destined for his bride, was estimated at eighteen millions of francs.

The marriage was celebrated at Vienna on the 11th of March, at six o'clock in the evening, and the empress set off on the 13th on her way to Paris, where the ceremony took place on the 1st of April. The train of the Empress Louisa was supported by four queens, and after the marriage the royal pair set off for St. Cloud. Three days after they received the congratulations of the senate. Bonaparte's answer was short and general; and the empress, contrary to the practice of her predecessors, made no reply.

By this marriage, the Emperor Napoleon became related to almost all the royal families of Europe. Besides being son-in-law to the Emperor of Austria, and nephew to the Archduke Charles, he became great nephew to the Queen of Naples (before Joachim Murat was king,) first cousin to Ferdinand VII. of Spain, and to the Prince-regent of Portugal; he was also nephew to the daughter of Louis XVI. the Duchess of Angouleme.

By a decree of the senate, which adopted a *senatus consultum* at Paris, Rome was united to the French empire.

By a decree dated at Fontainebleau, October 19, all prohibited articles of English manufacture at that time in France, or that might after that period be brought into it, were ordered to be burned. A similar order was applied to Holland, the duchy of Berg, the Hans Towns and all the country between the Maine and the sea. By this decree, all British merchandize introduced into the kingdoms of Italy or Naples, the Illyrian provinces, the parts of Spain occupied by the French, and generally in all the places within the reach of the French troops, was to be burned also. It likewise ordered that those who introduced them should be branded on the forehead, and imprisoned from three to ten years.

By a decree of the 12th of November, Napoleon united to the French empire the territory of the Valais, under the name of the department of Simplon. The pretexts to this annexation were, that the Simplon, connecting France and Italy, had cost both treasuries eighteen millions of livres; that the Valais had not adhered to its engagements, and that it was necessary to put an end to the struggles for power among the population.

A convention was concluded between France and Austria; by the articles of which, the sequestrations upon the property of the partizans of either in the Austrian territories, or in those of

the Rhenish confederation, were done away, in order, as the preamble stated, to efface all traces of the late war in Germany. In conformity with this arrangement, all the Austrian nobles, having possessions in the states of the Rhenish confederation, were requested to declare, within the first days of the year 1811, whether they would choose to remain in the service of the court of Vienna, or return to their possessions within the limits of the confederation. In the first case they were required to sell such estates within the space of five years, or transfer them to some branch of their family who would be resident.

The Austrian monarchy, by the loss of the quicksilver mines of Istria, in consequence of the late war, and the lead mines of Bleyberg, the customs at Trieste, the salt works at Hallein, Saltzburgh, and Wicheza in Gallicia, with the customs of the ceded countries, sustained an annual deficiency in her revenues of forty millions of francs. It may likewise be added, that the sum total of the war contributions paid by Austria to France, amounted to eighty-five millions of francs, of which thirty millions were paid in cash, and the rest in bills of exchange, at five millions per month; the

last payment of which was to take place in October, 1810.

The annexation of the Hanoverian territory to the kingdom of Westphalia, was definitively settled. A proclamation issued by King Jerome to his new subjects, was dated from Cassel, the 1st of March; and after stating that Napoleon had, by a convention concluded at Paris on the 14th of January, resigned all his rights and claims on that country to him, he congratulated the Hanoverians on being relieved from the painful state of uncertainty in which they had hitherto lingered, adverted to their present misery and wretchedness, engaged to protect them against all attacks of continental powers, and to secure them from the insults incident to a maritime war; and concluded with expressing a hope, that they would render themselves worthy of the brilliant prospect which this union opens to their view. The deputies of Hanover took the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign, on the part of the people, at Cassel, on the 14th of March. Hanover, by this determination, was divided into three departments, viz. those of the Aller, of the Ilmenau, and of the mouths of the Elbe and Weser.

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CHAPTER II.

Disposition and Number of the combined British and Portuguese Army, and of the French.—Narrow Escape of King Joseph.—State of Seville.—Expedition under Captain Mends.—Events at Santona.—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.—Its Surrender to the French.—The Enemy take Sanabria and Almeida.—Expedition from Cadiz under Captain George Cockburne, of the Implacable.—Battle of Busaco.

DURING the early part of the year 1810, the combined British and Portuguese army continued stationary. A division, under the command of Major-general Hill, occupied the line to the south of the Tagus, while the main army, extended from the right bank of that river to the Douro. Portuguese militia chiefly garrisoned the fortress of Almeida, under Major-general Cox, a British officer; the light troops were under Major-general Craufurd, in front of that fortress, and patroled as far as Ciudad Rodrigo, in Spain. The French, composed of three corps, under Ney, Junot, and Regnier, commanded by Marshal Massena, were collected at Salamanca, and on the Portuguese frontiers, to the number (it was said) of 80,000 men. The combined army did not exceed 60,000, besides the Portuguese militia, the greater part of which were in the north-

ern provinces with General Francisco de Silveira, and at Oporto and Coimbra with Colonels Trant and Millar.

On the 7th of July, a party of 400 cavalry made an attempt to surprise King Joseph at his country-seat near Madrid, whither he occasionally resorted to visit a *chere amie*. They killed the guard which was constantly kept there, but did not meet with their object, the usurper having gone that night to the play at the Coliseo del Principe. Informed of this, they pursued their course to the palace, where they cut down the guards at the gate. They did the same to those whom they found guarding the theatre. This occasioned an immediate uproar, and from the great confusion that took place in the interior, they were prevented from passing to the box where King Joseph was seated, which gave him an op-

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Seville was at this time in the most deplorable condition, owing to the incessantly renewed demands of the French, the rudeness of their troops, and the tyranny of their general (Soult). In Valentia the greatest energy prevailed, and Arragon also became aroused to fresh exertions.

After a consultation with the junta of Asturias, June 24, Captain Mends consented to receive on board of the squadron placed under his command by Lord Gambier, the Spanish brigadier-general Porlier and 500 of his soldiers, with the intention of beating-up the enemy's quarters along the coast of Cantabria and Biscay, in order to make a diversion of his troops towards the sea-ports in his possession, and thus afford an opportunity for a combined movement of the Spanish armies in Asturias, by compelling the enemy to detach more of his forces to oppose them, and thereby weaken the interior of that province and St. Andero, or to suffer his sea-defences to be destroyed, and his supplies coastways cut off; the one or other alternative appearing an inevitable result of such movements.

Captain Mends completely succeeded in the maritime part of the expedition without the loss of a single man, having destroyed all the batteries (with the exception of Castro) from St. Sebastian to St. Andero, on which were found about 100 pieces of heavy cannon altogether; and laid that whole extent of sea-coast entirely bare of defence.

Communications were then opened with these provinces, and the strong port of Santona and the numerous batteries round Bermeo being dismantled, two good anchorages were obtained for British vessels. The brigade of seamen and marines from the squadron were commanded by the Hon. Captain Aylmer, of the *Narcissus*, who, in his letter to Captain Mends, dated July 9, thus relates the events which took place on their landing at Santona.

SIR,—Herein I beg leave to detail the proceedings of the battalion of seamen and royal marines which you did me the honor to place under my command, acting in conjunction with, and under the orders of, Brigadier-general Porlier.

“On the morning of the 5th instant we landed with the Spanish force on the beach to the westward of Santona, and immediately went forward to the town, which we entered without any loss, the French retiring across the river; our advanced guard, under Lieut. Desbrisay, of the marines of the *Amazon*, with the Spanish *tirailleurs*, succeed-

ed in stopping a part of the rear-guard of the French, after killing two, and wounding a few more, and taking some prisoners; in the course of the day, Brigadier-general Porlier sent off some of his men on the road to St. Andero, and Lieutenant Pearson, of the *Arethusa*, was detached with a party of seamen to destroy the guns in the forts, which was completely effected.

“The sixth was employed in examining the place, in case of being attacked by the French, whom we had reason to expect would advance in force from St. Andero.

“On the morning of the 7th, we placed the boats' carronades on a hill which commanded the isthmus leading to the town, and posted the men along the hedges and vineyards in front of the position, the Spaniards on the right on a sand-hill, and the English, with the Spanish *tirailleurs*, in the centre and left. At about eleven o'clock, A. M. a firing was heard, and our advanced parties retired, closely followed by the French. The marines composing our out-post, under Lieut. Fennel, of the *Arethusa*, retired in the most perfect order. Very shortly the enemy was observed advancing rapidly in three columns, one making for the right, the other for the left, keeping the third in reserve; their principal object appeared the right, where the Spaniards were posted; but they were almost immediately checked by the steadiness of the reception they there met with; and a few shot being fired from the battery, the other column on our left scarcely advanced, but fired at a distance; finding, probably, our preparations made with more strength than they imagined, they faced about and retired, leaving several killed and wounded. The enemy's force appeared to consist of between seven and eight hundred men; and I have only to regret that they did not advance nearer, for had they done so, I am convinced a most complete and entire destruction of their whole force would have taken place. Brigadier-general Porlier detached his sharp-shooters to harass their rear; they succeeded in killing and wounding several, and making some prisoners; on the whole, I conceive the loss of the French in the three several days, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounts to about one hundred and fifty men.—The whole of the guns, &c. in Santona and Laredo are destroyed, consisting of twenty-two twenty-four pounders and four thirteen-inch brass mortars.

“On the 8th in the morning, according to your directions, I withdrew the guns and ammunition, &c. and re-embarked with the people, without any loss; the Spaniards only having seven men wounded.

“I have now to acknowledge the obligation I am under to Captain Bowles, of the *Medusa*, for his indefatigable activity in getting every thing

arranged, and having the men in such perfect order when the enemy advanced, as well as to express the great satisfaction I felt at the steadiness and firmness with which the men awaited the attack. Lieutenant Rees, of the Dryad, who did the duty of adjutant to the battalion, has also my sincere thanks for the assistance he gave me in the different directions, and for his unremitted attention to the order of the whole. The only officers who had the least opportunity to distinguish themselves, were; Lieutenants Desbrisay and Fennel, of the marines, who commanded the advanced-guards during the two little affairs.

"I am, &c. F. W. AYLMER."

The campaign of this year had begun with the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. The enemy took up their ground before this place on the 26th of April; they invested it completely June 11, and on the 24th opened their fire upon it. There was a large practicable breach in the place, and the enemy had made preparations for a storm; when Marshal Ney having offered terms of capitulation, the garrison surrendered. This place had made a most obstinate defence during a terrific and destructive fire of sixteen days. Marshal Massena (Prince of Essling) in his report said, "it is impossible to form an idea of the state to which Ciudad Rodrigo is reduced. Every thing is battered down and ruined, not so much as a single house standing entire." Upwards of 2,000 men were killed, including the troops and inhabitants. The garrison, consisting of 7,000 men, laid down their arms in the arsenal, on the entrance of the French troops. At this place the French took six stand of colours, 125 excellent pieces of artillery, the greater part of them brass, 200,000 pounds of powder, 120,000 cartridges, and a considerable quantity of shot and artillery stores.

On the 29th of July, the French general, Count Serras, attacked the fort of Senabria, which was defended by 3,000 Spaniards. This post was important, as the French account stated, because it commanded the entrance into Portugal, and shut up the communications with Galicia. After a slight resistance the Spanish general abandoned the town, and the French found therein twenty pieces of artillery, and provisions for 3,000 men for six months.

The Portuguese general, Silveira, had, on the 23d, obtained some advantages over a body of the enemy, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of Outeira.

A treaty of alliance and friendship between his Britannic majesty and the Prince Regent of Portugal having been made public, the French commander-in-chief issued the following proclamation:

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"Portuguese,—The armies of Napoleon the Great are on your frontiers, and we are on the point of entering your country as friends, not as conquerors. They do not come to make war upon you, but to fight those who have induced you to take up arms. Portuguese, awake to your true interests. What has England done for you, that you endure her troops in your native soil? She has destroyed your manufactures, ruined your commerce, paralyzed your industry, for the sole purpose of sending into your country articles of her own manufacture, and making you her tributaries. What does she do at present, that you should embrace the unjust cause which has roused the whole of the continent against her? She deceives you respecting the issue of a campaign in which she seems determined to incur no risk. She puts your battalions in advance, as if your blood was to reckon for nothing. She is prepared to abandon you when it will suit her interest, however disastrous the consequences may be to you; and to complete your misfortunes and her insatiable ambition, she sends her ships into your ports to transport to her colonies such of you as may escape from the dangers to which she has exposed you on the continent. Does not the conduct of her army before Ciudad Rodrigo sufficiently explain to you what you are to expect from such allies? Did they not encourage the garrison and the unfortunate inhabitants of that fortress, by deceitful promises, and did they discharge a single musket to assist them? Again; lately have they placed any of their troops in Almeida, except a commander who is put there to invite you to as ill-judged a resistance as that of Ciudad Rodrigo? What! is it not an insult to place one Englishman thus in the scale against 6,000 of your countrymen? Portuguese, be no longer deceived. The powerful sovereign whose laws, strength, and genius, receive the grateful praises of so many nations, wishes to establish your prosperity. Put yourselves under his protection. Receive his troops like friends, and you will find security both for your persons and property. You are not ignorant of the miseries of war; you know that they extend to every thing that is most dear to you, your children, relatives, friends, property, private and political lives. Come to a determination then, that will secure to you all the advantages of peace. Remain quiet in your habitations, attend to your domestic affairs; and consider those only as your enemies who excite you to a war, by every event of which your country must suffer.

"The Marshal Prince of Essling, commander-in-chief of the army in Portugal,

"*Ciudad Rodrigo, Aug. 1.* MASSENA."

Massena afterwards issued another address to

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the Portuguese nation, dated from Ciudad Rodrigo, in which he estimated the French force employed for the invasion of Portugal at 110,000 men. The address was drawn up with little art, and some passages were replete with falsehoods. He said:—"Against you his majesty the emperor has no animosity; on the contrary, it is his highest wish to promote your happiness; and the first step to secure it is to dismiss from the country those locusts who consume your property, blast your harvests, and palsy your efforts. Believe me, in opposing the emperor, you oppose your true friend; a friend who has it in his power to render you the happiest people in the world. Were it not for the insidious councils of England, you might now have enjoyed peace and tranquillity, and have been put in possession of that happiness." Again:—"The King of England is actuated by selfish and narrow purposes; the Emperor of the French is governed by the principles of universal philanthropy." In the following, the mask was thrown off; and the sanguinary path which the ferocious monster whom he served would pursue to attain universal dominion was clearly shewn:—"Snatch the moment that mercy and generosity offer. As friends you may respect us, and be respected in return; as foes you must dread us, and in the conflict must be subdued. The choice is your own, either to meet the horrors of a bloody war, and to see your country desolated, your villages in flames, and your cities plundered, or to accept an honorable and happy peace, which will obtain for you every blessing that by resistance you would resign for ever."

On the 15th of August, Massena caused the trenches to be opened before Almeida, when a false attack, directed against the north of the town, had drawn the attention of the besieged to that quarter. After a most obstinate defence, which continued till the 26th, the governor sent some officers to request a cessation of hostilities. Marshal Massena made known to them the terms of capitulation which he intended to offer, and several hours were employed in negotiation; but as this did not answer the expectations of the French general, he ordered the fire to recommence at eight in the evening, and three hours after the governor signed a capitulation, by which the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and the Portuguese militia deposited their arms, and were permitted to return home. The French found on the batteries ninety-eight pieces of cannon, and seventeen requiring repair, 3,000 rations of biscuit, 100,000 rations of salt meat, and a great quantity of other provisions.

The following dispatch, relative to the fall of Almeida, was addressed to the Earl of Liverpool by Lord Wellington.

"My Lord.—I inclose a letter from Colonel

Cox, late Governor of Almeida, to Marshal Beresford, containing a copy of the capitulation of Almeida, and an account of the circumstances which occasioned the early surrender of that place. It was impossible to expect that Colonel Cox should continue the defence of the place, after the unfortunate occurrence which he mentions; and I am happy to add, that all the accounts which I have received from officers and soldiers of the militia, who have come into the interior under the capitulation, concur in applauding the conduct of the governor throughout the siege, and in the unfortunate situation in which he was placed towards its close. It is certain that, till the explosion of the magazine of the place, the garrison had sustained but little loss, and were in the highest spirits; and, encouraged by the example of the governor, and the confidence they had in him, were determined to hold out till the last moment.—I have the honor to inclose the copy of a letter, which I received from Marshal Beresford, in which he inclosed the letter from Colonel Cox; to which I have to add, that the two officers mentioned in that letter, the Tenente del Rey, and the major of the artillery, have entered the service of France, and that the latter has been promoted to the rank of colonel. I am also informed, that when sent out by the governor into the enemy's lines to negotiate the capitulation, and after he had informed the enemy of the unfortunate situation of the garrison, he did not return to the place when hostilities recommenced, but continued in the enemy's lines.

"WELLINGTON."

Extract of a letter from Marshal Beresford to Viscount Wellington, dated Moimenta da Serra, Sept. 4.

"I have the honor to transmit to your lordship a copy of a letter I have received from Colonel Cox, late governor of Almeida, and a copy of the capitulation of that place. With whatever regret it was we witnessed the unexpected fall of that place, uninformed as we then were of the cause, I think the circumstance related in the governor's letter of the unfortunate loss of his entire ammunition, and the injury sustained by the town and works, and loss to the garrison by the effects of the explosion, will prove sufficiently the impracticability of a protracted defence; and I regret to say, the conduct of the Lieutenant-governor (Tenente Rey), Francisco Bernardo da Costa e Almeida, and of the major commanding the artillery, Fortunato Joye Barreros, increased the difficulties occasioned by the explosion. The former had, until the commencement of the enemy's fire, acted with much zeal and propriety; but, on that commencing, shut himself up in bomb-proofs; and after the explosion, from per-

sonal fear, and to avoid any further firing, took advantage of the consternation and confusion which must be ever attendant in such a case, to counteract the governor's attempt to hold out at least some short time longer. The major of artillery, it appears, had acted well during the siege, but after the explosion appears to have added treachery to cowardice, and, to gain favor with the enemy, communicated to him the real state of the garrison, and that it had no ammunition whatever left; which caused Marshal Massena to refuse the terms demanded by the governor. Until the unfortunate accident of the explosion of the magazine, the garrison appears to have been in the highest spirits, and in the best possible disposition and resolution to defend the town, and which, they unanimously state, their governor's conduct inspired them with, as every officer and man gives the highest applause to his unremitting zeal and activity, encouraging all by his own example. Your lordship will see, that it was of very little consequence what capitulation the garrison had got; as it is obvious the enemy would not have observed it, where it was his interest to break it, and which will be witnessed by his having detained by force, and contrary to the terms of the capitulation, seven officers and 200 men from each of the three regiments of militia that were in the garrison, and this with the object of forming them into a pioneer corps. The officers and soldiers of the militia regiments, to a man, continued to refuse to enter voluntarily into the service of the enemy, and the seven officers and 200 men of each regiment were detained forcibly. Such are the circumstances which have come to my knowledge of the conduct of the garrison of Almeida, and which I think it necessary to communicate to your lordship."

Aldea del Obispo, Aug. 30.

"Sir,—The painful task has fallen to my lot, of acquainting your excellency, that I was reduced to the necessity of surrendering the fortress of Almeida, which I had the honor to command, on the 27th inst. at ten o'clock at night, in consequence of the unfortunate explosion of the great magazine of powder in the castle, and the small magazines contiguous to it; by which dreadful accident I was deprived of the whole of my artillery and musket-ammunition, with the exception of a few made-up cartridges which remained in some of the expence magazines on the ramparts, and thirty-nine barrels of powder which were deposited in the laboratory. Upwards of half of the detachment of artillery, and a great number of infantry soldiers, besides several of the inhabitants, were destroyed by the effect of this terrible explosion. Many of the guns were dis-

mounted upon the ramparts, the works were materially injured, and a general dismay spread amongst the troops and inhabitants of the place. —In this distressing situation, I received a letter from the commander-in-chief of the French army of Portugal, proposing to me that I should surrender the place to the French army under his command upon honorable terms, which, he said, he was ready to grant: I answered, that I wished to know the terms which he proposed; upon which the articles were transmitted to me, and which, after using every effort in my power to obtain more favorable terms, I accepted, with an exception in favor of the militia regiments. I hope my conduct on this trying occasion will meet your excellency's approbation, and that I shall remain justified by the circumstances in the eyes of my country. The Prince of Essling has been good enough to allow me to return to England on my parole, accompanied by Major Hewit and Captain Foley, of the 24th regiment; and we are now on our way to France, to embark from thence for a British port. "W. Cox."

Captain George Cockburne, of the *Implacable*, undertook an expedition from Cadiz bay, to the town of Moguer, in order to attack a strong corps of French troops posted there. The success of this expedition is thus related in the captain's letter to Rear-admiral Sir R. G. Keats.

"H. M. sloop Jasper, in Huelva River.

"Sir,—I have the honor to inform you that, in pursuance of your orders, I sailed from Cadiz on the night of the 22d current, with the vessels and boats you were pleased to place under my command, for the purpose of co-operating with the Spanish armament under the orders of General Lascy. On the night of the 23d, being about four leagues to the southward of the entrance of this river, I received intimation from the general, that he wished to land without farther loss of time on the coast then abreast of us, as it would enable him to get to Moguer (where the French army was supposed to be) considerably sooner than he could do by water; the whole fleet being accordingly directed to anchor as close to the shore as they could with safety. I began about ten o'clock to disembark the troops; and the whole of them, as well as their horses, &c. being safely landed, between one and two o'clock the general commenced his march, keeping along the beach, and being attended by eleven of our flat boats (under Lieutenant Westphal, of the *Implacable*,) for the purpose of transporting the army across a large branch of the river, which (after our landing) we were informed, intersected the way to Moguer, and extended a very consi-

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derable distance into the country. This precaution having, however, prevented their being delayed in the slightest degree, the army got to Moguer (a distance of twenty-two miles from the point of debarkation) about eleven o'clock yesterday morning, and the French army being there (according to the information) the Spaniards forgot their fatigues, and proceeded immediately to attack them. The French, not being prepared for such a visit, were soon driven from the town: but, having collected and rallied in the neighbourhood, they attempted to regain what they had lost, and in their turn made several desperate attacks on the Spanish advanced line; but, being worsted in every attempt by the valour and steadiness of the Spanish troops, they retreated at the close of day, and will, I fear, owing to their being principally cavalry, succeed in getting to Seville. General Lascy will, however, I believe, follow them as long as he sees any chance of destroying them; and, on his return from pursuing them, will re-embark and return to Cadiz, or St. Lucar, as circumstances may authorise.—The loss of the Spaniards during yesterday was but trifling; that of the French has not yet been ascertained; but I saw several of them lying dead on the field, and about twelve of them were taken prisoners, who say they were about 1,100 strong. The cheerfulness with which the Spanish troops bore the fatigue of marching twenty-two miles, after being without rest for three successive nights, and the steadiness and valour they displayed in the action that ensued, has excited my highest admiration, and made me more sanguine than ever in the hope, that such people in such a cause must be ultimately successful. The inhabitants of this neighbourhood also shew scarcely less enthusiasm than the army come to their deliverance, and the manner in which they have greeted our arrival amongst them sufficiently proves their attachment to their legitimate government, and their detestation of the French usurpation. I cannot, Sir, close this account of the transactions of the Spanish army, without paying my humble but sincere tribute of admiration of General Lascy, who has proved himself worthy of commanding such men, and appears, by his coolness, judgment, and active bravery, to be peculiarly adapted for such services as that on which he is now employed. It is now, Sir, a pleasant duty incumbent on me, to assure you that nothing can exceed the good conduct of the officers and men you have placed under my orders; and I must beg leave particularly to mention to you the unremitted assistance I have received from Captain Daniell, of this sloop, and from Lieutenant Westphal (1st of the Implacable), who by his conduct on this service has added to the many claims he al-

ready has to my particular notice and recommendation.

“GEORGE COCKBURN.”

Between the commencement of the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo and the fall of Almeida, the corps of Regnier was stationed on the frontiers of Spanish Estremadura, to the south of the Tagus, kept in check by General Hill's division. When Almeida surrendered, Regnier crossed the Tagus in order to turn Lord Wellington's right flank, and occupy the road to Lisbon by the way of Castello Branco, which movement was anticipated by General Hill, who crossed the Tagus at Villa Velha, and gained possession of the important road at that place. The French army broke up from Almeida on the 16th of September, marching towards Guarda and Celeres; afterwards crossing the Mondego by the bridge of Fornos, the three corps of Ney, Junot, and Regnier, under their commander-in-chief, united on the 21st at Vizen, where they remained for two days to bring up their artillery, which had been retarded by the badness of the road. Colonel Trant made some prisoners, but was under the necessity of returning towards the Douro. Finding his communication with the main army cut off, he retired in the direction of Meilhada, where he expected to have been joined by General Millar and Colonel Wilson; but finding they were detained in the neighbourhood of Busaco for want of supplies, he resolved to advance alone, for the purpose of dislodging the French who continued at Coimbra. Having reached that place with little opposition, he took about 5,000 prisoners, chiefly composed of sick and wounded, and captured nearly 4,000 muskets.

We shall here subjoin Lord Wellington's official account of the battle of Busaco, addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, and dated Coimbra, September 30.

“My Lord,—While the enemy was advancing from Celorico and Francoso upon Viseu, the different divisions of militia and Ordenanza were employed upon their flanks and rear; and Colonel Trant, with his division, attacked the escort of the military chest and reserve artillery, near Tojal, on the 20th inst. He took two officers and 100 prisoners, but the enemy collected a force from the front and rear, which obliged him to retire again towards the Douro. I understand that the enemy's communication with Almeida is completely cut off; and he possesses only the ground on which his army stands.

“On the 21st the enemy's advanced-guard pushed on to St. Cambadao, at the junction of the rivers Criz and Dao; and Brigadier-general Pack retired across the former, and joined Brigadier-general Crawford at Mortagoa, having

destroyed the bridges over those two rivers. The enemy's advanced-guard crossed the Criz, having repaired the bridge, on the 23d, and the whole of the 6th corps was collected on the other side of the river; and I therefore withdrew the cavalry through the Sierra de Busaco, with the exception of three squadrons, as the ground was unfavorable for the operations of that army. On the 25th, the whole of the 6th and of the 2d corps crossed the Criz, in the neighbourhood of St. Cambadao; and Brigadier-general Crawford's division and Brigadier-general Pack's brigade retired to the position which I had fixed upon for the army on the top of Sierra de Busaco. These troops were followed in this movement by the whole of the corps of Ney and Regnier (the 6th and 2d), but it was conducted by Brigadier-gen. Crawford with great regularity, and the troops took their position without sustaining any loss of importance. The 4th Portuguese caçadores, which had retired on the right of the other troops, and the piquets of the 3d division of infantry, which were posted at St. Antonio de Cantaro, under Major Smith, of the 45th, were engaged with the advance of Regnier's corps in the afternoon; and the former shewed that steadiness and gallantry which others of the Portuguese troops have since manifested.

"The Sierra de Busaco is a high ridge, which extends from the Mondego, in a northerly direction, about eight miles. At the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from its termination, is the convent and garden of Busaco. The Sierra of Busaco is connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Sierra de Caramula, which extends in a north-easterly direction beyond Visen, and separates the valley of the Mondego from the valley of the Douro, on the left of the Mondego. Nearly in a line with the Sierra de Busaco is another ridge of the same description, which is called the Sierra de Murcella, covered by the river Alva, and connected by other mountainous tracts with the Sierra d'Estrella. All the roads to Coimbra, from the eastward, lead over one or the other of these Sierras. They are very difficult for the passage of an army, the approach totheto of the ridge on both sides being mountainous.

"As the enemy's whole army was on the ridge of the Mondego, and as it was evident that he intended to force our position, Lieut-general Hill crossed the river by a short move to his left, on the morning of the 26th, leaving Colonel le Cor with his brigade on the Sierra de Murcella, to cover the right of the army; and Major-general Fane, with his division of Portuguese cavalry and the 13th light dragoons, in front of the Alva, to observe and check the movements of the enemy's cavalry on the Mondego. With this exception, the whole army was collected upon the Sierra de Busaco, with the Bri-

tish cavalry observing the plain in the rear of its left, and the road leading from Mortagoa to Oporto, through the mountainous tract which connects the Sierra de Busaco with the Sierra de Caramula. The 8th corps joined the enemy in our front on the 26th, but he did not make any serious attack on that day. The light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line. At six in the morning of the 27th, the enemy made two desperate attacks upon our position, the one on the right, the other on the left of the highest point of the Sierra. The attack upon the right was made by two divisions of the 2d corps, on that part of the Sierra occupied by the 3d division of infantry. One division of French infantry arrived at the top of the ridge, when it was attacked in the most gallant manner by the 88th regiment, under the command of the Hon. Lieut.-col. Wallace, and the 45th regiment, under the command of the Hon. Lieut.-col. Meade, and by the 8th Portuguese regiment, under the command of Lieut.-col. Douglas, directed by Major-gen. Picton. These three corps advanced with the bayonet, and drove the enemy's division from the advantageous ground which they had obtained. The other division of the 2d corps attacked farther on the right, by the road leading by St. Antonio de Cantaro, also in front of Major-general Picton's division. This division was repulsed before it could reach the top of the ridge, by the 74th regiment, under the command of the Hon. Lieut.-col. French, and the brigade of Portuguese infantry, under the command of Colonel Champelmond, directed by Colonel Mackinnon. Major-general Leith also moved to his left, to the support of Major-general Picton, and aided in the defeat of the enemy on this post, by the 3d battalion royals, the 1st battalion and the 2d battalion 38th regiment. In these attacks, Major-generals Leith and Picton, Colonels Mackinnon and Champelmond, of the Portuguese service, who was wounded, Lieut.-col. Wallace, the Hon. Lieut.-col. Meade, Lieut.-col. Sutton of the 9th Portuguese regiment, Major Smith of the 45th regiment, who was unfortunately killed, Lieut.-col. Douglas, and Major Birmingham of the 8th Portuguese regiment, distinguished themselves. Major-gen. Picton reports well of the 9th and 21st Portuguese regiments, commanded by Lieut.-col. Sutton, and by Lieut.-col. de Arouje Bacellar, and of the Portuguese artillery, commanded by Lieut.-col. Arenschild. I have also to mention, in a particular manner, the conduct of Captain Dansey of the 88th regiment. Major-general Leith reports the good conduct of the royals, 1st battalion 9th, and 2d battalion 38th regiment; and I beg to assure your lordship, that I never witnessed a more gallant attack than that made by the 38th, 45th, and 8th Portuguese regiments on

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the enemy's division which had reached the ridge of the Sierra.

"On the left, the enemy attacked, with three divisions of infantry of the 6th corps, that part of the Sierra occupied by the left division, commanded by Brigadier-general Crawford, and by the brigade of Portuguese infantry, commanded by Brigadier-general Pack. One division of infantry only made any progress towards the top of the hill; and they were immediately charged with the bayonet by Brigadier-general Crawford with the 48th, 52d, and 95th regiments, and the 3d Portuguese caçadores, and driven down with immense loss. Brigadier-general Cleman's brigade of Portuguese infantry, which was in reserve, was moved up to support the right of Brigadier-general Crawford's division; and a battalion of the 19th Portuguese regiment, under the command of Lieut.-col. Macbean, made a gallant and successful charge upon a body of another division of the enemy, which was endeavouring to penetrate in that quarter. In this attack Brigadier-general Crawford, Lieut.-colonels Beckwith, of the 95th, and Barclay, of the 52d, and the commanding officers of the regiments engaged, distinguished themselves. Besides these attacks the light troops of the two armies were engaged throughout the 27th, and the 4th Portuguese caçadores, and the 1st and 16th regiments, directed by Brigadier-general Pack, and commanded by Lieutenant-colonel de Rego Bonito, Lieutenant-colonel Hill, and Major Armstrong, shewed great steadiness and gallantry. The loss sustained by the enemy in his attack on the 27th, has been enormous. I understand that the general of division Merle and General Maucun are wounded, and General Simon was taken prisoner by the 52d regiment, and three colonels, 33 officers, and 250 men. The enemy left 2,000 killed upon the field-of-battle; and I understand, from the prisoners and deserters, that the loss in wounded is immense. The enemy did not renew his attack excepting by the fire of his light troops on the 28th, but he moved a large body of infantry and cavalry, from the left of his centre to the rear, from whence I saw his cavalry in march on the road which leads from Mortagoa over the mountains towards Oporto. Having thought it probable that he would endeavour to turn our left by that road, I had directed Col. Trant, with his division of militia, to march to Sardao, with the intention that he should occupy those mountains; but unfortunately he was sent round by Oporto by the general officer commanding in the north, in consequence of a small detachment of the enemy being in possession of St. Pedro de Sul; and, notwithstanding the efforts which he made to arrive in time, he did not reach Sardao till the 28th at night, after the enemy was in possession of the ground. As it was pro-

bable, that in the course of the night of the 28th the enemy would throw his whole army upon that road, by which he could avoid the Sierra de Busaco, and reach Coimbra by the high road to Oporto, and thus the army would have been exposed to be cut off from that town, or to a general action on less favorable ground; and as I had reinforcements in my rear, I was induced to withdraw from the Sierra de Busaco. The enemy did break up in the mountains at eleven at night of the 28th, and he made the march expected. His advanced-guard was at Avelans, in the road from Oporto to Coimbra, yesterday; and the whole army was seen in march through the mountains; that under my command, however, was already in the low country, between the Sierra de Busaco and the sea; and the whole of it, with the exception of the advanced-guard, is this day on the left of the Mondego. Although, from the unfortunate circumstance of the delay of Colonel Trant's arrival at Sardao, I am apprehensive that I shall not succeed in effecting the object which I had in view in passing the Mondego, and in occupying the Sierra de Busaco, I do not regret my having done so. This movement has afforded me a favorable opportunity of shewing the enemy the description of troops of which this army is composed; it has brought the Portuguese levies into action with the enemy for the first time in an advantageous situation; and they have proved that the trouble which has been taken with them, has not been thrown away, and that they are worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops in this interesting cause, which they afford the best hopes of saving. Throughout the contest upon the Sierra, and in all the previous marches, and in those which we have since made, the whole army has conducted themselves in the most regular manner. Accordingly, all the operations have been carried with ease, the soldiers have suffered no privations, have undergone no unnecessary fatigue, there has been no loss of stores, and the army is in the highest spirits. I have received, throughout the service, the greatest assistance from the general and staff officers. Lieutenant-general Sir Brent Spencer has given me the assistance which his experience enables him to afford me; and I am particularly indebted to the adjutant and quarter-master-general, and the officers of their departments, and to Lieutenant-col. Bathurst, and the officers of my personal staff, to Brigadier-general Howarth and the artillery, and particularly to Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, Captain Chapman, and the officers of the royal engineers. I must likewise mention Mr. Kennedy, and the officers of the commissariat, which department has been carried on most successfully. I should not do justice to the service, or to my own feelings, if I did not take this opportunity of draw-

ing your lordship's attention to the merits of Marshal Beresford. To him exclusively, under the Portuguese government, is due the merit of having raised, formed, disciplined, and equipped the Portuguese army, which has now shown itself capable of engaging and defeating the enemy. I have besides received from him, upon all occasions, all the assistance which his experience and abilities, and knowledge of this country, have qualified him to afford me. The enemy has made no movement in Estremadura, or in the northern provinces, since I addressed your lordship last.—I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

After the battle of Busaco, in which the French are said to have lost 10,000 men, but according to their own account only 1,100, Massena

did not renew his attack on the 28th, except by the fire of his light troops; but he moved a large body in such a direction as induced his lordship to withdraw from the mountains of Busaco, and to take his army nearer Lisbon, to his shipping and reinforcements. After this long retreat from Busaco, Lord Wellington took up a strong position between Alhandra and Torres Vedras, from which he afterwards retired, and occupied a range of mountains from Alhandra to the coast near Mafra. The right of his position was covered by the Tagus, on which were stationed a number of gun-boats, to annoy the enemy, should he be inclined to make any assault in that direction. Soon after Lord Wellington had taken up this line of defence, he was reinforced by about 9,500 Spaniards, under the Marquis de Romana.

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CHAPTER III.

Louis Bonaparte's Address to the Dutch Legislative Body, on his Retirement to Bohemia.—Position of the Allies at the End of the Campaign.—The British obtain Possession of Guadeloupe.—Amboyna.—Bourbon.—Isles of France and Banda.

THE sentiments of Louis Bonaparte, the Ex-King of Holland, not agreeing with those of his brother the French emperor, he resolved on retiring to Bohemia. The following are extracts from the remarkable address which he presented to the Dutch legislative body, informing it of the resolution he had been compelled to take, in consequence of the entry of French troops into Amsterdam, of abdicating his throne.

"I should be much to blame if I consented to retain the title of king, being no more than an instrument, no longer commanding, not only in the country, but even in my own capital, and perhaps soon not even in my palace.

"My brother, so violently irritated against me, is not so against my children; and, doubtless, he will not destroy what he has done, and deprive them of their inheritance, since he has not, nor can have, any subject of complaint against the young king, who will not for a long time come to reign himself. His mother, to whom the regency appertains by the constitution, will do every thing that shall be agreeable to the emperor, my brother, and will succeed better than myself, who have had the misfortune never to be successful in my endeavours of that kind.

"Perhaps I am the only obstacle to the recon-

ciliation of this country with France; and should that be so, I might find some kind of consolation in dragging out the remainder of a wandering and languishing life at a distance from the first objects of my whole affection, this good people, and my son. These are my principal motives: there are others, equally powerful, with respect to which I must be silent, but they will easily be divined. The emperor, my brother, though strongly prejudiced against me, must feel that I could not act otherwise: he is great, and he ought to be just.

"I should be nevertheless a witness of every thing that might be going on, without being able to do any thing for my people; responsible for all occurrences, without the power to prevent them or their influence, I should have exposed myself to the complaints of both sides, and perhaps have occasioned great misfortunes, by doing which I should have betrayed my conscience, my people, and my duty. I have for a long time foreseen the extremity to which I am now reduced; but I could not have prevented it without sacrificing my most sacred duties, without ceasing to have at heart the interest of my people, and without ceasing to connect my fate with that of the country. Now that Holland is reduced

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to that condition, I have, as King of Holland, but one course to take, and that is, to abdicate the throne in favor of my children; any other course would have only augmented the misfortunes of my reign.

"In whatever place I may happen to terminate my days, the name of Holland, and the most lively prayers for its happiness, will be my last words, my last wish."

This address of Louis gained him high esteem, and placed the character of Napoleon, if possible, in a more detestable light. His son, the Grand Duke of Berg, arrived soon after in Paris, and was received in a very favorable manner by his uncle (the emperor) who told him that the conduct of his father had wounded him to the heart, and that his infirmity alone could account for it; thus, insinuating, and doubtless wishing all the world to believe, that his brother was insane.

The crafty emperor took great pains to ascribe the utmost cruelty to the allies, particularly to the British: "The cries of the inhabitants of Ciudad Rodrigo," said he, in the *Moniteur*, "were heard in Lord Wellington's camp, which was only six leagues distant; but all ears were shut against them." A battle was daily expected between Lord Wellington and Massena, but the latter retired, continuing his retreat to Santarem, where he halted and posted himself, being followed by Lord Wellington as far as Cartaxo, where he established his head-quarters. About 400 prisoners were taken from the enemy during these movements. Massena secured the passage of the Zezure by means of this retreat, as well as the power of withdrawing into Spain by Castello Branco; a junction with the reinforcements he expected, and a country as yet not exhausted, from which his army obtained support. At the end of the campaign the allies retained a position which it was not in the power of the French to force. They were in a country which afforded no supplies, whilst the combined army obtained provisions by sea.

During this year, the British gained possession of the island of Guadaloupe, with a naval and military force under the orders of Admiral Cochrane and General Beckwith. The French general, Ernouf, was apprised of the intended attack, in consequence of which he concentrated all his forces at Basse Terre. A general engagement took place on the 23d of February, when victory declared in favor of the British, the French having lost 500 men. So dangerous did the situation of Ernouf become, that he hoisted flags of truce on the 24th, whilst the British troops were advancing; and next morning a capitulation was agreed on, by which the garrison were to have the honors of war, and be sent to England till regularly exchanged.

The British arms were also attended with

success in the capture of Amboyna, one of the Malacca islands, by a squadron of ships under Captains Tucker, Montague, and Spencer, who, with 176 troops, and the seamen and marines of the *Dover*, *Cornwallis*, and *Samarang*, the whole force amounting only to 401 men, including officers, proceeded up the harbour on the 9th of February, and made good their landing on the 15th, under the command of Captain Court, of the India Company's coast artillery. The ships commenced the attack by cannonading the fort and surrounding batteries, which was continued for two hours and a half, though exposed to a heavy fire of red-hot shot from the heights on the left of the town. In the mean time, the force on shore had stormed the battery of Wanatoo, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the enemy, who had two officers killed, and one dangerously wounded, and the guns were turned upon the enemy in their retreat. Captain Court then proceeded in the arduous undertaking along the heights to turn the enemy's position at Batter Gantong, which commanded the town of Amboyna. After a fatiguing march, ascending and descending hills over which there was no road, and many of them so extremely steep as to require the assistance of the bushes for the men to get up and down by, they reached an eminence which effectually commanded the enemy, who retired immediately, and the battery was entered without opposition. In this state of things, a summons was sent to the governor on the morning of the 17th, and a capitulation was agreed to, by which the island was given up to the British on the 19th; the garrison to be sent to Java at the expence of the captors. The island was defended by 130 Europeans and upwards of 1,000 Javanese and Mandurese troops, exclusive of the crews of three vessels sunk in the inner harbour, amounting to 220 men, aided by the Dutch inhabitants. The loss sustained by the British at Amboyna, and at the destruction of a Dutch fort at Poolo Combu, in the Celebes, was only five killed and nineteen wounded.

The English took seven vessels of war of various descriptions, forty-two government supply vessels of different descriptions, and three neutrals; in all fifty-two. By another letter from Captain Tucker, dated from Amboyna, March 1, it appeared that the valuable islands from Saparona, Harouka, and Nassau-Laut, as well as those of Bouro and Manippa, likewise surrendered to his Britannic majesty's forces.

The British were also successful in another expedition in the Indian seas, by which the island of Bonaparte (late Bourbon) was added to his dominions. The expedition consisted of the *Boadicea*, *Neriade*, *Sirius*, and *Iphigenia*, under the command of Commodore Rowley, and a force of 3,650 European and Indian troops, un-

der Lieutenant-colonel Keating. On the 7th of July, a partial landing was effected on the island, but, owing to the violence of the surf, the remainder of the force was not put on shore till the next day, when Colonel Keating advanced to the attack of the capital (St. Denis.) Every thing was in readiness, and the grand attack would have taken place in less than half an hour, when a suspension of arms was demanded by "a brave, though vanquished enemy," and thus, said the colonel, "in a few hours has this rich, extensive, and valuable colony, been added to his gracious majesty's dominions, with a population of upwards of 100,000 souls, and with a loss on our part comparatively trifling." By the capitulation, the French troops (fifteen hundred) were allowed the honors of war; they were to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope; and the laws, customs, and religion of the inhabitants, as well as their private property, was to be insured to them. The loss of the British consisted of eighteen men killed, and seventy-nine wounded.

The isles of France and Banda, the only remaining possessions of the French in the Indian seas, also fell into the hands of the British. By the capitulation of the Isle of France, the land and sea forces, officers, subalterns, and privates, were to retain their effects and baggage; not to be considered as prisoners of war, but to be conveyed at the expence of the English, with their families, to some parts of European France. Private property, of course, was to be respected, and the inhabitants maintained in their religion, customs, and laws. The following vessels were found at Port Napoleon; La Minerve, fifty-two guns; La Bellona, forty-eight; L'Astrée, forty-four; La Manchée, forty-four; Iphigenia, thirty-six; Nereide, thirty-six; (these two were formerly English frigates;) Le Victor, sloop, twenty-two; L'Entreprenant, fourteen; and a new brig (name unknown,) fourteen; the Charlton, Ceylon, and United Kingdom, (formerly English East Indiamen;) and twenty-eight merchant-vessels of various burdens, from 150 to 1,000 tons; besides five gun-brigs.

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CHAPTER IV.

Indisposition of his Britannic Majesty.—Consequent Proceedings in Parliament.—The Prince of Wales appointed Regent, under certain Restrictions.—Interesting Debates on the Subject.

GREAT was the interest and anxiety excited by the known indisposition of his majesty, and the doubts which were generally entertained, whether the royal signature could be obtained to a commission for a further prorogation of parliament pursuant to notice.

On the 1st of November, the house of lords met about half-past three o'clock. About four the lord-chancellor rose, and addressed the house from the woolsack.

"My lords.—Your lordships are now assembled without any notice having been given that parliament was to meet for the dispatch of business, and after a notification had been published directing that this parliament should be prorogued to the 29th of this month, and authorising the chancellor to issue a commission under the great seal for such prorogation. My lords, I have to state to your lordships, and I do it with the greatest concern and regret, that in consequence of his majesty's personal indisposition, that commission has not received his majesty's signature. There may be a question, whether the chancellor is authorised to put the great seal to such a commission, without the king's sign manual—and

whether such commission would be legal? But upon this question, looking to the precedents in our proceedings, and to the records of parliament, I do not think it proper to enter into any discussion. Under the circumstances of his majesty's indisposition, I have thought it my duty to abstain from proffering the commission to his majesty for his royal signature: It is, therefore, for your lordships, in your wisdom, to determine what course of proceeding it will be expedient to adopt. It remains for me to state, that the indisposition of his majesty has arisen from the pressure of domestic affliction operating upon his paternal feelings, and I have the satisfaction to add, that a confident expectation is entertained of his majesty's speedy recovery."

The Earl of Liverpool.—"My lords, under the afflicting circumstances stated by my noble and learned friend, circumstances which have arisen entirely from the domestic causes to which my noble and learned friend has alluded, I think it my duty to move an adjournment for the shortest period, within which, by law, the parliament can be summoned to meet for the dispatch of business. It is my intention, therefore, to move,

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in conformity to a precedent before us, that this house do adjourn till Thursday the 15th instant; that the house be summoned for that day; and that letters be sent to the lords, informing them, that their attendance on that day is required. It would not be proper for me to enter into any discussion, whether any, and if any, what proceeding it may be expedient to adopt on that day, should his majesty's indisposition unfortunately continue; but it is highly requisite, whatever course it may be deemed adviseable to adopt, or, although no proceeding may be then requisite, to take the necessary steps to ensure as full an attendance as possible. I have great satisfaction in adding to what has been stated by my noble and learned friend, that the physicians attending his majesty entertain the most confident hopes of his majesty's speedy recovery."—His lordship concluded by moving an adjournment.

Lord Holland.—"I trust, my lords, under the melancholy circumstances in which we are assembled, it will not be supposed that in rising upon this question, I intend to offer any opposition to the motion of the noble lord, neither do I wish to make any remark that can lead to discussion. I cheerfully acquiesce in the motion, founded as it is upon a precedent within recollection. Were that precedent to be made over again, I should rather prefer a proceeding *de die in diem*; but the motion of the noble lord being founded upon the precedent, and being aware of the importance of unanimity upon such an occasion, I cheerfully acquiesce in the proposition for adjournment."

The motions of the Earl of Liverpool were then put by the lord-chancellor—

"That this house do, at its rising, adjourn till Thursday, the 15th day of this instant November.

"That the lords be summoned to attend the service of this house on Thursday, the 15th instant.

"That the lord-chancellor do write letters to all the lords, informing them that their attendance is required on Thursday, the 15th day of this instant November."

Which were severally agreed to.

The lord-chancellor then put the question upon the motion of the Earl of Liverpool, "That the house do now adjourn," which was also agreed to; and the lord-chancellor notified, "that this house is adjourned till Thursday the 15th inst."

On the same day, and at the same time, the speaker addressed the house of commons to the following effect:—

"This house is now met upon the day to which it was last prorogued. But I have to inform the house, that notwithstanding his majesty's royal proclamation in the Gazette, intimating his pleasure that parliament should be still further pro-

rogued to a future day, we are not to expect any message from his majesty's commissioners on this occasion; no commission having been issued further to prorogue parliament. Under these circumstances, it becomes my duty to take the chair of this house, in order that this house may be enabled to adjourn itself to such time as the house in its wisdom shall deem fit; and I do therefore take the chair accordingly."—(*General cries of chair, chair!*)

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he was persuaded it would be unnecessary for him to state, that the house was then assembled upon the day to which it had in the last instance been prorogued. After the proclamation, however, which had already appeared in the gazette, intimating his majesty's pleasure that parliament should be further prorogued to a future day, the house would very naturally be anxious to hear, why, after such declaration of his majesty's servants, they were unable to carry into effect his majesty's wishes, and were not prepared with a royal commission for that purpose. To relieve this anxiety, it became his duty, his most painful duty, to state, that it was owing to the indisposition of his majesty that his majesty's servants had been unable to give effect to his royal proclamation—that it was owing to the severity of that indisposition that the lord-chancellor, whose immediate duty it was to take his majesty's orders on such subjects, could not obtain the royal signature to a commission further to prorogue parliament. It would not be necessary for him, he was persuaded, to inform the house, that, under such circumstances, it would not be consistent with his duty or the principles of the constitution, for the lord-chancellor to affix the great seal to such a commission without the sanction of the royal sign manual.—(*Hear, hear, hear!*)—Perhaps the house would permit him, on that occasion, to add one or two observations on the actual state of his majesty's health. In doing this, he was persuaded that it would be wholly unnecessary for him to say any thing with a view to increase those feelings of anxiety and concern, entertained by the public at large respecting the disorder affecting his majesty; nor should he then mention the circumstance which he meant to state to the house, but that he was persuaded the public would derive from it very considerable consolation respecting the nature and duration of his majesty's present indisposition. If any thing could afford real consolation to the feelings of unfeigned affection and affliction which pervaded all classes of the public, it must be the consideration that the cause of his majesty's present illness was to be ascribed to his steady and unremitting attention to the painful and protracted sufferings of a beloved daughter.—(*Hear, hear!*)—He did not mention this circumstance as new to those who heard him, for

it was notorious to the nation at large, that from that cause, principally, the illness of his majesty had arisen; but he could not omit to observe, that the knowledge of that fact must give rise to considerable and well-founded hopes of his majesty's early and complete recovery. He had the satisfaction also to inform the house, that the symptoms of his majesty's complaint were peculiarly mild, as well as that his majesty's physicians entertained and expressed strong and sanguinary expectations of his recovery.—(*Hear, hear, hear!*) Having said thus much upon this most interesting subject, it remained only for him to touch briefly upon the practical question as to the course which it would be proper for the house to pursue on this occasion; and in that respect he apprehended, that the statement of the speaker, which the house had just heard, pointed out the only proper course to be adopted. He agreed with that statement, that the house could not then proceed to the discussion of any public business; but was bound to adjourn over for the present. But whether it were competent to that house to enter upon the discussion of public business at that time, or not, he would but intreat gentlemen to reflect upon the situation in which they were thus met, and he was persuaded the house would readily concur in the expediency of an immediate adjournment. They must be aware that they had not been assembled in consequence of any intimation of his majesty's royal pleasure, to call together his parliament at this particular time. On the contrary, they had been apprised by the most authoritative statement (his majesty's proclamation in the Gazette), that it was not his intention to assemble parliament for the dispatch of public business at this time. How, then, could the house, in such a situation, proceed with any propriety to the discussion of public business? Upon this head, he was sure there could be no difference of opinion; and the only question, therefore, then to be considered would be, as to the period for which it would be proper to adjourn. On this point he should observe, that it was his intention before he sat down to move, that the house, at its rising, do adjourn to this day fortnight. He proposed this adjournment as the shortest period within which such an attendance could be procured as would enable them, on their meeting, with decency to pronounce a parliamentary expression of their sentiments, or to discuss the propriety of a still farther adjournment. But beside this consideration, they had an instance of parliamentary enactment authorising the calling together of parliament within fourteen days upon any sudden emergency happening during a recess. They had also a case in modern times, which, as it appeared to be analogous, should be considered a guide for their proceeding, and afforded a precedent of a similar adjournment (*alluding to the*

case of his majesty's first melancholy indisposition in 1788). Upon these various considerations it was, that he meant to propose an adjournment for a fortnight, and he trusted the house would feel them so forcibly as to go along with him in his motion. He had but one other consideration to suggest, and that was solely confined to what would be necessary to forward the main object of the adjournment. The house was already aware that the object of adjournment was to obtain a fuller attendance than in the present instance could possibly be expected; and in order to promote that object, he proposed to move for a call of the house, as had been the case in the recent instance to which he had alluded, for this day fortnight. But to give the more effect to this call, he should also move, that circular letters be transmitted by the speaker to all the members of that house, to apprise them of the order for calling over the house on this day fortnight. Having thus put the house in possession of his views on the subject, he had nothing further to add, and should conclude with moving, that the house, at its rising, should adjourn to this day fortnight.

On the question being put—Mr. Sheridan declared that he concurred entirely in all the sentiments which had been so well and so forcibly expressed by the right hon. gentleman who had just sat down. He was most highly gratified, as he was convinced every gentleman present and every individual in the nation must be, at the consolation held out in the statement of the right hon. gentleman, that the most sanguine expectation might be entertained of the speedy recovery of his majesty. Impressed with such feelings, he should not take up more of the time of the house, but simply to say, that he should second the motion.

The question of adjournment was then agreed to, *nemine contradicente*.

The motion for a call of the house on that day fortnight was also agreed to, and the speaker ordered to write circular letters to the knights, citizens, and burgesses, members of that house.

On the 29th of November, the Earl of Liverpool moved in the house of lords that the house should adjourn to Dec. 13.

Earl Spencer conceiving that the house was departing from the precedent of 1788, moved, as an amendment, that the house should appoint a committee to examine the physicians.

Lords Moira, Holland, Grenville, Erskine, Stanhope, Marquis Lansdown, and the Duke of Sussex, spoke in favour of the amendment; as, by suspending the functions of the executive, they were bringing the regal authority into contempt.

Lord Harrowby contended that the appointment of a regency would be dethroning the king; but, being called to order, was followed by the lord-chancellor, who implored their lordships, as they valued the interests and feelings of the

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 CHAP. IV. of the king, to concur in the motion of adjourn-
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Several adjournments took place, Lord Grenville having urged the necessity of making a legislative provision, and Lord Holland contending that they ought first to establish a representative of the royal authority, for the purpose of giving a constitutional sanction to such a legislative measure.

On the 20th of December, Earl Camden presented the report of the committee appointed to examine the physicians. It appeared by this report, that the king's illness began in a gentle form on October 3; that it continued unabated till the 25th, when his majesty himself consulted Sir H. Hall on the propriety of taking medicine; on the 28th he became incapable of transacting business. In the first week of November, his disorder was at the highest pitch to which it had ever yet reached. All the physicians, however, were of opinion, that his majesty would recover and be capable of transacting business. The report of the committee appointed by the house of commons, was nearly to the same purpose.

The house of commons having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, the chancellor of the exchequer submitted the three following propositions: 1. "That it is the opinion of this house, that his majesty is prevented, by indisposition, from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business, and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby for the present interrupted." 2. "That it is the opinion of this house, that it is the right and duty of the lords spiritual, and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, now assembled and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's late indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case appear to require." 3. "That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed the two houses of parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition." The hon. gentleman then proceeded to state, that he should propose that his royal highness the Prince of Wales should be appointed to exercise the office of regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty during the continuance of the king's indisposition; that generally all the powers of the government should be committed to his hands;

that to her majesty the queen, should be entrusted the care and guardianship of the king's person: that due provisions should be made to notify the king's recovery, and chalk out the course of proceedings by which his majesty might be enabled to resume his functions. These three provisions should have no limit in point of time, except what should arise from the duration of the king's indisposition. Taking all the circumstances connected with the king's indisposition into consideration, a limit should be placed on the prerogatives of the crown, when in the hands of the regent for a twelvemonth, taking care that the limitation should expire during the sitting of parliament, and at least six weeks after it was convened. It would then be open for parliament to re-consider the subject; or, if they did not think that duty necessary, the termination of the restriction would have the advantage of having occurred under the eye and superintendence of the legislature. Upon these grounds, he thought there should be a suspension for the same period, of the power of granting any rank or dignity in the peerage, with certain exceptions. Also, that all pensions and offices granted, should continue only during the continuance of the regent in office, unless subsequently proved and confirmed by his majesty: and lastly, that to her majesty the queen, with the care of his royal person, should be committed the appointment to the several offices connected with his majesty's household, subject to the reconsideration of parliament. He had the authority of Dr. Willis for stating, that the shortest period in which recovery from such disorders could be expected was six weeks: that the average period was five or six months, and that from twelve months to twelve and a half, was the extreme point at which, if the most encouraging symptoms of recovery did not present themselves, the prospect became almost hopeless. The honorable gentleman concluded by moving the first resolution, which was carried: on the second, a warm discussion took place, and a division being called on, the 2d and 3d resolutions were carried by 269 to 157.

On the 31st of December, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that the resolutions, declaring the king's incapacity to exercise the royal functions, the right and duty of both houses to provide for the deficiency, and the mode of supplying that deficiency by means of a bill, having been agreed to by the lords, it now remained for the commons to consider of the measures that were proper to be adopted to supply the defect in the executive government. He then stated, that it would be his duty to submit a proposition to the house, calling upon his royal highness the Prince of Wales to take upon him the exercise of the royal authority, subject to certain restrictions in the use of it, and which restrictions it was



His Royal Highness the
PRINCE REGENT.
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intended should be limited in point of duration. He would propose, in the first place, That the regent should not have the power of creating peers; in the second, That he should be debarred from granting places or pensions for life; and the third restriction would apply to making provision for the custody of his majesty's person, which he would propose should be confided to the queen, and a council nominated to assist her.—He would now read the first of the series of resolutions he intended to propose, which he did as follows:—

“Resolved, That for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority during the continuance of his majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient, that his royal highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and administer the royal authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name, and on behalf of his majesty, and under the style and title of regent of the kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, that belong to the king of this realm to use, execute, and perform, according to the law thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.”

He wished the committee to keep in mind the nature of the duty they were called on to discharge on the present occasion. They were not called upon to supply a vacancy in the throne, but they were called upon to supply a temporary suspension of the royal authority; which suspension there was every reason to hope, both from the opinion of eminent medical persons, and the experience of similar instances of the royal indisposition, would not be protracted to a long period, but might shortly be put an end to by his majesty's restoration to the full exercise of his faculties. The committee had two very important objects to obtain: one, to provide for the security of the crown—the other, to provide an efficient government for the direction of the civil and military affairs of the country. There was another object, also, which it would be their duty to keep in view, namely, to remove every possible obstacle to the restoration of his majesty to the full exercise of the regal authority, whenever it should please Providence to establish his recovery. They were not only to provide for the effectual resumption of the royal functions, but to guard also against the creation of any obstacles to prevent the exercise of those functions, when the king should resume his authority. With this view it seemed to him, that at a time when the absolute necessity of the case required that powers should

be given so highly important as those with which the regent must be invested; it became peculiarly the duty of parliament to take especial care the regent should not be able to misuse those powers; and particularly where the regent is the person that is to succeed to the crown, the utmost care should be taken to shew plainly that the power is not the regent's, but the king's, for whom he holds it in trust. He was of opinion, that the regent, with respect to all foreign relations, should be made as strong as possible; that he should have the free use of all those prerogatives which would enable him to carry on and prosecute the war with vigor, and as much as possible to distress our enemies: but, with respect to the internal transactions of the empire, he thought great caution should be used in giving him any powers which might be misused, as that of granting pensions certainly might. Mr. Percival proceeded to read the remaining resolutions:—

“Resolved, That the power so to be given to his royal highness the Prince of Wales shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to—(persons who have rendered eminent service to the country by sea or land.)

“Resolved, That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for other term than during his majesty's pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life or during good behaviour, and except—(an exception was here introduced in favor of persons rendering eminent services to the country by sea or land.)

“Resolved, That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any part of his majesty's real or personal estate, except as far as relates to the renewal of leases.”

He then read the fifth resolution, as follows:—

“Resolved, That the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, shall be committed to the queen's most excellent majesty; and that her majesty shall have the power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper to the several offices in his majesty's household; and to dispose, order, and manage, all other matters and things relating to the care of his majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid; and that for the better enabling her majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient, that a council shall be appointed to advise and assist her majesty in the several matters aforesaid; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine upon oath, the physicians and others attending his majesty's person, touching the state of his majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto.”

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The Hon. W. Lambe moved an amendment to the first resolution, by leaving out all the words which contained the restriction.

After a warm debate a division took place on the first question and amendment, viz. whether there should or should not be restrictions:—

For restrictions, 224.—Against them, 200.—Majority, 24.

On the second resolution, for restricting the prerogative as to the grant of peerages:—

For it, 226.—Against it, 210.—Majority, 16.

On the third resolution, respecting the grant of pensions, &c.:—

For the restriction, 223.—Against it, 214.—Majority, 19.

The fourth resolution, relative to the disposition of the king's private property, was agreed to without a division; and the discussion on the fifth resolution, respecting the household-establishment, was postponed.

On the 1st of January, 1811; the fifth resolution was again read, which, however, the minister lost by a majority of three.—The resolution, as amended by the opposers of administration, was, that the care of his majesty's person, during his indisposition, should be committed to the queen, with the sole direction of such a portion of his majesty's household, as might be thought suitable to a proper attendance and regard to his royal person.

Her majesty was to be allowed a council, to assist her in the discharge of the important trusts which the act had committed to her care and superintendence.

Her majesty's council were empowered to examine the physicians, and others in waiting on his majesty, upon oath.

Her majesty's council should meet at stated times, to declare the state of his majesty's health, and transmit a report to the president of the privy-council, who should publish a copy in the London gazette.

Her majesty and council were eventually to make known his majesty's restoration to health, by an instrument sent to the privy-council; and when such instrument had been received and entered by the privy-council, his majesty might require the privy-council to assemble, by virtue of a sign-manual.

If his majesty, by and, with the advice of his privy-council, should signify his royal pleasure to resume the exercise of the executive power, and order a proclamation to be issued to that effect, the powers of the act should be considered as null and void.

On the event of the regent's demise, or that of her majesty, or the resumption of royal authority by the king, parliament should meet, if at that time either adjourned or prorogued; or if it be dissolved, the members of the former parliament

should meet. Members of the two houses thus assembling, should be regarded as the two houses of parliament; but their sitting should not continue beyond the period of six months.

The election of members to be declared void, if appointed to office either by the regent or her majesty.

Commissioners having been appointed to wait upon the Prince of Wales, the resolutions and accompanying request of both houses of parliament were duly communicated to his royal highness; when his royal highness was pleased to return the following answer:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I receive the communication which the two houses have directed you to make to me, of their joint resolutions on the subject of providing for 'the exercise of the royal authority, during his majesty's illness,' with those sentiments of regard which I must ever entertain for the united desires of the two houses.

"With the same sentiments I received the expressed 'hopes of the lords and commons, that from my regard for the interest of his majesty, and the nation, I should be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in me,' under the restrictions and limitations stated in those resolutions.

"Conscious that every feeling of my heart would have prompted me, from dutiful affection to my beloved father and sovereign, to have shewn all the reverential delicacy towards him, inculcated in these resolutions, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that I should not have been allowed the opportunity of manifesting, to his afflicted and loyal subjects, that such would have been my conduct.

"Deeply impressed with the necessity of tranquillizing the public mind, and determined to submit to every personal sacrifice, consistent with the regard I owe to the security of my father's crown, and the equal regard I owe to the welfare of his people, I do not hesitate to accept the office and situation proposed to me, restricted as they are; still retaining every opinion expressed by me upon a former and similarly distressing occasion.

"In undertaking the trust proposed to me, I am well aware of the difficulties of the situation in which I shall be placed; but I shall rely with confidence upon the constitutional advice of an enlightened parliament, and the zealous support of a generous and loyal people. I will use all the means left to me to meet both.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—You will communicate this my answer to the two houses, accompanied by my most fervent wishes and prayers, that the Divine Will may extricate us and the nation from the grievous embarrassments of our present condition, by the speedy restoration of his majesty's health."

The following was the answer of the queen:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—That sense of duty and gratitude to the king, and of obligation to this country, which induced me, in the year 1789, readily to promise my most earnest attention to the anxious and momentous trust at that time intended to be reposed in me by parliament, is strengthened, if possible, by the uninterrupted enjoyment of those blessings which I have continued to experience, under the protection of his majesty, since that period; and I should be wanting to all my duties if I hesitated to accept the sacred trust which is now offered to me.

"The assistance in point of counsel and advice, which the wisdom of parliament proposes to provide for me, will make me undertake the charge with greater hopes that I may be able satisfactorily to fulfil the important duties which it must impose upon me.

"Of the nature and importance of that charge I cannot but be duly sensible, involving, as it does, every thing which is valuable to myself, as well as the highest interests of a people endeared to me by so many ties and considerations; but by nothing so strongly, as by their steady, loyal, and affectionate attachment to the best of kings."

The 6th of February, being the day appointed for swearing his royal highness into office before his majesty's most honorable privy-council, the prince went in grand procession, preceded by the officers of his own household, and several of his council, among whom were Earl Moira, Lords Keith, Cassilis, Hutchinson, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. M. Angelo Taylor, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Colonel Mac Mahon, Colonel Bloomfield, General Hulse, Mr. Bicknell, &c. &c. (His chancellor was by accident not present, and there was a delay in consequence of his royal highness's anxious desire of his presence.) The prince was also accompanied by all the royal dukes. They passed through the room where the privy-councillors were assembled, through the circular drawing-room, into the grand saloon (a beautiful room in scarlet drapery, embellished with portraits of all the most distinguished admirals who have fought the battles that have given England the dominion of the seas), and here the prince seated himself at the top of the table—his royal brothers and cousin seating themselves on each hand according to seniority, and all the officers of his household, not privy-councillors, ranging themselves on each side of the entrance to the saloon. The privy-councillors then proceeded, all in full dress, according to their rank—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, &c. &c. and as they severally entered, they made their reverence to the prince, who made a graceful return to each, and they successively took their places at the table; and lastly, Mr. Faw-

kenier and Sir Stephen Cotterell took their seats, BOOK IX.
as clerk and keeper of the records.

The prince then spoke to the following effect:—

"My Lords,—I understand that by the act passed by the parliament appointing me regent of the united kingdom, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, I am required to take certain oaths, and to make a declaration before your lordships, as prescribed by the said act. I am now ready to take these oaths, and to make the declaration prescribed."

The lord privy seal then rose, made his reverence, approached the regent, and read from a parchment the oath as follows—The prince, with an audible voice, pronounced after him:—

"I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George. So help me God."

"I do solemnly promise and swear, that I will truly and faithfully execute the office of regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, according to an act of parliament passed in the 51st year of the reign of his majesty King George the Third (intituled, An Act, &c.) and that I will administer, according to law, the power and authority vested in me by virtue of the said act; and that I will in all things, to the utmost of my power and ability, consult and maintain the safety, honor, and dignity of his majesty, and the welfare of his people. So help me God."

And the prince subscribed the two oaths. The lord president then presented to his royal highness the declaration mentioned in an act made in the 30th year of King Charles II. intituled, "An Act for the more effectually preserving the king's person and government, by disabling papists from sitting in either house of parliament," and which declaration his royal highness audibly made, repeated, and subscribed.—The lord president signed first, and every one of the privy-councillors in succession signed these instruments as witnesses—and the same was delivered into the hand of the keeper of the records.

The prince then delivered to the president of the council a certificate of his having received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at the chapel royal of St. James, on Sunday, the 27th January ult. which was also countersigned and delivered to the keeper of the records, who deposited all these instruments in a box at the bottom of the table.

The lord president then approached the regent, bent the knee, and had the honour to kiss his hand. The royal dukes followed, and afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the rest, according to the order in which they sat at the long table, advancing to the chair on both sides.—During the whole of this ceremony, his royal highness maintained the most dignified and graceful

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deportment, and there was not the slightest indication of partiality of behaviour to one set of men more than another.

On the 12th, the lord-chancellor stated to the house of lords, that it being inconvenient for his royal highness the prince-regent to be personally present in parliament, he had given directions for the issuing of a royal commission; and therefore he moved, "That the house do now adjourn for the purpose of robing."—Agreed to.

The house having resumed, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, Earls Camden and Westmoreland, (the lords president and privy-seal) and the Duke of Montrose, took their seats before the throne as the royal commissioners.

The lord-chancellor having directed the deputy usher of the black rod to acquaint the commons their presence was required to hear the commission read, presently the speaker, with a numerous attendance of members, appeared at their lordships' bar, when the commission, for declaring the further purposes of parliament being assembled, was read by the clerk.

The lord-chancellor then addressed both houses in the following speech:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—In execution of the commission which has now been read to you, we are commanded by his royal highness the prince-regent to express, in the strongest manner, how deeply he laments, not only in common with all his majesty's loyal subjects, but with a personal and filial affliction, the great national calamity which has been the occasion of imposing upon his royal highness the duty of exercising, in his majesty's name, the royal authority of this kingdom.

"In conveying to you the sense which his royal highness entertains of the great difficulties attending the important trust which is reposed in him, his royal highness commands us to assure you, that he looks with the most perfect confidence to the wisdom and zeal of parliament, and to the attachment of a loyal and affectionate people, for the most effectual assistance and support; and his royal highness will, on his part, exert his utmost endeavours to direct the powers with which he is invested to the advancement of the prosperity, welfare, and security of his majesty's dominions.

"We are directed to inform you, that his royal highness has great satisfaction in being enabled to state, that fresh opportunities have been afforded, during the late campaign, for distinguishing the valour and skill of his majesty's forces both by sea and land.

"The capture of the islands of Bourbon and of Amboyna have still further reduced the colonial dependencies of the enemy.

"The attack upon the island of Sicily, which was announced to the world with a presumptuous anticipation of success, has been repulsed by the persevering exertions and valour of his majesty's land and sea forces.

"The judicious arrangements adopted by the officers commanding on that station, derived material support from the zeal and ardour which were manifested during this contest by the inhabitants of Sicily, and from the co-operation of the naval means which were directed by his Sicilian majesty to this object.

"In Portugal, and at Cadiz, the defence of which constituted the principal object of his majesty's exertions in the last campaign, the designs of the enemy have been hitherto frustrated.—The consummate skill, prudence, and perseverance of Lieutenant-general Lord Viscount Wellington, and the discipline and determined bravery of the officers and men under his command, have been conspicuously displayed throughout the whole of the campaign. The effect of those distinguished qualities, in inspiring confidence and energy into the troops of his majesty's allies, has been happily evinced by their general good conduct, and particularly by the brilliant part which they bore in the repulse of the enemy at Busaco. And his royal highness commands us further to state, that he trusts you will enable him to continue the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula, in the support of a contest which they manifest a determination to maintain with unabated perseverance; and his royal highness is persuaded, that you will feel that the best interests of the British empire must be deeply affected in the issue of this contest, on which the liberties and independence of the Spanish and Portuguese nations entirely depend.

"We have it likewise in command to acquaint you that discussions are now depending between this country and the United States of America; and that it is the earnest wish of his royal highness, that he may find himself enabled to bring these discussions to an amicable termination, consistent with the honor of his majesty's crown, and the maritime rights and interests of the united kingdom.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—We are directed to acquaint you, that his royal highness the prince-regent has given his commands, that the estimates for the expenditure of the current year should be laid before you; and his royal highness has great satisfaction in acquainting you, that although the difficulties under which the commerce of this kingdom has laboured, have in some degree affected a part of his majesty's revenue, particularly in Ireland, yet that the revenue of Great Britain in the last year, though unaided by any new taxa-

tion, is greater than was ever known in any preceding year. And his royal highness trusts to your zeal and liberality to afford his majesty adequate supplies for the support of the great contest in which he is necessarily engaged.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—We are commanded by his royal highness to declare to you, that it is the most anxious wish of his heart, that he may be enabled to restore unimpaired into the hands of his majesty the government of his kingdom; and that his royal highness earnestly prays, that the Almighty may be pleased in his mercy to accelerate the termination of a calamity so deeply lamented by the whole nation, and so peculiarly afflicting to his royal highness himself."

In the house of lords, the Earl of Aberdeen moved an address to the regent's speech, which was unanimously carried. In the house of commons, the address, moved by Mr. Milnes, was also carried without a dissenting voice.

It was generally expected that a new administration would take place as soon as ever the regent was released from the restrictions; but to the great surprise (and, indeed, disappointment) of many, his royal highness took an early opportunity of announcing his determination to retain the present ministers in his service. The following are copies of letters which passed between the regent and the chancellor of the exchequer:—

"Carlton-house, February 4, 1811.

"The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived, which calls for his decision, with respect to the persons to be employed by him in the administration of the executive government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the bill passed by the two houses of parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the great seal.

"The prince feels it incumbent upon him, at this precise juncture, to communicate to Mr. Perceval, his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there as his majesty's official servants. At the same time, the prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father, leads him to dread that any act of the regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery.

"This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.

"Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honor, the prince has only to add, that, among the many blessings to be de-

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rived from his majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the prince's estimation, be the least that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the united kingdom, in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution."

Downing-street, Feb. 5, 1811.

"Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to your royal highness, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your royal highness's letter of last night, which reached him this morning.

"Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to your royal highness, for the frankness with which your royal highness has condescended explicitly to communicate the motives which have induced your royal highness to honor his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuance of their services, in the stations entrusted to them by the king. And Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure your royal highness, that in the expression of your royal highness's sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the king, and of anxiety for the restoration of his majesty's health, Mr. Perceval can see nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to your royal highness, in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote your royal highness's views for the security and happiness of the country.

"Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of your royal highness, with regard to the provisions of the regency bill, which his majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to parliament. But he ventures to submit to your royal highness, that, whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the executive government, your royal highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the royal prerogatives, which has been introduced by parliament, in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion; and that whatever ministers your royal highness might think proper to employ, would find in that full support and countenance which, as long as they were honoured with your royal highness's commands, they would feel confident they would continue to enjoy ample and sufficient means to enable your royal highness effectually to maintain the great and important interest of the united kingdom.

"And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts, that whatever doubts your royal highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the

measures which have been adopted, your royal highness will feel assured, that they could not have been recommended by his majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous conviction, that they in no degree trench upon the true principles and spirit of the constitution.

"Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add, that he holds himself in readiness, at any moment, to wait upon your royal highness, and to receive any commands with which your royal highness may be graciously pleased to honor him."

The prince regent, as well during the debates in parliament, as in the conclusion, fully satisfied the public wishes; and, it will not be too much to add, even went beyond the public hopes. It was always indeed a part of his character to have a suitable filial affection for his father; but the administration of princes does not always follow their own peculiar character. They are too frequently the creatures of circumstance and connection. The public, therefore, though they had no distrust of the prince, possibly had a distrust and dislike of some of the persons reputed to be in his favor; they might impute to them a degree of ambition, and particular views of policy, which did not exactly square with the public voice. It must not, therefore, be concealed, that under these apprehensions, and with these prejudices, the public had kept an anxious and attentive eye upon the conduct of the prince. They expected, hoped, and feared, they knew not what; but certainly none of them expected that wise, temperate, and considerate decision, which had been announced.

The resolution of the prince not to dismiss his father's ministers,—not to change the face of affairs more than was absolutely necessary even to carry on the public business, had been taken briefly upon two views of the relative situation of his majesty and himself. As these points had an intimate connection with the then condition of Great Britain, they certainly merit a more detailed consideration.

The first of these points was, the actual situation of the king's health, and the degree of the probability of his speedy recovery. The decision of the prince was preceded by a deliberate examination of the physicians. The public papers announced this intention of his royal highness without knowing its purpose, imputing it merely to his filial anxiety. It afterwards appeared, from the event, that the examination was taken upon Sunday, and the consequent resolution nearly upon the following day. This led, therefore, to one important conclusion. The examination of the physicians convinced his royal highness that the state of his majesty was less afflictive than the opposition papers and speakers endeavoured to represent; or, in other words, that there

were very reasonable hopes of his speedy recovery. In a private conference, the physicians were naturally more explicit and explanatory than in their previous parliamentary evidence. They considered themselves under a stronger obligation to speak precisely and explanatorily to a son examining them upon the real state of his father, than to parliament, putting them formally upon their oath. An oath is certainly the strongest possible security against falsehood, but it is not always the most effectual means of obtaining the truth. It produces a caution, a reserve, a timidity, which, under the apprehension of saying too much, stops short of saying enough. A better and more full notion may be generally procured from a familiar conference than from the most solemn justiciary inquiry upon oath. From some reason or other, this is more particularly the case in respect to medical evidence; and no doubt the conference of the physicians and the prince, at Carlton House, was better calculated to explain the nature of his majesty's malady, and the probability of his recovery, than their parliamentary evidence; and the resolution taken by the prince immediately after this examination, showed that the result of this examination was a conviction in the mind of his royal highness that his majesty's recovery was more near, and probable, than was generally imagined.

Another point of view, upon which the prince took his resolution to retain his father's ministers, was that he might not disturb the present system of things, and particularly the war of Portugal, in its mid progress. The war, at least the shape and form of it, belonged to these ministers. If any other set of men were called in, they must continue the same course, or alter it and commence another. If they continued the same course, and succeeded, they would have been accused of taking the reputation from their predecessors; if they failed, they would have incurred a suspicion that they had not warmly embraced measures which they were conscious were not their own. Their success would be without praise, and their failure would be put to the account of party feelings. On the other hand, if they departed from this usual policy, the departure would necessarily introduce an immense deal of confusion, and what they might have done from real principle and persuasion, would have been imputed to jealousy and counteraction. In this state of things, therefore, the prince doubtless concluded, that it would be the most prudent, as well as the most moderate conduct, to leave every thing in the state in which he found it. Under these circumstances, the ministers continued responsible for their own measures; and whatever might occur, could be imputed only to them.

Such, therefore, were the circumstances and

he reasons upon which his royal highness took a resolution which at once gratified and surprized the public. 1st. He was unwilling to obtrude himself or testify any eagerness to assume the pomp and splendour belonging to his father, and therefore came forward merely to execute the duties of the crown, declining its lustre and power.

2dly. He was unwilling to enter upon a new plan of policy which he might not have time to finish; he was unwilling to interrupt the present course of things; he was unwilling, in a word, to act as owner, whilst, on account of the restrictions with which he was enthralled, he could alone consider himself in an office of trust.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. IV.

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CHAPTER V.

Positions of the French Troops according to Lord Wellington's Official Dispatches.—Spanish Affairs.—Intercepted Letter from Joseph's Ambassador at Paris.—Coimbra evacuated by Colonel Trant.—Zeal and Activity of Lord Wellington.—Siege of Tortosa.

IN order to show the position of the French troops at the commencement of this year, the following are extracts of official dispatches from Marshal-general Lord Wellington to the Earl of Liverpool.

"Cartaxo, Jan. 5, 1811.

"My Lord,—The reinforcements to the enemy's army in this country, which were on the march in the valley of the Mondego, arrived upon the Alva at Murcella on the 24th, which river they crossed by a ford on the following day, and continued their march to join the army.

"Colonel Wilson, who had retired from Espinhal and crossed the Mondego upon hearing of the advance of these troops, lest he should be involved in an unequal contest in front and rear at the same time, repassed the Mondego on the 25th, and annoyed the enemy's rear on his march of the 25th and 26th, from the Alva towards Espinhal. He took some prisoners, and cut off some of their small detachments, which fell into the hands of the Ordenanza.

"The division which had marched to Pinhel, and the advanced-guard of which had been at Trancoso when I last addressed your lordship, was still at Pinhel on the 26th December, when I last heard from General Silveira, whose head-quarters were at Torrinha.

"I have letters from Cadiz to the 23d and 29th of December, stating that Marshal Soult had marched from the army engaged in the operations against that place, with 4,000 or 5,000 men, on the 20th and 21st of December.

"Generals Mendizabel and Ballasteros are still at Llerena and the neighbourhood of Monasterio, and Girard's division of Mortier's corps at Gualcanal.

"No material alteration has been made in the position of the enemy's army since I addressed your lordship last. The detachment which marched to Castello Branco returned immediately, and was sent either for the purpose of escorting a messenger, or to obtain intelligence. I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

"Cartaxo, Jan. 12, 1811.

"My Lord,—Since I addressed your lordship on the 5th inst. I have learnt that the detachment of the enemy's troops which joined the army in the end of last month, consisted of eleven battalions of the 9th corps, and a body of troops, which, under the command of General Gardanne, had before attempted to penetrate through Beira Baxa. The whole are stated at 8,000 men, by some of the officers who saw them, but I should think they must be more.

"The other division of the 9th corps had not passed the frontier when I last received accounts of them; but I learn from an intercepted letter from General Drouet to General Claparede, that this division has been ordered to take a position at Guarda. Their advanced-guard broke up from the neighbourhood of Trancoso in the night of the 3d inst.

"There has been no alteration in the position of the enemy's army since I last addressed you, excepting that General Drouet's head-quarters have been fixed at Leyria with the troops which joined with him.

"The enemy continue to construct boats in the Zezere; and have shewn much jealousy of the measures adopted by our troops on the left of the Tagus, to command by their fire the communication between the Zezere and Tagus.

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"I have now to inform you, that Marshal Mortier arrived at Ronquillo, with a division of the corps under his command, on the 3d instant. He has since continued to advance into Estremadura, having formed a junction with the division which had been at Guadalcanal, under the command of General Girard; and I am concerned to add, that I have just learnt that he obtained possession of Merida, and of the bridge over the Guadiana at that place, on the evening of the 8th inst. the Spanish troops having retired.

"They have left General Banastero's division on their left flank, between Xeres de los Cavalleros and Olivenza, with his communication open with Badajoz; and it is reported, that Mortier's corps is followed by other troops. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

It appeared evident, by the accounts which arrived from Spain, that Bonaparte meant to unite the entire peninsula to the French empire. No attention was paid to Joseph in any matter, and orders were transmitted directly to Soult, who appeared to hold a preference to Massena in the mind of Bonaparte, and to the military governors established in Spain.

But every doubt on the subject was removed by an intercepted letter published in the memorial *Military Patriotic* of the 25th December. It came from Azanza, Joseph's ambassador extraordinary at Paris, and was addressed to one of the ministers at Madrid. In it this courtier communicated, after many preambles, in which he discovered his previous fears and the bitterness of his heart, that he was invited to the house of Talleyrand, who observed to him that France had spent large sums and wasted many armies in the peninsula, and that she must repay herself and be compensated for sacrifices so great; that the blood of Napoleon had been ungrateful to him, and had not taken due care of his interests; that the debaucheries of Joseph, and the ignorance and caprice of his ministers, had prolonged a war which ought to have been terminated long ago; that Cabarras alone had done more mischief to the French cause than the battles of Baylen, of Talavera, &c.; and that, in short, both the peninsula and Italy should be incorporated with the French empire. Azanza submitted to him, that to change the dynasty, and to destroy the independence of Spain and the Spanish name, were very different things: that the inhabitants of the provinces beyond the Ebro had submitted to the government of Joseph without much disturbance; but, that no sooner had Bonaparte decreed the formation of military governors in those provinces, than a great insurrection broke out; that in consequence of the war of the peninsula not being terminated, the French

generals had proceeded to treat the inhabitants in a cruel and despotic manner; that the best opportunities had been lost, from the plans of the campaign being ill combined and worse executed; that the insurgents had assembled the cortes, and were employed in forming an universal legislation for all parts of the monarchy; that in consequence of a novelty so pernicious, all parties would join that of the insurgents; that the latter would prefer death before slavery; that the war would become much more lasting; and that the English would not cease to assist them in such circumstances, &c. To all this, the ex-bishop of Autun replied, that he was not invited to throw doubts on a point that was already decided upon by the highest wisdom, and the most profound policy; and concluded with complimenting him on his henceforward belonging to the "great family."

On the 9th of January, Coimbra was occupied by Drouet. Colonel Trant found the enemy too strong for him, and therefore evacuated and retreated across the Vonga towards Porto.

The reinforcements received by Massena at this time were 9,000 infantry and only 300 cavalry, a large quantity of stores and a small park of artillery.

Every effort was used to reinforce Lord Wellington, while his lordship's exertions were truly laudable, as appears from the following private letter:—

"The activity and zeal displayed by Lord Wellington, is the theme of every loyal Portuguese and British soldier. His lordship takes his breakfast every morning at four o'clock, and is on horseback at five, reconnoitring his out-posts, as well as every position where his attendance may be necessary. He writes a great deal; and where secrecy is required, his lordship copies his dispatches himself. He is at all times very abstemious, and uniformly sleeps in his clothes on a couch. You will have heard that the reinforcements received by the French are a part of the 9th corps, under General Drouet, consisting of 15,000 men, with provisions, &c. Hitherto their arrival has caused no movement in our army; many, however, talk of the probability of a battle very soon. The enemy have thrown three bridges over the Zezere, in their rear, near Punhete, and are busily employed there in constructing barks, rafts, &c. which are seen by that part of our army stationed at and near Chamusca, on the other side of the river, where Marshal Beresford now is with 30,000 men; hence it is presumed that Massena, if he finds himself obliged to retreat, will attempt to cross the Tagus, and retire through Alentejo. You have before been informed, that lines were forming on the other side of that river, from Moiter to the south bank. One hundred pieces of cannon were sent over some time ago, and

that position is daily made more formidable. All the galegos here are now become subject to be impressed for the army of this country, and every man capable of bearing arms (if native) is laid hold of for the same service; so that in the country we see nothing but military. The marines from the men of war now garrison this city. We have no other troops here except the *Corpo de Commercio*; even the *caçadores* (sharpshooters), consisting of very respectable inhabitants, have been marched off to the army long since, and have behaved very well in several skirmishes. In short, the greatest part of the country is in arms; and from all we see and hear, it is not too much to expect, that the issue of the present struggle will be fortunate, and glorious to the brave Portuguese troops, and add fresh laurels to the brows of our countrymen, serving in this just and meritorious cause."

The siege of Tortosa was truly to the honor of the Spanish name. The Spaniards at this time had the elements of a great people, but were depressed by a bad government. The following is an extract from the French journal of this siege, which was very voluminous.

"The engineers caused a road to be rapidly constructed over the mountains and rocks, which extend on the right bank of the Ebro, from Mequinenza to Xerta, in order that the 3d corps, charged with the siege of Tortosa, might be able to transport by land the field-artillery, the baggage, and every thing which could not come by the navigation of the Ebro.

"The general-in-chief, Count Suchet, for the purpose of completely insulating Catalonia from the rest of Spain, and of favoring the movements of the 7th corps, caused one of his divisions to advance in front of the *tête-de-pont* of Tortosa, with a corps upon Cenis, to observe the army of the Valencians; and constructed *têtes-de-pont* on the Ebro, in front of Xerta and Mora, in order to remain master of the approaches of the left bank and of the navigation of the river. We awaited in this position, till the month of December, the assembling of the troops who were to protect the siege from the enterprises of the Catalonians. During this time the corps of the army had to sustain a number of encounters with the Valencians, the Catalonians, and the garrison of Tortosa, in which the enemy, constantly beaten, lost about 4,000 men."

After detailing other preliminary operations, the journal thus described the fortress.

"Tortosa, washed by the Ebro, and with a chain of mountains at its back, is surrounded by a wall with bastions, of which one part is in the plain, and the other is raised on heights of granite, almost every where destitute of soil, about 200 feet high. The fortress has for its citadel, an old castle upon an elevated rock. When, in 1708, the French made their attack by the bas-

tion Saint Pierre, which is on a height, they were obliged to form, almost throughout, their trenches with bags of earth, which they had brought, and they were twenty days in constructing their batteries. The Spaniards since then have strengthened this bastion with a good entrenchment, and have constructed in advance of it the fort of Orleans; they have also crowded the other heights with horned-works.

"The siege commenced on the 20th December, and the general-in-chief determined that the attack should be conducted upon the demi-bastion Saint Pierre, which rests upon the lower Ebro. But it was necessary to direct a false attack against fort Orleans, which enfiladed the lower ground. The trenches were therefore opened against this fort on the evening of the 19th. At day-break we were not completely covered with the parapets, and the balls of the enemy carried off the bags of the earth and the gabions; but the trenches were mostly maintained throughout. Captain Sea, of the engineers, a young officer of great promise, was killed by a ball which struck his head.

"In the night of the 20th, favored by its darkness and a violent wind which prevented the enemy from seeing or hearing, the labours of the trenches were conducted with such energy, that at day-break every thing was under cover. The enemy at last perceiving our works, opened a violent fire with all the artillery that could bear upon them; but this hail of bombs, chain-shot, balls, grenades, and stones thrown from mortars, did little damage, and did not drive away the workmen. The Spaniards attempted without success a sally in the plain; as they were enfiladed by the fire of the parallel of Orleans, and taken in reverse by the fire of the right bank, their sallies could not be dangerous against the parallel of Saint Pierre.

"In the night of the 21st the works were continually improved. At day-break the enemy opened a brisk fire, and caused us the loss of some men by the shells which he threw into the trenches. His artillerymen took a very good aim. On the left of the centre parallel there was thrice formed a battlement with bags of earth, for the purpose of placing a sentinel there, and thrice it was carried away with the head of the sentinel.

"In the night of the 22d, the enemy perceiving our labours by means of fire-balls which he threw into the air, kept up a constant fire from his covered-way, and overwhelmed us with a shower of chain-shot: it was necessary to remove the workmen four different times. We lost about twenty men. By day there was a brisk cannonade from the fortress: the works begun were completed.

"In the night of the 24th the firing was very violent: the enemy made sallies on almost all points, which dispersed the workmen employed in

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the attack of Fort Orleans. In the centre, the parallel was advanced within thirty toises of the place of arms of the bastion St. Pierre. The enemy made a sally from his *tête-de-pont*, which was easily repulsed. During the day the cannonade was brisk: in general, the besieged fired more than 1,000 shot in the twenty-four hours, and our daily loss is from twenty to thirty men.

"At eleven in the night of the 25th, the enemy opened a terrible fire of musketry and artillery: at the close of which he made a desperate sally against the parallel of attack on fort St. Pierre. The guard of the 44th regiment repulsed them with the bayonet, and made some prisoners. He continued his fire of chain-shot, &c. till one in the morning; when he attempted a new sally, which was also repulsed. The parallels from this time confined him too much to permit him to deploy many troops. During the day, the fire of the enemy was less vigorous than usual. The second parallels had been lined with sharpshooters placed behind battlements formed of bags of earth, who annoyed the Spanish artillerymen, and forced them to shut their embrasures.

"In the night of the 26th, it was wished to continue, by sap, the approach to the place of arms of the bastion St. Pierre. The enemy, after having thrown hand-grenades from the salient angle of his place of arms, all at once leaped over the pallasades of the covered-way, burst upon the head of the sap, and threw the workmen into confusion. The brave Clause, serjeant of the sappers, remained firm at the head of his party. He drove back above sixty Spaniards with grenades, and at the point of the bayonet, until he fell severely wounded. Captain Fourcauld, of the artillery, with his usual energy, repulsed the Spaniards to their place of arms, and soon drove them even from that. He was struck by a musket-shot. Lieutenant Lemer cier, of the engineers, whose behaviour was most gallant during the siege, had his arm broken; several sappers were wounded.

"In the day our working parties were so much annoyed by the enemy's artillery that they could not proceed. Such of the enemy as defended the covered-way, and the artillerymen through the embrasures, were equally annoyed by our sharpshooters from the second parallel.

"On the 27th, the enemy, by way of preparation for a general sally, before our batteries began to play, kept up an extraordinary fire. Captain Poussin, of the artillery, was killed by a grape shot in the forehead.

"At four in the afternoon, the enemy sallying forth by the gate del Rastro, advanced in force to take our parallels in reverse: but General Hubert, rushing at the head of the 6th light, and 116th, threw himself on the enemy at the point of the bayonet, with immense carnage. At the

same time they attacked our parallels in front; they were vigorously repulsed from the height of Orleans, but on the plain they succeeded in driving us from where we had crowned the place of arms of the bastion St. Pierre; Lieutenant Jacquand, of the artillery, in vain endeavoured to drive them back, at the head of some sappers. This brave young man died by the bayonet, without quitting the lodgement he had made. Some Spaniards penetrated to the second parallel, where they were killed. The lodgement of the covered-way was immediately retaken. The Spaniards, however, had time to set fire to the gabions, and destroy some of the works. This sally cost the Spaniards 400 men.

"During the 28th all the batteries played: The demi-bastion, St. Pierre, enveloped in a girdle of fire, was crushed and silenced. The fire of the half-moon was also extinguished. The bastion of St. John had only one serviceable gun on the flank. The advanced redoubt of Orleans had still some guns in play. The battery, No. 1, was a good deal annoyed. Our batteries on the right bank, although a vigorous fire was kept up on them from the castle, the *tête-de-pont*, and *las Tenasas*, kept up their fire. Five of the boats which supported the bridge were sunk; the platform of the bridge, notwithstanding, did not separate; and it floated in such a manner as to afford a passage to a few stragglers.

"In the night of the 29th, the lodgement at the foot of the parapet of the covered-way belonging to the demi-bastion of St. Pierre was extended twenty toises. The counterscarp was crowned by a lodgement, which, commencing at the returning angle of the place of arms, was carried thirty toises beyond the traverse. Beyond the traverse the counterscarp was not lined, which shortened the siege by twenty-four hours. Advantage was taken of this defect in the fortification to immediately commence the descent and passage of the ditch, for the purpose of mining the scarp of the bastion; but the work undertaken was too much. The enemy commenced a brisk fire from two guns, and after having driven our sappers from the ditch, with grenades and shells, which they rolled down from the ramparts, they also threw some burning faggots, which were pitched and tarred; that set fire to our gabions. From that time, we restricted ourselves to a lodgement on the counterscarp, and the descent of the ditch was begun.

"At day-light, we discovered that the enemy had abandoned their *tête-de-pont*, after having set fire to whatever was combustible. They left us three pieces of cannon.

"On the night of the 31st, the descent of the ditch having been completed, the passage thereof was easily effected to the mine. The only obstruction to this operation was the discharge of some grenades and a few musket-shot. The mi-

ners met with a body of mason's-work harder than a rock. Their progress was consequently slow, although they were relieved every half-hour.

"The two lodgements of the covered-way were extended to the ditch of the flank of the bastion. During this operation we lost Capt. Hudry, of the engineers, an excellent officer, who was killed by a musket-ball in the head. The artillery began a breaching battery of four 24-pounders, at the left of the descent of the ditch, upon the brink of the counterscarp.

"The battery, No. 5, having effected a breach nearly practicable in the curtain, near the flank of the demi-bastion, St. Pierre, the place of arms was occupied for the purpose of taking advantage of the breach in the curtain on the day of the assault.

"The enemy appeared exceedingly alarmed at the operation of mining; at ten in the morning he hoisted the white flag, and the fire was suspended from all our batteries, but the works were continued. The conferences lasted until night without coming to an agreement as to the terms of capitulation.

"In the night of the 1st, the four-gun 24-pounder breaching-battery was ready. The miner continued his labours. Nothing new was undertaken. All the earth-work was finished, and we had only to wait the effect of the breaching-battery and the mine, and to rush to the assault.

"At day-break the breaching-battery, which was distant only ten toises from the fortification it was firing on, was rapidly sapping the bottom of the rampart. It effected two breaches, which were very practicable. The commander-in-chief issued his orders to the troops, and prepared to make the assault at two in the afternoon.

"Since the morning, three white flags were hoisted in the town and forts, but as the governor had availed himself of a similar opportunity on the preceding evening to make ridiculous proposals, our fire was not suspended in the least degree. The flags of truce were driven back into the town, and the general-in-chief required as a

preliminary to receiving them, that one of the forts should be delivered up to us. At last, at one o'clock, our troops were admitted into the advanced works of the castle, and the general-in-chief immediately penetrated to the castle with some select companies. The breaches were, at the same time, taken possession of, and the garrison surrendered at discretion, at the very moment that the general-in-chief was about to give orders for the assault.

"Thus the fortress of Tortosa sustained seventeen days investment, thirteen nights of open trenches, and four days bombardment and cannonade. We had completely established ourselves at the bottom of the ditch; the mining operations had been carried on for two days, and there were three practicable breaches in the body of the place. The garrison could not have defended themselves an hour longer, without being put to the sword; they were therefore obliged to surrender at discretion.

"The garrison consisted of 9,000 men before the siege, in which they lost 1,200. The besieging army, which was 10,000 strong, only lost 300 men.

"We found in the fortress 177 pieces of artillery, and a great deal of ammunition and provisions. The enemy's artillery fired 20,000 rounds. Our besieging park consisted of 50 pieces, from which we only discharged 15,000 rounds in 13 nights. We completed a line of trenches, of the extent of 3,200 toises, in performing which we had the advantage of very fine weather, and nights without moonlight.

"The soldiers of the third corps, like the Roman soldiers, fought, and dug the earth with equal ardour. The officers of the infantry began to understand the art of war as applied to sieges. General Valec directed the artillery with a judgment and activity above all praise. The services of the engineer officers were enthusiastic. It was impossible to form a collection of better officers. Unfortunately five excellent engineer officers were killed, and several wounded.

"Tortosa, Jan. 3, 1811.

"ROQUIAT."

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CHAP. V.

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CHAPTER VI.

Particulars of the Attack of the Isle of France.—Proclamation issued there in the Name of his Majesty George III.—Description of the Isle.—French Account, printed at the Isle of France.—Particulars of the Capture of Banda.

HAVING, among other captures by the British, slightly mentioned that of the Isle of France, in the third Chapter of this Book, we shall, in the

present, give the particulars, which were not published in the London gazette till February 13.

A dispatch, of which the following was an

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extract, was at this period received by the Earl of Liverpool, from R. T. Farquhar, Esq. dated Port Louis, Isle of France, 7th of December, 1810:—

"I have the honor to inform your lordship, that on the 5th instant I assumed the government of these islands, under the sanction and authority of a commission issued by the right honourable the governor-general of India in council. The success of our naval and military operations has added a most important colony to the dominions of his majesty, and wrested from the enemy one of his most destructive means of annoying the British commerce to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

"It is my intention to provide for the administration of the Isle of France and its dependencies, until his majesty's further pleasure shall be known, on the same principles as were adopted on the surrender of Bourbon; as the arrangements which I provisionally made there have met with the entire approbation of the right honorable the governor-general in council.

"I have to assure your lordship, that through the able and judicious arrangements made by the Honorable Lieutenant-general Abercromby, the transfer of the government has been effected in perfect tranquillity; and, I am happy to add, that the inhabitants have already ample reason to rejoice at a transition from a state bordering on famine and slavery, to the blessings of abundance and liberty, which are enjoyed by all those who have the happiness to live under British protection.

"I have the honor to inclose to your lordship a copy of the proclamation which I have issued, with a view to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants, until some more permanent arrangements can be effected."

Translation of the proclamation issued in the name of his majesty George the Third, king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Whereas, his most gracious majesty the king has taken under his government the Isle of France; these are to make known to all the inhabitants of the said colony, Europeans, Creoles, planters, merchants, &c. that the regulations hitherto observed in the civil administration of justice, and of the police, will be preserved. The laws and customs, also, which are now in force, will be observed.

"The private property of the inhabitants will be strictly protected; and they are invited to bring to market as usual the various produce of their plantations and gardens. The English are come to establish a firm and perpetual friendship with the inhabitants of the Isle of France, who will have the means of disposing of their merchandize on the most favorable terms, and who will enjoy all the commercial advantages of the other sub-

jects of his majesty. Another proclamation, hereafter to be promulgated, will explain the arrangements to be observed in the different departments of the government. It will at the same time detail the conditions and cases in which permission to trade will be granted. Every individual is directed to continue, till further orders, to fulfil his respective duty, and to obey the orders of his superiors. All public orders, and generally all public affairs, of whatever nature, will be issued and transacted in the name of his Britannic majesty. God save the king.

"Port Louis, Isle of France, Dec. 5, 1810.

"R. T. FARQUHAR, acting governor of the Isles of France, Bourbon, and their dependencies.

"By order, A. BARRY,

Chief secretary to the government.

"This proclamation shall be registered and printed."

Lieutenant Cator, acting as commander of his majesty's sloop the Otter, arrived in London, February 13, with dispatches from Vice-admiral Bertie, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the Cape of Good Hope, to John Wilson Croker, esq. secretary to the Admiralty, of which the following are copies:—

"*Africaine, in Port Louis, Isle of France, Dec. 6, 1810.*

"Sir,—I have the honour to announce to you, for the information of their lordships, the capture of the Isle of France and its dependencies, comprehending the extirpation of the naval force of the enemy in these seas, and the subjugation of the last remaining colonial territory of France.

"By my communication addressed to you on the 12th of October last, and forwarded to England by the Otter, from Bourbon, I had the honor to acquaint you, that I was on the point of resuming the blockade of the Isle of France; I accordingly arrived off this port on the 19th, and, finding the whole of the enemy's ships in the harbour, and two only apparently in a state of forward equipment, I left Captain Rowley with the Boadicea, Nisus, and Nereide, (late La Venus, captured by Commodore Rowley) to watch the movement of the enemy; and, having previously detached the Ceylon and Staunch to convoy the division of troops from Bourbon to Rodriguez, I proceeded with the commander of the forces, (Major-general the Honorable John Abercromby) who had embarked in the *Africaine*, towards that anchorage. On the 24th I was joined by Rear-admiral Drury, with a division of his squadron, viz. Russell, Clorinde, Doris, Phaeton, Bucephalus, Cornelia and Hesper; and taking under my orders for the time being, the rear-admiral with the ships under his command, I was enabled to strengthen the blockading squadron, by

detaching the *Cornelia* and *Hesper* for that purpose; and with the others made all sail for Rodriguez, where the squadron arrived on the 3d of November, and found lying there the division of troops from Bombay; on the 6th arrived the division from Madras, under convoy of the *Psyche* and *Cornwallis*. On the 8th Rear-admiral Drury sailed with the *Russel*, *Phaeton*, and *Bucephalus*, to resume his command in India; on the 12th arrived the division from Bourbon under convoy of the *Ceylon*.

"The divisions from Bengal and the Cape not arriving by the 20th, the season being so far advanced, and the anchorage (surrounded by reefs) by no means secure, more particularly for so large a number of ships, I determined on weighing with the whole fleet on the morning of the 22d, proposing the convoy should cruize to windward until joined by one or other of the divisions. Very fortunately intelligence was received on the night of the 21st, that the Bengal division, under convoy of the *Illustrious*, was in the offing. General Abercromby deemed it, as well as myself, adviseable they should not anchor; but that, having communicated with the convoy, and given them such supplies as they might essentially require, we should proceed to the attack of the Isle of France, without waiting the junction of the troops expected from the Cape. The whole fleet accordingly weighed from the anchorage, and on the morning of the 29th bore up for the point of debarkation it had been determined to occupy in Grande Baye, about twelve miles to windward of Port Louis, where the *Africaine* leading in, and the several ships of war following with the convoy, according to a previous arrangement, the whole fleet was at anchor by ten o'clock A. M. consisting of nearly seventy sail; and the army, with their artillery, stores, and ammunition, the several detachments of marines serving in the squadron, with a large body of seamen, disembarked the same day, without a single loss or accident; a division of ships still maintained a vigilant blockade of the port; another division remained for the protection of the convoy at the anchorage; and a third, under my immediate command, shifted their stations as circumstances required, to keep up a more effectual communication with the army as it advanced, and which was dependent for its supplies of provisions and stores wholly on the resources of the navy.

"On the 2d instant, the governor-general, De Caen, proposed terms of capitulation, and, commissioners being appointed on either side, a capitulation was signed and ratified on the morning of the 3d instant, at the British head-quarters.

"In a combined operation of this nature, the ultimate success of which must essentially, in a great degree, be made to depend upon a zealous

and emulative co-operation and support through each gradation; and, in the present instance, where these features have been so eminently conspicuous in every rank, and in every situation and circumstance, the recommendation of particular individuals to their lordships' more immediate notice may be deemed superfluous.

"It is, however, from a sense of justice that I record the services of Captain Beaver, of his majesty's ship *Nisus*, whom I entrusted with the superintendence of the whole arrangements for the disposition and debarkation of the army, and whose abilities and experience on similar occasions particularly qualified him to undertake this important duty. Nor should I omit to bear testimony to the unwearied exertions of Captain Patterson, of his majesty's ship *Hesper*, and of Lieutenant B. Street, commanding the government armed-ship *Emma*, who were employed for many successive nights in sounding, and (as it has been proved) gained a perfect knowledge of the anchorage on the enemy's coast, and who were equally strenuous in their services in various ways on shore.

"I beg also to recommend to their lordships' notice, Lieutenant Edward Lloyd, who volunteered his services, under the immediate eye of the commander of the forces, and in this, as well as many former instances, has received the most honorable testimonies of his gallantry.

"From the absence of some of the ships, I have not been able to collect the returns of the number of marines and seamen landed, or of the loss, but I have the satisfaction to know it has been very inconsiderable.

"Various considerations have impelled me to dispatch the *Menelaus* with the least delay possible; and having entrusted these communications to the care of Captain Rowley, who will be the bearer of them to their lordships, I beg to refer their lordships to him for every further particular, and to add, that his long and arduous services on this station have established a just claim to any honorable distinction it may please their lordships or the country to bestow on him.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) "A. BERTIE."

Such were the naval details of this capture: the military operations were thus communicated by the honorable Major-general Abercromby, to the Earl of Liverpool:—

"I have the honor to inform your lordship, that the Isle of France surrendered, by capitulation, on the 3d inst. to the united force under the command of Vice-admiral Bertie and myself.

"I must refer your lordship for the particulars of the operations which led to this fortunate event to the copy of my official letter to the right ho-

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 transmit to your lordship.

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"In conformity with the instructions which I had the honor to receive from Lord Minto, I have placed Mr. Farquhar in charge of the government; and I confidently trust, that, in having adopted this measure, I shall not incur the displeasure of his majesty's government.

"This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by Captain Hewitt, my aide-de-camp; and I believe your lordship will find him perfectly qualified to afford you every information which you may require, in respect to the late operations of this force."

To the Right. Hon. Gilbert Lord Minto, &c.

"My lord,—I had the honor to inform your lordship, in my dispatch of the 21st ult. that although the divisions from Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope had not arrived at the rendezvous, it had been determined that the fleet should proceed to sea on the following morning, as from the advanced season of the year, and the threatening appearance of the weather, the ships could no longer be considered secure in their anchorage at Rodriguez; and I did myself the honor to state to your lordship, the measures which it was my intention to pursue, even if we should still be disappointed in not being joined by so large a part of the armament.

"Early on the morning of the 22d, Vice-admiral Bertie received a communication from Captain Broughton, of his majesty's ship *Illustrious*, announcing his arrival off the island with the convoy from Bengal. The fleet weighed at daylight, as had been originally arranged, and in the course of that day a junction having been formed with this division, the fleet bore up for the Isle of France.

"The greatest obstacles opposed to an attack on this island, with a considerable force, have invariably been considered to depend on the difficulty of effecting a landing, from the reefs which surround every part of the coast, and the supposed impossibility of being enabled to find anchorage for a fleet of transports.

"These difficulties were fortunately removed by the indefatigable exertions of Commodore Rowley, assisted by Lieutenant Street, of the *Staunch* gun-brig, Lieutenant Blackiston, of the *Madras* engineers, and the masters of his majesty's ships *Africaine* and *Boadicea*. Every part of the leeward side of the island was minutely examined and sounded, and it was discovered that a fleet might anchor in the narrow passage formed by the small island of the Gunners' Coin and the main land; and that at this spot there were openings through the reef, which would admit several boats to enter abreast. These obvious ad-

vantages fixed my determination, although I regretted that circumstances would not allow of the disembarkation being effected at a shorter distance from Port Louis.

"Owing to light and baffling winds, the fleet did not arrive in sight of the island until the 28th; and it was the morning of the following day, before any of the ships came to an anchor.

"Every arrangement for the disembarkation having been previously made, the first division, consisting of the reserve, the grenadier company of the 59th regiment, with two six-pounders and two howitzers, under the command of Major-general Warde, effected a landing in the bay of Mapon, without the smallest opposition, the enemy having retired from Fort Mariastri, situated at the head of Grand Bay, and the nearest port to us which they occupied.

"As soon as a sufficient part of the European force had been formed, it became necessary to move forward, as the first five miles of the road lay through a very thick wood, which made it an object of the utmost importance not to give the enemy time to occupy it.

"Lieutenant-colonel Smyth having been left with his brigade to cover the landing-place, with orders to follow next morning, the column marched about four o'clock, and succeeded in gaining the more open country, without any efforts having been made by the enemy to retard our progress; a few shot only having been fired, by a small piquet, by which Lieutenant-colonel Keating, Lieutenant Ash, of his majesty's 12th regiment, and a few men of the advanced-guard, were wounded. Having halted for a few hours during the night, the army again moved forward before day-light, with the intention of not halting till arrived before Port Louis; but the troops having become extremely exhausted, not only from the exertion which they had already made, but from having been almost totally deprived of water, of which this part of the country is destitute, I was compelled to take up a position at Moulin à Poudre, about five miles short of the town.

"Early the next morning, Lieutenant-colonel McLeod, with his brigade, was detached to seize the batteries at Tombeau and Tortue, and open a communication with the fleet; as it had been previously arranged that we were to draw our supplies from those two points.

"The main body of the army, soon after it had moved off its ground, was attacked by a corps of the enemy, which, with several field-pieces, had taken a strong position, very favorable for attempting to make an impression on the head of the column, as it showed itself at the end of a narrow road, with a thick wood on each flank. The European flank battalions, which formed the advanced-guard, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the 33d regiment,

and under the general direction of General Warde, formed with as much regularity as the bad and broken ground would admit of, charged the enemy with the greatest spirit, and compelled him to retire with the loss of his guns, and many killed and wounded. This advantage was gained by the fall of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, a most excellent and valuable officer, as well as Major O'Keefe, of the 12th regiment, whom I have also every reason sincerely to regret.

"In the course of the forenoon the army occupied a position in front of the enemy's lines, just beyond the range of cannon-shot. On the following morning, while I was employed in making arrangements for detaching a corps to the southern side of the town, and placing myself in a situation to make a general attack, General de Caen proposed to capitulate. Many of the articles appeared to Vice-admiral Bertie and myself to be perfectly inadmissible; but the French governor having, in the course of the same day, acceded to our terms, a capitulation for the surrender of this colony and its dependencies was finally concluded.

"Your lordship will perceive, that the capitulation is in strict conformity with the spirit of your instructions, with a single exception, that the garrison is not to be made prisoners of war.

"Although the determined courage and high state of discipline of the army, which your lordship has done me the honor to place under my command, could leave not the smallest doubt in my mind in respect to the issue of an attack upon the town, I was nevertheless prevailed upon to acquiesce in this indulgence being granted to the enemy, from the desire of sparing the lives of many brave officers and soldiers, out of regard to the interests of the inhabitants of this island, having long laboured under the most degrading misery and oppression, (and knowing confidentially your lordship's further views in regard to this army), added to the late period of the season, when every hour became valuable; I considered these to be motives of much more national importance, than any injury that could arise from a small body of troops, at so remote a distance from Europe, being permitted to return to their own country, free from any engagement. In every other particular, we have gained all which could have been acquired, if the town had been carried by assault.

"During the course of this short service, the enemy has not afforded an opportunity to the army in general for displaying the ardent zeal and animated courage with which every individual is inspired; but it is nevertheless my duty to represent to your lordship, in the strongest terms, the merits of every corps under my command. The officers and men (European as well as native) have cheerfully and patiently sub-

mitted to the greatest fatigues and privations. During the advance of the army, the troops were unable, for the space of twenty-four hours, to procure a sufficient supply of water; but this trying circumstance did not produce a single murmur, or the smallest mark of discontent or disapprobation.

"I felt myself particularly indebted to Lieut.-colonels Picton, Gibbs, Kelso, Keating, M'Leod, and Smyth, who commanded the different brigades, as well as to Major Taynton, the senior officer of the artillery, of whose services I was deprived by a wound which he received on the day the army occupied a position before this town.

"Although I have every reason to be satisfied with the zeal of the heads of departments, I feel it a particular duty incumbent upon me to express, in the most pointed manner, the obligations which I owe to Dr. Harris, the superintending-surgeon, and to the medical staff in general, for their unremitting attention, in discharge of the important duty reposed in them.

"I have received every assistance from Lieutenant Gregory, my military secretary, and the whole of my personal staff.

"To Major Caldwell, of the Madras engineers, and who accompanied me from India, I am indebted for the most able and assiduous exertions. Since his arrival amongst these islands he has been indefatigable in procuring the necessary information, in respect to the defence of this colony, and through his means I was put in possession of an accurate plan of the town, some time previous to the disembarkation of the army; and I trust your lordship will permit me to recommend to your lordship's protection this valuable and experienced officer.

"It is not in my power to do justice to the merits of Major-general Warde; I have on every occasion received from him the most cordial co-operation and assistance; and during the short operations of the army, he was constantly at the head of the column directing the advanced-guard, and animating the soldiers by his personal example.

"The most perfect harmony and cordiality have subsisted between the navy and army; and I have received every assistance from Vice-admiral Bertie, and the squadron under his command.

"The arrangements connected with the disembarkation were conducted in the most able and judicious manner by Captain Beaver, of his majesty's frigate *Nisus*; and during the subsequent operations of the army, I am indebted to him for his unremitting attention and assiduous exertions in landing the necessary stores and provisions.

"To Captain Briggs, of his majesty's ship *Clorinde*, and to Captain Lye, of the *Doris*,

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who were employed under the orders of Captain Beaver, my most grateful acknowledgments are due for the services they performed, as well as to the officers and seamen under their command.

"A body of seamen was landed from the fleet, under the command of Captain Montague; the exertions which were used to bring forward the guns through a most difficult country were such as to attract the admiration of the whole army, and fully entitle Captain Montague, Lieutenant Lloyd, of the *Africaine*, and every officer and sailor, to the encomiums I can pass on their conduct.

"The battalion of marines, under the command of Captain Liardet, supported the reputation of this distinguished corps.

"This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant M'Murdo, of the Bombay establishment, who will afford your lordship any further information you may require respecting the late operations of the army. I have &c.

(Signed) "J. ABERCROMBY, Major-gen."

The Isle of France, according to the admeasurement of the Abbé de la Caille, is not more than thirty-one leagues in circumference, about eleven in length, and seven in breadth, having a surface which measures 432,680 acres. It is described as extremely healthy, fertile, and abounding with the most romantic scenery.

The population of the contiguous isles of France and Bourbon is said to have been 121,000 in the year 1799, of whom a great proportion were negro slaves; and the military force consisted of 5,000 men. Raynal stated, that in the year 1765, the population of the Isle of France was as follows:—1,469 white people, besides the troops; 1,587 Indians or free negroes; and 11,881 slaves. Since that period the population might have increased very considerably.

The principal harbour of the island is Port Louis, which is situated in 20. 10. south lat. and 55: long. east from Paris. The tides are not very perceptible, those of the equinox rising not more than three feet. The soil of the island is very diversified. Although by its climate it is adapted for all colonial productions, it did not equally answer all the different kinds of cultivation which the inhabitants endeavoured to naturalize. The plantations of coffee were the first adopted; but other objects of cultivation, such as cotton, having appeared more profitable, coffee did not become so general as it would otherwise have been. The natives pretend that their coffee is superior to that of Moka. The cotton, in its turn, was neglected, because the cultivation of indigo became more popular. Several sugar plantations had succeeded. One of their governors, a M. Poivre, formerly found means to in-

troduce plants of the nutmeg, cloves, &c. from the Dutch spice islands. This experiment, however, did not prove successful; for Raynal declared, that most of the plants died, and the rest were not likely to bear fruit.

The principal advantage which the French derived from the island was, that it served as a point from which British commerce might be successfully annoyed in the Indian seas. The fatal experience of the East India Company, and of the private traders on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, proved that nothing could be better adapted for attaining that object. It served as the place of rendezvous for French frigates, where they could be refitted, and where they might retire with their plunder. It was a depôt of captured produce, and in this view was resorted to by American traders, who brought that produce to Europe which the French were unable to convey in their own merchantmen. The destruction of such a nest of marauders was the principal advantage that could be derived from the conquest. In the hands of the English, it was a station of some importance.

The Abbé Raynal gave the following view of the political and commercial advantages of this important island:—

"The Isle of France must always be allowed to be one of the most valuable possessions for any nation desirous of trading to Asia. It is situated in the African seas, just at the entrance of the Indian ocean. As it lies a little out of the common track, its expeditions can be carried on with greater secrecy. Those who wish it was nearer our continent, do not consider that if it were so, it would be impossible to reach the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel in a month's time, and the most distant gulphs in two months at most, which is an inestimable advantage to a nation who, like the French, have no sea-port in India. This island, though in the same latitude as the barren and scorching coasts of Africa, is temperate and healthy. The soil is stony, but tolerably fertile. Experience has shewn that it will produce most of the necessaries, and even of the luxuries, of life. Whatever it may want, may be supplied from Madagascar and from Bourbon, where the inhabitants have retained their simplicity of manners, and a taste for husbandry.

"Great Britain sees with a jealous eye her rivals possessed of a settlement which may prove the ruin of her flourishing trade with Asia. At the breaking out of a war, her utmost efforts will certainly be aimed at a colony that threatens her richest treasures. What a misfortune for France, should she suffer herself to be deprived of it!"

A French account, printed at the Isle of France, of the capture or destruction of some English frigates at the Isle de la Passe, spoke of that temporary triumph of the French marine

in a very vaunting style, and represented the patriotic ardour of the colonists in a light which the event by no means justified. A few extracts will shew the short-lived exultation of the French on the occasion:—

“The Isle of France alone, amid the numerous colonies of England, closely blockaded for several years by a maritime force far superior to its own, deprived of the greater part of the succours which the mother-country had endeavoured to send out, provoked by insolent proclamations thrown profusely on its coasts, read with disdain the promises of the enemy, smiled with indignation at his threats, and replied only by cries of victory. Inhabitants, merchants, artisans, all forgot their peaceful occupations, all took up arms, and demanded, with loud cries, to be led where danger called them. General DECAEN, satisfied with their zeal, had only to moderate their impetuous ardour.

“The Isle of Bonaparte (Bourbon) was taken; but this success of the enemy, far from dismaying the colony of the Isle of France, appeared to inspire it with new energy. In all quarters of the island numerous corps of colonial light troops were formed, strong batteries were erected on the most important points, and a formidable line of defence announced to the enemy the resistance he would have to surmount should he dare to attack.”

The account then described the capture of the Isle de la Passe, at the entrance of Port Imperial, and the terrible battle which took place between the English frigates and those of the French in the interior of that harbour, and which ended in the capture or destruction of four of the former: and concluded with the following reflections on the result of the engagement:

“The immense advantages which result from this exploit, superior to any which have honored the French marine for a long time, it is easy to appreciate. The enemy, disconcerted in his plans, has now only two frigates around our isle, which every where fly before our victorious ships; the transports which are sent him from India and the Cape fall straight into the hands of our cruizers; three of them have been already captured, and three corvettes or advice-boats have met the same fate. Two thousand prisoners are crowded in the depôts of the colony, and will themselves carry to the Cape, to India, and even to England, the recital of their disasters. One general, and more than fifty officers of all ranks, have been diverted from their destination, and are at the disposal of the captain-general, with six naval captains, and a multitude of officers in the same line. Thus, he who wished to terrify or seduce us, fears in his turn lest our frigates, appearing off his isle, should awake in the hearts of its brave inhabitants the love of

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their sovereign, and that of their country. He is afraid, lest they should follow the example which is offered to them by the colonists of the Isle of France: the Isle of Bourbon is peopled by brave men, whose valour has humbled more than once the English flag in India, and only awaits, to be re-animated, the reinforcements of every kind which are promised by the great Napoleon.

“The success which we have just gained is a sure guarantee of the efforts which the Emperor of the French will make to assist us. Then shall we be in a condition, not only to defend ourselves with vigour, but also to drive the enemy from the isle which he has taken by surprize; and to pursue him amidst his possessions in India, almost every where without defence, against the attacks of our heroes.”

The capture of the Isle of Banda was one of those dauntless *coups de main*, for which British seamen are so much distinguished. It is remarkable that not a single life was lost in this enterprise, though the enemy had about 1,000 to 180. The following are the particulars of this extraordinary capture, as related by the Lieutenant of the Baracouta:

“The Caroline, Piedmontaise, and Baracouta, arrived off Banda on the 8th of August, and hove-to, at a considerable distance from the land, to avoid being seen; a hope which was frustrated by some fishing-boats. At ten at night, being four miles from the harbour, the boats were hoisted out, and assembled alongside the Caroline, containing 390 men.

“At twelve the boats shoved off, under the command of Captain Cole, the weather being then tolerably fine: it soon, however, became dark and squally, attended with a boisterous sea, which occasioned the separation of the boats; and on arriving at the appointed rendezvous, Captain Cole found the original force diminished to 180 men. After remaining until three o’clock, in hopes of being joined by the missing boats, it became necessary to push on for Banda Neira, still three miles off, or return to our ships, mortified and disappointed.

“Captain Cole fortunately determined to go on, and on approaching the shore, we found, by several alarm-guns being fired, that the enemy were expecting us. The badness of the weather, which had before acted against us, now became our protection, for the boats grounded undiscovered in a heavy squall of wind and rain within 100 yards of a battery of ten 24-pounders, which was stormed in the rear; the sentinel was killed by a pike, and sixty men were disarmed without firing a pistol.

“After leaving a guard in the battery, the storming party, headed by Captain Kench, and the reserve by Captain Cole, proceeded to Fort Belgica, by a narrow path on the skirts of the

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town. The bugle was then sounding the alarm of our landing. The enemy in Belgica reserved their fire until we got close to the walls. The scaling-ladders were then placed between the guns, and mounted with a rapidity exceeding all belief, notwithstanding a very smart fire from the citadel and the surrounding bushes, both very ill-directed.

"After gaining possession of the lower works, the ladders were hauled up and placed against the inner wall; the interval occasioned by this seemed to give the enemy fresh courage; but when they saw the ladders firmly fixed, they seemed panic-struck, and fled in all directions, leaving the colonel-commandant and ten men killed, and two captains and thirty men prisoners.

"The guns near which the ladders were placed fortunately burnt priming, owing to the heavy rains, and thus we found ourselves in possession of this strong citadel, without the loss of a single man, just in time for the sun to rise on the British flag, and to shew us our commanding situation; having Fort Nassau and the town immediately under our guns. A flag of truce was dispatched to the governor, offering protection to private property on the surrender of the island, which was refused; however, a shot from Belgica, and a threat of storming the town and forts, produced an immediate and unconditional

surrender, and 700 disciplined troops and 300 militia grounded their arms to us.

"Captain Cole's feelings at this moment must have been, in unison with his followers, proudly grateful. The enemy had notice of the squadron's approach at six o'clock in the afternoon, and dispatched a great part of their force to the place where Admiral Rainier landed; an event which Captain Cole had foreseen.

"The enemy, taking advantage of the flag of truce which he had flying in Belgica, opened a fire on the shipping just entering the harbour, but a few shot from that commanding fort drove them from their guns. Fortunately the nature of the attack required no firing from the assailants, as the boats grounded at some distance from the shore, and the men had to wade up to the middle in water. The enemy were drawn up at their guns, with lighted matches.

"Banda Neira and its dependencies export 900,000*l.* worth of spices annually to Batavia; we found about 400,000*l.* worth of spices at the time of the capture.

"The Piedmontaise remains at Banda, in charge of the island, until the Indian government send to garrison it. We are now on our way to Admiral Drury, with dispatches; and the Caroline is making arrangements to supply provisions from the neighbouring islands.

"EDMUND LYONS,

"Lieutenant of the *Baracouta*."

CHAPTER VII.

General Silveira's Success.—Battle of Castellegos.—Surrender of the Fortress of Olivenza to the French.—Action at Badajoz.—Patriotism of Arragon and La Mancha.—Oppressions and Depredations of the Enemy.—A Division of the French defeated at Catalonia.—Siege of Pardalleiros.—Capture of Badajoz by the Enemy.—Important Victory of Barrosa by General Graham.

At the commencement of the year, General Silveira's head-quarters were at Pezo da Ragon. For nineteen days they had found means to retard the progress of an enemy's division three times stronger than their own, from Pihel to Lamego. After always keeping the enemy within view, and having fought three several actions uniformly with success, General Silveira retired to the right bank of the Douro; on the 13th evacuating Lamego, at the time when the enemy were entering the town. The general made good his retreat without the loss of a man or of any baggage, bringing off 140 sick soldiers, who were

found in the hospital at Lamego, four pieces of artillery, and thirty-five cart-loads of ammunition. Being without the means of transport, the sick and the ammunition were carried on the backs of the soldiers. On the 14th the enemy came down to the Douro in great force, but they soon retired. The 15th they spent in robbing the vicinity.

At this time General Ballasteros's head-quarters were at Sanliviarde Guardana. The Spaniards under this general had been defeated at Castellegos; but they conducted themselves not only with valor, but with military skill as

appears from General Ballasteros's dispatch to the general-in-chief:

Excellent Sir,—On the morning of the 25th inst. the enemy presented themselves by the road of San Bartolome, in number 7,000 infantry and 700 horse, with ten pieces of artillery, commanded by Count Gazen. I immediately took up a position on the heights of Castellejos, and formed my first line-of-battle, composed of the vanguard, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel D. Ramon Albuquerque, the Sena regiment of infantry, under the orders of Don J. Butler, and that of Pravia, directed by Don F. Mondas. The reserve, in battalions en masse, consisting of the provincial regiments of Leon, Congas de Teneo, Castropol, and Infusto, detaching upon the flanks and front three companies of sharpshooters. The cavalry, composed of the provisional regiments of Santiago and Usares, were situated upon the right of the reserve, and in this form waited the attack. The enemy soon commenced it upon the left and centre of the lines, and the battle was desperately fought by both parties. The ground had been disputed three hours, when I perceived the fire of my first line slackened, and that it was necessary to detach two strong columns to its support, which arrived opportunely to refresh the troops who had so long contended. The enemy, in consequence of this operation, moved forward their reserve, and the fire became more brisk and better maintained; but, as his forces were triple to mine, and his artillery well-directed, without our having any to answer it, I was obliged to abandon my positions, and draw back the troops to the reserve that had advanced. Here again the battle was renewed, when the enemy suffered the greatest loss by the firmness and serenity with which our valiant troops received them. Finding nothing more remained to be done, *that the line had been five hours exposed to the fire without a single soldier moving, and that night was approaching, I disposed my retreat in regiments, by eschellons, without the enemy daring to advance a single step, so great was the loss they had sustained.* Whilst the infantry were covering themselves with glory, by acting in the manner just stated, the cavalry manœuvred with the enemy, and repeatedly charged them, following my instructions, and protecting my right flank during the action and in the retreat. In a word, the battle of Castellejos has immortalized the names of these valiant defenders of their country. The loss of the enemy is not less than from 1,500 to 2,000, killed, wounded, and prisoners, and my soldiers have presented me with more than twenty horses, taken in the action. All the chiefs, officers, and soldiers, have so nobly performed their duties,

that I would be deficient both in honor and duty, if I did not recommend them to your majesty, as meriting the rewards which the country has destined to those who so repeatedly and gloriously defend it.

(Signed) F. BALLASTEROS.

Sanliviarde Guardana, Jan. 27, 1811.

On the 22d of January, the fortress of Olivenza surrendered to the enemy, and on the same day the garrison marched out—an event rather surprising, as, according to the statement of the commander-in-chief, neither provisions nor ammunition were wanting to enable it to hold out till the arrival of divisions from Portugal; and only a few hours before, the governor had written in the most animated terms.

On the 23d, it was known that some troops of the enemy were marching by Truxillo, and afterwards that they had arrived at Merida, in number about 3,000 men. On the 24th some small detachments of the enemy approached Badajoz, but they were put to flight by the sharpshooters of Islo. The next day some columns of both foot and horse shewed themselves, with some cannon. The fire of the guerillas continued the whole day, and till the night was well advanced; some balls passed over the top of the wall. The Spaniards had several wounded, and four or five killed. The loss of the enemy was considerable.

On the 27th the 1st division of the 4th army cantoned in Algeiras, and its environs, put itself in motion. The vanguard, under the command of Don Juan de la Cruz de Mouigeon, attacked, in the morning of the 29th, the French corps of Medina Sidonia, consisting of 800 infantry, 150 cavalry, and three pieces of artillery, who defended the town with obstinacy; but after two hours fighting were dislodged, and leaving the streets full of dead bodies and wounded, retreated to post themselves in the road to Chiclana. In the mean time the Guerilla party of Don Antonio Garcia Veas, destined to cover the Spanish right flank, took possession of Paterna. The volunteer squadron of Ubrique, under its commander Don Gregorio Fernandez, attacked Areas; and the reserve of the division commanded by the marquis manœuvred opportunely to support the operations of the vanguard. When the enemy took his position in the road to Chiclana, the commander-general of the division, Don Francisco Begines de los Rios, gave orders to suspend the pursuit, and placed in front Guerillas, who kept up a firing till night approached. He then, in conformity to his instructions, ordered a retreat, which the darkness, the heavy rain, and the presence of the enemy, rendered difficult and laborious. More than 100 French, killed and wounded, with a number of officers, thirty prisoners,

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BOOK IX. including a captain, an ensign, a commissary, and the secretary to the general of the enemy, plans and papers, were the fruits of this action.

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During the siege of Cadiz, the patriots of Arragon compelled the French to evacuate Benararre.

The extortions committed in the quarters of Catalayud and Alcanaz, the reducing of the town of Beceyte, and the demands of Suchet, strengthened more and more the aversion of the Aragonese towards their oppressors. The love of freedom continued to do wonders in Navarre and Rioja. Fresh advantages were obtained by the celebrated Epöz. In old Castile, the two partizans, Merion and Tapia, were incessantly harassing the enemy; and the provincial junta of Burgos were indefatigable in their endeavours to foment the valour and patriotism of the Castilians. The resolution of the inhabitants in the province of Soria was daily strengthened by the atrocities committed by their enemies: all the youth eagerly enlisted to augment the defenders of the just cause.

The French had set fire to Molina, Villed Cifuentes, and Trillo, but these conflagrations served only to augment the constancy of the natives, and their detestation for the French yoke. After some partial actions at Cagalludo, Alienza, and Jaduque, the lieutenants of the Empecinado fought against the French in Villanego and Valdaraceta on the 22d of January, and on the bridge of Itirnon on the 3d of February, and did considerable damage to the enemy.

Since the loss of Tortosa, the French shewed no wish to penetrate into the kingdom of Valencia, for the defence of which the most energetic measures were taken. The general quarters of the Valencian army were at Murviedro.

The patriotic parties of La Mancha continued as active as ever against the enemy, and the latter pursued his system of destruction and plunder with unabated vigour.

An important advantage was obtained over a division of the French army in Catalonia. Marshal Macdonald had put his army in motion for the purpose of attacking the Marquis Campo-Verde, preparatory to laying siege to Tarragona. An engagement took place Jan. 25, and the following was the dispatch from his excellency the commander-in-chief to the junta of Catalonia.

"To the Marquis of Campo-Verde.

"It is now five in the afternoon, and yet our troops have not ceased to pursue the enemy. The whole Italian division, composed of the 1st and 2d light infantry regiments, the 4th and 6th of the line, and a battalion of the 5th, with the 24th regiment of dragoons and a company of dismounted volites, have been beaten and completely

destroyed. The action has been bloody, but it has been so favorable on our side, that it has left me nothing to desire.

"The enemy's division, under the command of Generals Fontana, Palombini, and Eugeni, marched from Valls this morning at nine, in the direction of this point, in order to attack me. On the first advices I marched to meet them with my small division, and in the plain between Valls and Pla the battle commenced. The divisions fought in line for three hours, till the enemy, being reinforced, marched 4,000 men towards the town of Figuerola, with design to attack our right flank. On perceiving this movement, I ordered the regiments of Ultonia, of Ferdinand VII. and the light battalion of Valencia to attack them in the town, which they executed, dislodging the enemy, and pursuing him to the immediate vicinity of Valls. The cavalry charged by the high-road which leads to the above town, and though the enemy's horse were 500 strong, it was impossible for them to resist: part of them fled with precipitation, and the rest were cut to pieces on the field.

"Leisure and a more convenient opportunity are wanting to particularise the valour and enthusiasm with which our troops fought. He only who was present in the action can form an idea of the intrepidity with which the royal hussars of Granada and the royal hussars of Valencia charged the enemy: the victory was decided by the valour of these two corps, led on by their brave chiefs, Colonel D. Ambrosio Foraster, and Lieutenant-colonel D. Eugenio Maria Yebra. The corps of infantry, which formed the column of attack, are not less worthy of commemoration; they behaved to my full satisfaction, as well as the light battalion of Tarragona, which manœuvred with the greatest steadiness, under the orders of its distinguished commander, Lieutenant-colonel O'Ryan.

"The loss of the enemy is not less than 600 men, without reckoning the prisoners, who are still bringing in; a great many horses, muskets, knapsacks, &c. have been collected.

"On our side, we have sustained such loss as might be looked for on similar occasions. I have not received returns from the different corps, but I calculate that our loss does not exceed 150 in killed and wounded. Our army will pass the night in Pla, and before morning measures shall be taken to attack the enemy, in pursuance of the directions which your excellency has given me. God preserve your excellency, &c.

"Field of battle, PEDRO SANSFIELD."

Jan. 15. 1811.

The retreat was effected in the best order, without the loss of a single man. The enemy

displayed no military talents, or, being far superior in numbers, they might have prevented any one from retreating.

Badajoz still continued the scene of warfare. On the 6th of February, the Portuguese cavalry having been unsupported in their passage of the Evora, were obliged to retire across the Evora, in which operation they sustained some loss. The whole of the cavalry and infantry were then drawn into the fort of Badajoz; and on the 7th, they made a sortie upon the enemy, in which they succeeded in obtaining possession of one of the enemy's batteries, but they were obliged to retire again, and, unfortunately, the guns in the battery were not spiked, or otherwise destroyed or injured. Their loss was about eighty-five officers and 500 soldiers killed and wounded, including the Brigadier-general Don Carlos D'Espagne among the latter. The Spanish troops behaved remarkably well upon this occasion.

While the troops were in Badajoz, the French cavalry again crossed the Evora, and interrupted the communication between that place and Elvas, and Campo Major. They came out of Badajoz, however, on the morning of the 9th, and the French cavalry were obliged to retire across the Evora. The troops afterwards took up a position on the heights between the Caya, the Evora, and the Guadiana, by which they kept open the communication between Badajoz and the country on the right of the latter river.

The enemy continued the siege; and, on the night of the 11th, they attacked the redoubt of Pardalleirus, which they carried; but they had not, on the 13th, been able to establish themselves within the redoubt, on account of the fire from the body of the place. They constructed a work on the left bank of the Guadiana, below the place, to fire upon the bridge of communication with the right bank, but the fire of this work had but little effect. They made no progress in the operations of the siege; but their position on the right of the Guadiana gave them great advantages.

On the 19th the French attacked General Mendizabel in the position which he had taken on the heights of St. Christoval, near Badajoz, and totally defeated him. The enemy had to cross the Guadiana and the Evora, but surprised the Spanish army in their camp, which was standing, and was taken, with baggage and artillery.

At length the Spanish corps (late Romana's) under the command of General Carrera, received an overthrow at Badajoz. They were about 7,000 strong, and General Madden had a strong corps of Portuguese cavalry. The Spaniards had posted themselves on the north of the Guadiana, near fort Christoval, between the Abaraquena and the road to Campo Major. Soult was besieging Badajoz on the south side: he threw a bridge over the Guadiana on the left of Ba-

dajoz, and having crossed the Abaraquena, without opposition, destroyed the Spaniards in their camp. Carrera and Mendizabel escaped; General Vara, and another general, nephew to Godoy, were taken.

An important victory, however, was obtained soon after over the French by General Graham. In February the general landed, with about 4,500 men, at Algesiras, and having marched for Tariffa, arrived there on the 26th.

The dispatch of General Graham to the Earl of Liverpool, relative to this glorious victory, is so clear and circumstantial as to preclude the necessity of any other account:

Isla de I zon, March 6, 1811.

"My Lord,—Captain Hope, my first aid-de-camp, will have the honor of delivering this dispatch, to inform your lordship of the glorious issue of an action fought yesterday by the division under my command, against the army commanded by Marshal Victor, composed of the two divisions Rufin and Laval.

"The circumstances were such as compelled me to attack this very superior force. In order as well to explain to your lordship the circumstances of peculiar disadvantage under which the action was begun, as to justify myself from the imputation of rashness in the attempt, I must state to your lordship, that the allied army, after a night-march of sixteen hours from the camp near Veger, arrived in the morning of the 5th on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the mouth of the Santi Petri river. This height extends inland about a mile and a half, continuing on the north the extensive heathy plain of Chiclana. A great pine-forest skirts the plain, and circles round the height at some distance, terminating down to Santi Petri; the intermediate space between the north side of the height and the forest being uneven and broken.

"A well-conducted and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near Santi Petri, by the van-guard of the Spanish army, under Brigadier-general Ladrizabel, having opened the communication with the Isla de Leon, I received General la Pena's directions to move down from the position of Barrosa to that of the Torre de Bermesa, about half way to the Santi Petri river, in order to secure the communication across the river, over which a bridge had been lately established. This latter position occupies a narrow woody ridge, the right on the sea-cliff, the left falling down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of the marsh. A hard sandy beach gives an easy communication between the western points of these two positions.

"My division being halted on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height, was marched about 12 o'clock through the wood towards the Ber-

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mesa, (cavalry patrols having previously been sent towards Chiclana, without meeting with the enemy). On the march I received notice that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain, and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa.

"As I considered that position as the key of that of Santi Petri, I immediately counter-marched, in order to support the troops left for its defence; and the alacrity with which this manœuvre was executed served as a favorable omen. It was however impossible, in such intricate and difficult ground, to preserve order in the columns, and there never was time to restore it entirely.

"But before we could get ourselves quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen returning from it, while the enemy's left wing was rapidly ascending. At the same time his right wing stood on the plain, on the edge of the wood, within cannon-shot. A retreat in the face of such an enemy, already within reach of the easy communication by the sea-beach, must have involved the whole allied army in all the danger of being attacked during the unavoidable confusion of the different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Bermesa nearly at the same time.

"Trusting to the known heroism of British troops, regardless of the numbers and position of their enemy, an immediate attack was determined on. Major Duncan soon opened a powerful battery of ten guns in the centre. Brigadier-general Dilkes, with the brigade of guards, Lieutenant-colonel Browne's (of the 28th) flank battalion, Lieutenant-colonel Norcott's two companies of the 2d rifle corps, and Major Acheson, with a part of the 67th foot, (separated from the regiment in the wood) formed on the right.

"Colonel Wheatly's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream Guards, under Lieutenant-colonel Jackson (separated likewise from his battalion in the wood), and Lieutenant-colonel Barnard's flank battalion, formed on the left.

"As soon as the infantry was thus hastily got together, the guns advanced to a more favorable position, and kept up a most destructive fire.

"The right wing proceeded to the attack of General Rufin's division on the hill, while Lieutenant-colonel Barnard's battalion and Lieutenant-colonel Bushe's detachment of the 20th Portuguese, were warmly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs on our left.

"General Laval's division, notwithstanding the havoc made by Major Duncan's battery, continued to advance in very imposing masses, opening his fire of musketry, and was only checked by that of the left wing. The left wing now advanced, firing; a most determined charge, by the three companies of guards, and the 87th regiment, sup-

ported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of General Laval's division.

"The eagle of the 8th regiment of light infantry, which suffered immensely, and a howitzer, rewarded this charge, and remained in possession of Major Gough, of the 87th regiment. These attacks were zealously supported by Colonel Belsen with the 28th regiment, and Lieutenant-colonel Prevost with a part of the 67th.

"A reserve formed beyond the narrow valley, across which the enemy was closely pursued, next shared the same fate, and was routed by the same means.

"Meanwhile the right wing was not less successful: the enemy, confident of success, met General Dilkes on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary, but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of guards, of Lieutenant-colonel Browne's battalion, and of Lieutenant-colonel Norcott's and Major Acheson's detachment, overcame every obstacle, and General Rufin's division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon.

"No expressions of mine could do justice to the conduct of the troops throughout. Nothing less than the almost unparalleled exertions of every officer, the invincible bravery of every soldier, and the most determined devotion of the honor of his majesty's arms in all, could have achieved this brilliant success, against such a formidable enemy, so posted.

"In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the enemy was in full retreat. The retiring divisions met, halted, and seemed inclined to form: a new and more advanced position of our artillery quickly dispersed them.

"The exhausted state of the troops made pursuit impossible. A position was taken on the eastern side of the hill; and we were strengthened on our right by the return of the two Spanish battalions that had been attached before to my division, but which I had left on the hill, and which had been ordered to retire.

"These battalions (Walloon guards and Ciudad Real) made every effort to come back in time, when it was known that we were engaged.

"I understand, too, from General Whittingham, that with three squadrons of cavalry he kept in check a corps of infantry and cavalry that attempted to turn the Barrosa height by the sea. One squadron of the 2d hussars, king's german legion, under Captain Busche, and directed by Lieutenant-colonel Ponsonby, (both had been attached to the Spanish cavalry,) joined in time to make a brilliant and most successful charge against a squadron of French dragoons, which was entirely routed.

"An eagle, six pieces of cannon, the general of division Rufin, and the general of brigade, Rosseau, wounded and taken; the chief of the staff,

General Bellegrade, an aid-de-camp of Marshal Victor, and the colonel of the 8th regiment, with many other officers, killed, and several wounded and taken prisoners; the field covered with the dead bodies and arms of the enemy, attest that my confidence in this division was nobly repaid.

"Where all have so distinguished themselves, it is scarcely possible to discriminate any as the most deserving of praise. Your lordship will, however, observe how gloriously the brigade of guards, under Brigadier-general Dilkes, with the commanders of the battalions Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. C. Onslow, and Lieutenant-colonel Sebright wounded, as well as the three separated companies under Lieutenant-colonel Jackson, maintained the high character of his majesty's household troops. Lieutenant-colonel Browne, with his flank battalion, Lieutenant-colonel Norcott, and Major Acheson, deserve equal praise.

"And I must equally recommend to your lordship's notice Colonel Wheatly, with Colonel Belson, Lieutenant-colonel Prevost, and Major Gough, and the officers of the respective corps composing his brigade.

"The animated charges of the 87th regiment were most conspicuous; Lieutenant-colonel Barnard (twice wounded), and the officers of his flank battalion, executed the duty of skirmishing in advance with the enemy in a masterly manner, and were ably seconded by Lieutenant-colonel Busche, of the 20th Portuguese, who, (likewise twice wounded,) fell into the enemy's hands, but was afterwards rescued. The detachment of this Portuguese regiment behaved admirably throughout the whole affair.

"I owe too much to Major Duncan, and the officers and corps of the royal artillery, not to mention them in terms of the highest approbation; never was artillery better served.

"The assistance I received from the unwearied exertions of Lieutenant-colonel Macdonald, and the officers of the adjutant-general's department, of Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart, and the officers of the quarter-master-general's department, of Captain Birch and Captain Nicholas, and the officers of the royal engineers, of Captain Hope, and the officers of my personal staff, (all animating by their example,) will ever be most gratefully remembered. Our loss has been severe: as soon as it can be ascertained by the proper return, I shall have the honor of transmitting it; but much as it is to be lamented, I trust it will be considered as a necessary sacrifice, for the safety of the whole allied army.

"Having remained some hours on the Barrosa heights, without being able to procure any supplies for the exhausted troops, the commissariat mules having been dispersed on the enemy's first attack of the hill, I left Major Ross, with

the detachment of the 3d battalion of the 95th, and withdrew the rest of the division, which crossed the Santa Petri river early the next morning.

"I confidently trust that the bearer of this dispatch, Captain Hope, (to whom I refer your lordship for further details) will be promoted, on being permitted to lay the eagle at his majesty's feet.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"THOMAS GRAHAM, Lieutenant-general."

"P. S. I beg leave to add, that two Spanish officers, Captains Miranda and Naughton, attached to my staff, behaved with the utmost intrepidity.

T. G."

The merit of this victory will be best understood by recalling to mind the circumstances under which the battle was fought. La Pena had detached General Graham in advance from Vesper to Bermesa. The British army had made this march, which is sixteen hours in length, during the night, and had taken no rest, till they had reached the heights of Barrosa, and even then only rested whilst they were posting the Spanish troops. After this short repose, about an hour, they again pushed on for Bermesa. The ground between Barrosa and Bermesa is a rough plain, succeeded by a wood. The English had passed over the plain and reached the wood, when notice was brought that the enemy was in motion towards the heights of Barrosa. General Graham gave instant orders for a counter-march, and to hasten towards the heights, which orders were immediately executed. It was soon, however, perceived, that the French, anticipating them, had already gained them, and that the Spaniards had retired.

The force of the enemy which had thus seized the heights, and which were posted there to maintain them, amounted to not less than 3,500 men, under General Rufin. Another body of 4,000 was drawn up on the left of Rufin to oppose the approach of the English. The total, therefore, of the French force opposed to the English, and to the English alone, was about 7,500 men, being considerably more than double the force of General Graham. The French regiments, moreover, were the flower of the French service, and had received honorary distinctions from the French emperor in reward of their previous services and experienced gallantry. The description of the enemy, indeed, is as important a feature in the value and importance of this victory as even their superiority of number. It is a matter of no great difficulty for a disciplined force to carry a victory over new levies, but it requires a great portion of courage to oppose the united advantages of a superiority of number and of greater experience. The victory of General Graham, therefore, was com-

BOOK IX. plete in these two points. He triumphed over greater numbers, and he triumphed over a description of force which had been formed by successive years in the field.

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The battle, moreover, was fought with every possible disadvantage, as to position and locality on the side of the English. The English had to attack the enemy in their own position. They had to fight for ground which belonged to themselves, and which they had lost only from the

weakness (not to give it a worse name) of the Spanish General.

Motions of thanks were unanimously voted by both houses of parliament severally to Lieutenant-general Graham, to Brigadier-general Dilkes, and officers, and non-commissioned officers and men, under his command; also to the German and Portuguese troops employed with them at the battle of Barrosa.

CHAPTER VIII.

Disastrous Retreat of Marshal Massena.—Victorious Pursuit of the French, by the British Army.—Consequent Actions.—Siege of Campo Major.—Action at the Upper Coa.—Surrender of Olivenza to Marshal Sir William Beresford.—A smart Affair at Los Santos.—Gratitude of the Portuguese, for the Successes of the Allied Armies.—Battles of Almeida and Albuera.

ON the night of February 5, Marshal Massena retired from his position at Santarem, and its neighbourhood, and directed his march towards the Mondego, having one corps on the road of Espinel, General Loison's division on the road of Anciao, and the remainder towards Pombal. On the 9th the enemy collected in front of Pombal, where they were attacked with great gallantry by several detachments of cavalry and the light brigade of infantry under General Pack, and retired in the night. On the 12th they took up a strong position at the end of a defile between Redinha and Pombal. They were attacked in this position on the 12th, by the light infantry brigade and the cavalry; the other troops being in reserve. The troops formed with great accuracy and celerity. Major-general Sir Brent Spencer led the line against the enemy's position on the heights, from which they were immediately driven, with the loss of many killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The enemy then retired to the position of Condexa, and the division under Major-general Picton immediately passed through the mountains on the enemy's left, and caused them to remove from the strong positions of Condexa. Lord Wellington was immediately enabled to communicate with Coimbra, and made prisoners a detachment of the enemy's cavalry on the road.—The enemy took up a position at Call Nova on the 14th, and the 4th division under Major-general Cole having turned their position on the left, and the light division under Brigadier-general Pack and Sir William Erskine having turned it on the right, the enemy were obliged to abandon all the positions which they successively

took up in the mountains, and their rear-guard was driven back on Miranda de Corvo, on the river Eca, with loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners.

On the evening of the 14th, the strong position of Miranda de Corvo was turned by a British corps under Major-general Cole. The enemy, upon abandoning it, destroyed a great number of carriages, buried and destroyed much ammunition, and the road throughout the march from Miranda was strewn with carcasses of men and animals.

The enemy, on the 15th, took up a strong position, which they were afterwards forced to abandon with considerable loss. The colonel of the 39th regiment was here made prisoner. In the night the enemy destroyed the bridge over the Ceira, and retreated to another position between that and the Alva.

In order to mask his departure, Massena, in addition to other attempts to deceive, set fire to a convent, which burnt for several hours. The French commenced their retreat in three columns. They pursued their route till the 21st, when they had reached Galiza, with the allied army close in their rear. During this march, there were about six slight actions or skirmishes, in all of which the allied troops behaved with uniform valor. The French marshal stood on the defensive, but still sustained great loss. The chief action was on the 12th, when the allied army had upwards of 200 killed, wounded, and missing. The Portuguese caçadores greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion.

During the 18th and 19th of March, the French endeavoured to make a stand in the Sierra de

Moira, but they were driven from that position with the loss of 6,000 prisoners: On the 21st they reached Galiza. The British head-quarters were at Pombeira on the 11th, and at Algazil on the 20th. The cavalry and light troops continued in sight of the French rear-guard, and the movement of the allied army along the skirts of the Estrella, which flank the positions in the valley of the Mondego, afforded new impediments to their retreat.

Marshal Soult moved in the middle of the month towards Seville, at the head of 4,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry. No considerable force was left in the town of Badajoz, which had been captured by the enemy. The siege of Campo Major (which place the French had taken a few days before), continued during the 19th, 20th and 21st. A breach having been effected, the place capitulated on the morning of the 21st. The garrison, in number about 250, militia, remained prisoners of war. The French force before the place consisted of 4,000 infantry and 500 cavalry.

About the beginning of April, the enemy occupied the Upper Coa, having his right at Rovina and guarding the fort of Rapoilla de Coa with a detachment at the bridge of Ferrerias, and his left at Sabugal, and the 8th corps was at Alfayates. The right of the British army was opposite Sabugal, and the left at the bridge of Ferrerias.

The militia under General Trant, and Colonel Wilson crossed the Coa below Almeida, in order to threaten the communication of that place with Ciudad Rodrigo and the enemy's army.

The river Coa is difficult of access throughout its course; and the position which the enemy had taken was very strong, and could be approached only by its left.

The troops were therefore put in motion on the morning of the 3d, to turn the enemy's left above Sabugal, and to force the passage of the bridge of that town; with the exception of the 6th division, which remained opposite the 6th corps, which was at Rovina; and one battalion of the 7th division, which observed the enemy's detachment at the bridge of Ferrerias.

The 2d corps were in a strong position, with their right upon a height immediately above the bridge and town of Sabugal, and their left extending along the road to Alfayates, to a height which commanded all the approaches to Sabugal from the fords of the Coa, above the town. The 2d corps communicated by Rindo with the 6th corps at Rovina.

It was intended to turn the left of this corps; and with this view the light division and the cavalry, under Major-general Sir W. Erskine and Major-general Slade, were to cross the Coa by two separate fords upon the right, the cavalry upon the right of the light division; the 3d divi-

sion, under Major-general Picton, at a ford on their left, about a mile above Sabugal; and the 5th division, under Major-general Dunlop, and the artillery, at the bridge of Sabugal.

Colonel Beckwith's brigade of the light division were the first that crossed the Coa, with two squadrons of cavalry upon their right. Four companies of the 95th, and three companies of Colonel Elder's caçadores, drove in the enemy's picquets, and were supported by the 43d regiment. At this moment a rain-storm came on, which rendered it impossible to see any thing; and these troops having pushed on in pursuit of the enemy's picquets, came upon the left of the main body, which it had been intended they should turn.

The light troops were driven back upon the 43d regiment, and as soon as the atmosphere became clear, the enemy having perceived that the body which had advanced were not strong, attacked them in a solid column, supported by cavalry and artillery. These troops repulsed the attack, and advanced in pursuit upon the enemy's position, where they were attacked by a fresh column on their left, and were charged by the 1st hussars on their right. They retired and took post behind a wall, from which post they again repulsed the enemy; and advanced a second time in pursuit of them, and took from them a howitzer.—They were, however, again attacked by a fresh column with cavalry, and retired again to their post, where they were joined by the other brigade of the light division, consisting of the two battalions of the 52d regiment and the 1st caçadores. These troops repulsed the enemy; and Colonel Beckwith's brigade and the 1st battalion of the 52d regiment again advanced upon them. They were attacked again by a fresh column, supported by cavalry, which charged their right, and they took post in an inclosure upon the top of the height, from whence they could protect the howitzer which the 43d had taken; and they drove back the enemy.

The enemy were making arrangements to attack them again in this post, and moved a column on their left, when the light infantry of Major-general Picton's division, under Lieutenant-col. Williams, supported by the Hon. Major-general Colville's brigade, opened their fire upon them.

At the same moment the head of Major-general Dunlop's column crossed the bridge of the Coa, and ascended the heights on the right flank of the enemy; and the cavalry appeared on the high ground in the rear of the enemy's left, and the enemy retired across the hills towards Rendo, leaving the howitzer in the possession of those who had so gallantly gained and preserved it, and about 200 killed on the ground, and six officers, and 300 prisoners.

Although the operations of this day were, by unavoidable accidents, not performed in the

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manner intended, the action that was fought by the light division, by Colonel Beckwith's brigade principally, with the whole of the 2d corps was considered one of the most glorious that British troops were ever engaged in.

The 43d regiment, under Major Patrickson, particularly distinguished themselves, as did that part of the 95th regiment, in Colonel Beckwith's brigade, under the command of Major Gilmour, and Colonel Elder's *caçadores*; the 1st battalion 52d regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Ross, likewise shewed great steadiness and gallantry when they joined Colonel Beckwith's brigade. Throughout the action the troops derived great advantage from the assistance of two guns of Captain Bull's troop of horse-artillery, which crossed at the ford with the light division, and came up to their support.

It was impossible for any officer to conduct himself with more ability and gallantry than Colonel Beckwith. The action was commenced by an unavoidable accident to which all operations are liable; but having been commenced, it would have been impossible to withdraw from the ground without risking the loss of the object of the movements; and it was desirable to obtain possession, if possible, of the top of the hill, from which the enemy had made so many attacks, with advantage, on the first position taken by the 43d regiment. This was gained before the 3d division came up.

When the firing commenced, the 6th corps broke up from their position at Rovina, and marched towards Rendó. The two corps joined at that place and continued their retreat to Alfayates, followed by the British cavalry, part of which was that night at Soito.

The enemy continued their retreat that night and the next morning; and entered the Spanish frontier on the 4th. Lord Wellington sent six squadrons of cavalry, under Major-general Sir W. Erskine, on the 7th, towards Almeida, to reconnoitre that place, and drive in any parties which might be in that neighbourhood, and to cut off the communication between the garrison and the army. He found a division of the 9th corps at Junca, which he drove before him across the *Turou* and *Duas Casas*; and he took from them many prisoners. Captain Bull's troop of horse-artillery did great execution upon this occasion. The enemy withdrew in the night across the *Agueda*.

The allied army took up their position upon the *Duas Casas*, which Brigadier-general Craufurd occupied with his advanced-guard, in the latter part of the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; having their advanced posts upon Gallegos and upon the *Agueda*. The militia are at *Cinco Villas* and *Malpartida*. The enemy had no communication with the garrison of Almeida, from

whence they lately withdrew the heavy artillery employed in the summer in the siege of that place.

On the south of the *Tagus*, Marshal Sir W. Beresford was preparing to dislodge the French from under the walls of Badajoz, where they had formed an entrenched camp. As a preliminary operation he had caused Olivença to be summoned.

Marshal Sir W. Beresford was not able to effect his passage across the *Guadiana* as soon as he expected; and the enemy introduced some provisions into Badajoz and Olivença. Sir W. Beresford's advanced-guard crossed the *Guadiana* on the 4th of April; and a squadron of the 13th light dragoons, which were on picket under Major Morres, were surprised, on the night of the 6th, by a detachment of the enemy's cavalry from Olivença. The whole squadron, with the exception of twenty men, were taken prisoners. The enemy afterwards retired entirely from Estremadura, leaving small garrisons in Badajoz and Olivença.

Marshal Sir William Beresford took a position to invest both Badajoz and Olivença. On the 14th of April the garrison of Olivença, consisting of 310 men, surrendered at discretion to General Cole, and was marched to Elvas.

Marshal Mortier, with 4,000 men, was in the neighbourhood of Llerena, having detached a moveable column, under General Martinieze, by the way of Almaraz, towards Toledo. General Beresford, with that part of the allied army which did not form the siege of Badajoz, was in the neighbourhood of Santa Martha.

The corps of General Ballasteros had its headquarters in Segura di Leone on the 12th; his cavalry was at Zafra on the 13th, on which day Lord Wellington left Villa Fermosa, on the Coa, to join the army in Estremadura.

A smart affair with the enemy's cavalry, amounting to 800 men, took place at Los Santos, a village about two miles from Zapa. Sir Wm. Beresford headed the Portuguese cavalry himself, charged the French horse, broke their line, and pursued them four leagues at a hard gallop. They took 200 prisoners, and seventy-three horses, (exclusive of the killed) and scarcely lost a man or horse. They also obtained a prize more valuable, 4,000 rations of bread and the same quantity of brandy.

The brilliant successes of the allied army were celebrated by every demonstration of joy which could mark the gratitude of the Portuguese for the exertions of the British in their behalf, and the satisfaction inspired by the salvation of their country. *Te Deum* was sung in the churches; the city was illuminated; and, shortly after, the following letters were addressed to Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford, by the government and the minister:

Most illustrious and most excellent Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. Marshal-general, Commander-in-chief.

"Your excellency's dispatch, dated the 9th instant, having been laid before us, and your excellency's glorious and transcendent services in the course of the present campaign having been duly considered, we have high satisfaction in testifying our just admiration of the exalted achievements which have immortalized your excellency's name, sustained the honor of the combined armies, and delivered this kingdom, the third time, from the oppression of our enemies.

"The conduct of the army having justified the confidence of their chief, and fulfilled the expectations of the allied nations, we are desirous that your excellency do make known to the whole army, that the government and the country are amply repaid for their exertions and sacrifices by the wisdom, valour, and discipline displayed by the generals, officers, and privates, of which that army is composed.

"We will lay before his royal highness, in the distinctest manner, the events which have taken place; recommending to his royal notice the services of an army which has covered itself with glory under your excellency's command.

"Your excellency cannot fail of deriving high gratification from the result of your plans and labours, which, crowned with the most eminent success and public opinion, leave nothing wanting to satisfy the heart of the illustrious warrior by whom they were conceived and accomplished.

"May God preserve your excellency.

(Signed)

"PATRIARCH ELECT.
COUNT REDONDO.
R. NOGUIER.
PRINCIPES SOUSA.
CHARLES STUART.

(Signed) "D. MIGUEL PEREIRA FORJAZ."

"Palace of Government, April 17, 1811."

Most illustrious and most excellent Sir William Carr Beresford, K. B. Marshal Commander-in-chief of the Portuguese Army.

"The combined armies having driven the enemy beyond the northern and southern frontier with as much glory to the forces allied as advantage to the just cause they defend, the governors of the kingdom have authorised me to acknowledge, in their name, the high and distinguished services for which the Portuguese nation is indebted to your excellency in quality of marshal commander-in-chief of her armies.

"If the success of arms be the result of valour and discipline, to your excellency it is attributable that troops, only the other day mostly recruits, have been enabled to conduct themselves like experienced veterans, and to deserve so eminently of their sovereign and their country.

"The government will lay before his royal highness, with an especial recommendation, the merits and glorious achievements of his army, and desire that your excellency do make known to the whole of that army, in the most impressive manner, the high estimation in which their services are held.

"The army have amply fulfilled the expectations of their country; and so long as she shall preserve the recollection of events so glorious, the distinguished chief who disciplined and commanded that army will ever be present to her grateful memory.

"I have particular satisfaction in communicating the sentiments of the governors of the kingdom towards your excellency, being precisely those I have ever invariably entertained.

"May God preserve your excellency.

(Signed) "D. MIGUEL PEREIRA FORJAZ."

"Palace of Government, April 19, 1811."

Lord Wellington having received information that the enemy were increasing their force on the Agueda, arrived there on the 28th of April. The enemy had, on the 23d, attacked the piquets of the allied army on the Azaoa; but were repulsed with great gallantry. On this occasion Lieutenant Pritchard and seventeen men were wounded. The enemy repeated their attack on the 27th, and were again repulsed.

On the 1st of May they reconnoitred the bank of the Agueda, with eight squadrons of cavalry, and three battalions of infantry; they did not make any attempt to pass the river, nor did they attack the piquets on the bridge of Marialva. They collected a large force at Ciudad Rodrigo, and Marshal Massena and the head-quarters of the army were at that place. The river Agueda was not fordable for infantry, but it was for cavalry.

Intelligence having reached Lord Wellington, that the Prince of Essling had held a council of war at Ciudad Rodrigo on the 1st of May, which was attended by twenty-six generals, and the French having, in the course of the last few days, made several demonstrations on the left bank of the Agueda, it was supposed that he meditated an attempt to relieve Almeida, or at least to bring off the garrison, which was now known to be much straitened for provisions. Next day the enemy (consisting of the 2d, 6th, and 8th corps, together with all the cavalry which could be collected in the adjacent provinces of Lion and Castile) having crossed the Agueda, the British divisions marched out of their cantonments, and on the 3d the whole of the army, under the immediate command of Lord Wellington, was concentrated on the plains of Argania, near the village of Villa Formosa, two leagues in front of Almeida, and four from Ciudad Rodrigo.

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About two in the afternoon, the enemy, whose line extended along the edge of a thick wood, pushed forward several corps of sharp-shooters, with a view to obtain possession of the village of Fuente Donora, which was defended most obstinately by the light troops; but the French, from their superiority in numbers, became masters of this important point, where, however, they remained but a short time, when they were dislodged by the 71st regiment, under Colonel Cadogan, at the point of the bayonet. This was a little before dusk, when the firing ceased. Next morning the enemy renewed his attempts upon the village, and supported his advance with heavy artillery, but every effort proved ineffectual.

At day-break on the 5th, it was perceived that the enemy had removed the whole of his cavalry, and several heavy columns of infantry, towards the right of the allied army, and their numbers giving them confidence, the French cavalry charged the British, who were compelled to retire, but frequently faced about and made several desperate charges upon the enemy. Meantime the 7th division, under General Houston, was warmly engaged with a superior body of infantry, and in consequence, was directed to fall back upon the guards, which were posted on the right of the 1st division, flanked by Captain Lawson's brigade of nine-pounders and some light cavalry.

This movement was executed in a most deliberate manner, every inch of ground being disputed with the enemy. The two foreign corps in this division, the Duke of Brunswick Oel's infantry, and the Chasseurs Britanniques, behaved with the utmost gallantry, and completely checked the advance of the French cavalry by several well-directed volleys.

Previous to this, the enemy had opened a tremendous fire upon the first line of infantry; every shot went over, doing execution in the second line.

About eleven, the picquet of the guards, under Lieutenant-colonel Hill, which was skirmishing in front of the brigade with the enemy's light troops, was charged by a body of cavalry, whom he twice repulsed, but, being reinforced, they returned to the charge in such numbers that further resistance was unavailing, and Colonel Hill was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner, after seeing most of his officers and men cut down. The engagement continued until the close of day, and the enemy, whose force in the field consisted of 40,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, was not enabled to gain a single advantage, or make an impression upon any part of the British line. Their loss in front of Fuentes Donora, which was the principal object of attack, and the possession of which was of the utmost consequence to either army, was immense, 600 being killed in the village alone. The loss of the

British was also severe, but not so great as might have been expected from the length of time the troops remained under fire.

After the cavalry retired, in the early part of the morning, the British line stood as follows:—the seventh division (Houston's) was on the right, next to the first division (Sir B. Spencer's) having the light division on the left, and beyond were those of Generals Picton, A. Campbell, and Sir W. Erskine. Brigadier-general Pack remained with the Queen's regiment, and a brigade of Portuguese infantry, watching the fortress of Almeida, from whence a few guns were fired, probably as signals in the course of the morning.

The hostile armies remained in front of each other on the two following days. Not a shot was fired; but working parties were employed in throwing up field-works to strengthen the right of the British line. In the afternoon of the 7th, the French and British were mutually employed in burying their dead, which was effected without either party offering the smallest molestation to the other. About ten P. M. a heavy firing was heard in the direction of Almeida, followed by several explosions. The French army having been reinforced by the arrival of Marshal Bessieres, with 3,000 of the imperial guard, it was confidently expected in the British camp that the enemy would renew his attack; but at day-break on the 8th, they had the satisfaction to see the French videttes gallop off, and soon after several columns of infantry in motion to the rear.

In the course of the 6th, Col. Trant arrived on the left with a body of Portuguese militia, and the corps of Don Julian Sanchez took a share in the action and checked the movements of the enemy on the right.

The result of Marshal Massena's attempts to raise the siege of Almeida ended in establishing, upon the firmest foundation, the character of the British arms, and added fresh laurels to those which already adorned the brow of the illustrious British chief.

Lord Wellington, in the action of May 5, was in the utmost danger of being made prisoner: his aid-de-camp, Captain Fitzclarence, was actually taken, but was rescued, with the loss of the sword which the prince-regent had presented to him.

After this Almeida was left to its fate, and the siege of Badajoz commenced. The French were driven from the heights of Engracia on the 8th, and obliged to take shelter in the fort of St. Christovoa. This exploit was performed by Portuguese troops alone.

The sanguinary battle of Albuera was fought on the 16th. The French commenced the attack at nine o'clock in the morning of the 16th. Their principal effort was made on the right of the allies, where the Spaniards were posted, supported

by two British regiments, the buffs and 57th. The Spaniards behaved well, although, at one time, from the heaviness of the fire; they gave way a little. The British regiments then pushed through them, with a most tremendous fire of musketry, which stopped the French. Unfortunately, from the eagerness of British soldiers, they advanced too far, which gave an opportunity to a regiment of Polish cavalry to charge them on the flank, killing great numbers, and making some few prisoners. Just at this time the Poles were attacked by a regiment sent to reinforce, and the Poles were obliged to retreat. The left wing of the French army soon after gave way, and the slaughter was then dreadful. While this was passing on the right, they began an attack on the centre, where the brigade was posted, which, after a sanguinary conflict, also ended in the complete defeat of the French. The enemy owed the safety of their army to the superiority of their cavalry alone; had it not been for them, they would have been annihilated.

The French army was at least 30,000, of which 4,000 were cavalry; it was clearly ascertained that they lost 10,000. The allies consisted of 8,000 British, 10,000 Spaniards, and 9,000 Portuguese, including 2000 cavalry. They lost of English and Portuguese 4,500, and 2,500 Spaniards. The field of battle was literally covered with dead, lying in heaps in every part. A body of British cavalry charged a column commanded by Soult, and putting it to the rout, he very narrowly escaped. Immediately afterwards the English were closed upon in the rear, and facing about, cut their way back again, leaving half their men dead on the field. Upwards of 700 wounded were left by the enemy, and he was so pressed by the cavalry, that he was obliged to abandon more to their fate. Marshal Soult boasted, in general orders to his army on leaving Seville, that he was going to meet and defeat the British, and likewise repeated the same verbally to his troops. A copy of this order was found on General Werle, who was killed, and the latter was affirmed by deserters and prisoners.

The following is Marshal Beresford's account of this battle, addressed to Lord Wellington, and transmitted to London by his lordship:

"Albuera, May 18, 1811.

"My Lord,—I have infinite satisfaction in communicating to your lordship, that the allied army, united here under my orders, obtained on the 16th instant, after a most sanguinary contest, a complete victory over that of the enemy, commanded by Marshal Soult, and I shall proceed to relate to your lordship the circumstances.

"In a former report I have informed your lordship of the advance of Marshal Soult from Seville, and I had, in consequence, judged it wise

entirely to raise the siege of Badajoz, and prepare to meet him with our united forces, rather than, by looking to two objects at once, to risk the loss of both. Marshal Soult, it appears, had been long straining every nerve to collect a force which he thought fully sufficient to his object for the relief of Badajoz; and for this purpose he had drawn considerable numbers from the corps of Marshal Victor and General Sebastiani, and also, I believe, from the French army of the centre. Having thus completed his preparations, he marched from Seville on the 10th instant, with a corps then estimated at 15,000 or 16,000 men, and was joined on descending into Estremadura by the corps under General Latour Maubourgh, stated to be 5,000 men. His Excellency General Blake, as soon as he learnt the advance of Marshal Soult, in strict conformity to the plan proposed by your lordship, proceeded to form his junction with the corps under my orders, and arrived at Valverde in person on the 14th inst. where, having consulted with his excellency and General Castanos, it was determined to meet the enemy, and to give him battle.

"On finding the determination of the enemy to relieve Badajoz, I had broken up from before that place, and marched the infantry to the position in front of Valverde, except the division of the Honourable Major-general G. L. Cole, which, with 2,000 Spanish troops, I left to cover the removal of our stores.

"The cavalry, which had, according to orders, fallen back as the enemy advanced, was joined at Santa Martha by the cavalry of General Blake; that of General Castanos, under the Count de Penne Villamur, had been always with it.

"As remaining at Valverde, though a stronger position, left Badajoz entirely open, I determined to take up a position (such as could be got in this widely open country) at this place; thus standing directly between the enemy and Badajoz.

"The army was therefore assembled here on the 15th instant.—The corps of General Blake, though making a forced march to effect it, only joined in the night, and could not be placed in its position till the morning of the 16th instant, when General Cole's division, with the Spanish brigade under Don Carlos d'Espagne, also joined, and a little before the commencement of the action.—Our cavalry had been forced on the morning of the 15th inst. to retire from Santa Martha and joined here. In the afternoon of that day the enemy appeared in front of us. The next morning our disposition for receiving the enemy was made, being formed in two lines, nearly parallel to the river Albuera, on the ridge of the gradual ascent rising from that river, and covering the roads to Badajoz and Valverde; though your lordship is aware, that the whole face of this country is every where passable for all arms.

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General Blake's corps was on the right, in two lines; its left, on the Valverde road, joined the right of Major-general the Honourable William Stewart's division, the left of which reached the Badajoz road, where commenced the right of Major-general Hamilton's division, which closed the left of the line.—General Cole's division, with one brigade of General Hamilton's, formed the second line of the British and Portuguese army.

"The enemy, on the morning of the 16th, did not long delay his attack; at eight o'clock he was observed to be in movement, and his cavalry was seen passing the rivulet of Albuera, considerably above our right; and shortly after he marched out of the wood opposite to us a strong force of cavalry, and two heavy columns of infantry, pointing them to our front, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuera: during this time, under cover of his vastly superior cavalry, he was filing the principal body of his infantry over the river beyond our right, and it was not long before his intention appeared to be to turn us by that flank, and cut us off from Valverde. Major-general Cole's division was therefore ordered to form an oblique line to the rear of our right, with his own right thrown back: and the intention of the enemy to attack our right becoming evident, I requested General Blake to form part of his first line, and all his second, to that front, which was done.

"The enemy commenced his attack at nine o'clock, not ceasing, at the same time, to menace our left; and after a strong and gallant resistance of the Spanish troops, he gained the heights upon which they had been formed: meanwhile the division of the Honourable Major-general William Stewart had been brought up to support them; and that of Major-general Hamilton brought to the left of the Spanish line, and formed in contiguous close columns of battalions, to be moveable in any direction. The Portuguese brigade of cavalry, under Brigadier-general Otway, remained at some distance on the left of this, to check any attempt of the enemy below the village.

"As the heights the enemy had gained raked, and entirely commanded our whole position, it became necessary to make every effort to retake and maintain them; and a noble one was made by the division of General Stewart, headed by that gallant officer. Nearly at the beginning of the enemy's attack, a heavy storm of rain came on, which, with the smoke from the firing, rendered it impossible to discern any thing distinctly. This, with the nature of the ground, had been extremely favourable to the enemy in forming his columns, and in his subsequent attack.

"The right brigade of General Stewart's division, under Lieutenant-colonel Colborne, first came into action, and behaved in the most gallant manner; and finding that the enemy's column could not be shaken by fire, proceeded to attack

it with the bayonet; and while in the act of charging, a body of Polish lancers (cavalry) which the thickness of the atmosphere and the nature of the ground had concealed, and which was, besides, mistaken by those of the brigade, when discovered, for Spanish cavalry, and therefore not fired upon, turned it; and being thus attacked unexpectedly in the rear was unfortunately broken, and suffered immensely. The 31st regiment, being the left one of the brigade, alone escaped this charge, and under the command of Major L'Estrange, kept its ground, until the arrival of the 3d brigade, under Major-general Hoghton. The conduct of this brigade was most conspicuously gallant; and that of the 2d brigade, under the command of the Honorable Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, was not less so: Major-general Hoghton, cheering on his brigade to the charge, fell pierced by wounds. Though the enemy's principal attack was on this point of the right, he also made a continual attempt upon that part of our original front at the village and bridge, which were defended in the most gallant manner by Major-general Baron Allen, and the light infantry brigade of the German Legion, whose conduct was, in every point of view, conspicuously good. This point now formed our left, and Major-general Hamilton's divisions had been brought up there; and he was left to direct the defence of that point, whilst the enemy's attacks continued on our right, a considerable proportion of the Spanish troops supporting the defence of this place. The enemy's cavalry, on his infantry attempting to force our right, had endeavoured to turn it; but, by the able manœuvres of Major-general the Honorable William Lumley, commanding the allied cavalry, though vastly inferior to that of the enemy in number, his endeavours were foiled. Major-general Cole, seeing the attack of the enemy, very judiciously bringing up his left a little, marched in time to attack the enemy's left, and arrived most opportunely to contribute, with the charges of the brigades of General Stewart's division, to force the enemy to abandon his situation, and retire precipitately, and to take refuge under his reserve; here the fusileer brigade particularly distinguished itself. He was pursued by the allies to a considerable distance, and as far as I thought it prudent, with his immense superiority of cavalry; and I contented myself with seeing him driven across the Albuera.

"I have every reason to speak favorably of the manner in which our artillery was served and fought; and Major Hartman commanding the British, and Major Dickson commanding the Portuguese, and the officers and men, are entitled to my thanks. The four guns of the horse-artillery, commanded by Captain Lefebvre, did great execution on the enemy's cavalry; and one brigade of Spanish artillery (the only one in

the field) I saw equally gallantly and well served; we lost in the misfortune which occurred to the brigade commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Colborne (whom General Stewart reports to have acted, and was then acting, in a most noble manner, leading on the brigade in admirable order) one howitzer, which the enemy, before the arrival of the gallant General Hoghton's brigade, had time to carry off, with 200 or 300 prisoners of that brigade. After he had been beaten from this his principal attack, he still continued that near the village, on which he never could make any impression, or cross the rivulet, though I had been obliged to bring a very great proportion of the troops from it, to support the principal point of attack; but the enemy seeing his main attack defeated, relaxed in his attempt there also. The Portuguese division of Major-general Hamilton, in every instance, evinced the utmost steadiness and courage, and manœuvred equally well with the British.

"Brigadier-general Harvey's Portuguese brigade, belonging to General Cole's division, had an opportunity of distinguishing itself when marching in line across the plain, by repulsing, with the utmost steadiness, a charge of the enemy's cavalry.

"It is impossible to enumerate every instance of discipline and valour shewn on this severely contested day—but never were there troops that more valiantly or more gloriously maintained the honor of their respective countries. I have not been able to particularize the Spanish divisions, brigades, or regiments that were particularly engaged, because I am not acquainted with their denominations or names; but I have great pleasure in saying that their behaviour was most gallant and honorable; and though, from the superior number and weight of the enemy's force, that part of them that were in the position attacked were obliged to cede the ground, it was after a gallant resistance, and they continued in good order to support their allies; and I doubt not, his excellency General Blake will do ample justice on this head, by making honorable mention of the deserving.

"The battle commenced at nine o'clock, and continued without interruption till two in the afternoon, when the enemy having been driven over the Albuera, for the remainder of the day there was but cannonading and skirmishing.

"It is impossible by any description to do justice to the distinguished gallantry of the troops, but every individual most nobly did his duty, and which will be well proved by the great loss we have suffered through repulsing the enemy; and it was observed, that our dead, particularly the 57th regiment, were lying, as they had fought, in ranks, and every wound was in the front.

"The Honorable Major-general William Stewart most particularly distinguished himself, and conducted much to the honor of the day; he received two contusions, but would not quit the field. Major-general the Honorable G. L. Cole is also entitled to every praise; and I have to regret being deprived for some time of his services, by the wound he has received. The Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, commanding the 2d brigade, 2d division, and Major L'Es-trange, 31st regiment, deserve to be particularly mentioned; and nothing could exceed the conduct and gallantry of Colonel Inglis, at the head of his regiment. To the Hon. Major-general William Lumley, for the very able manner in which he opposed the numerous cavalry of the enemy, and foiled him in his object, I am particularly indebted. To Major-general Hamilton, who commanded in the left, during the severe attack upon our right, I am also much indebted; and the Portuguese brigade of Brigadier-generals Fouseca and Archibald Campbell deserve to be mentioned. To Major-general Allen, and to the excellent brigade under his orders, I have much praise to give; and it is with great pleasure I assure your lordship, that the good and gallant conduct of every corps, and of every person, was in proportion to the opportunity that offered for distinguishing themselves. I know not an individual who did not do his duty.

"I have, I fear, to regret the loss to the service of Colonel Collins, commanding a Portuguese brigade, his leg having been carried off by a cannon-shot. He is an officer of great merit; and I deeply lament the death of Major-general Hoghton, and of those two promising officers, Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Myers, and Lieutenant-colonel Duckworth.

"It is most pleasing to me to inform your lordship, not only of the steady and gallant conduct of our allies, the Spanish troops, under his excellency General Blake, but also to assure you that the most perfect harmony has subsisted between us; and that General Blake not only conformed in all things to the general line proposed by your lordship, but in the details; and in whatever I suggested to his excellency, I received the most immediate and cordial assent and co-operation; and nothing was omitted, on his part, to ensure the success of our united efforts; and during the battle he most essentially, by his experience, knowledge, and zeal, contributed to its fortunate result.

"His excellency the Captain-general, Castanos, who had united the few troops he had in a state to be brought into the field, to those of General Blake, and placed them under his orders, assisted in person in the field; and not only on this, but on all occasions, I am much indebted to General Castanos, who is ever beforehand in

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CHAP. VIII. "Though I unfortunately cannot point out the
1811. corps, or many of the individuals of the Spanish troops that distinguished themselves, yet I will not omit to mention the names of General Val-lesteros, whose gallantry was most conspicuous, as of the corps he had under his command; and the same of General Zayas and of Don Carlos D'Espagne. The Spanish cavalry have behaved extremely well; and the Count de Penne Villamur is particularly deserving to be mentioned.

"Our loss in this hard-contested day is very severe. The loss of the enemy, though I cannot know what it is, must be still more severe. He has left on the field-of-battle about 2,000 dead, and we have taken from 900 to 1,000 prisoners. He has had five generals killed and wounded; of the former, generals of division Werle and Pesim; and Gazan and two others amongst the latter. His force was much more considerable than we had been informed of, as I do not think he displayed less than from 20 to 22,000 infantry, and he certainly had 4,000 cavalry, with a numerous and heavy artillery. His overbearing cavalry cramped and confined all our operations, and with his artillery saved the infantry, after its rout.

"He retired after the battle to the ground he had been previously on, but occupying it in position; and on this morning, or rather during the night, commenced his retreat on the road he

came, towards Seville, and has abandoned Badajoz to its fate. He left a number of his wounded on the ground he had retired to, and to which we are administering what assistance we can. I have sent our cavalry to follow the enemy, but in that arm he is too powerful for us to attempt any thing against him in the plains he is traversing.

"Thus we have reaped the advantage we proposed from our opposition to the attempts of the enemy; and whilst he has been forced to abandon the object for which he has almost stripped Andalusia of troops, instead of having accomplished the haughty boasts with which Marshal Soult harangued his troops on leaving Seville, he returns there with a curtailed army, and what perhaps may be still more hurtful to him, with a diminished reputation.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) "W. C. BERESFORD,

"Marshal and Lieutenant-general.

"P.S. Major-general Hamilton's division, and Brigadier-general Madden's brigade of Portuguese cavalry, march to-morrow morning to reinvest Badajoz on the south side of the Guadiana.

"W. C. B."

Phillipon, the governor, made so sure of the defeat of the allies, that he had absolutely prepared a house for Soult; and, in order of that general's approach with the army intended for their destruction, he had ordered the whole town to be illuminated.

CHAPTER IX.

Naval Affairs.—Gallant Resistance of Lieutenant Williams.—Unsuccessful Attempt to destroy the Convoy at Palamos.—Gallant Engagement at Lissa.—Various Captures.—Conquest of the Island of Ternate.—Sufferings and Exertions of the Brevedagerin.—Action between his Majesty's Ship Little Belt and the American Frigate President.—Gallant Repulse of a French Privateer.—Actions off Boulogne.

THE British navy still retained its usual sovereignty, notwithstanding continual depredations were committed by the enemy's privateers, particularly in the channel. The risk at the channel was at length considered so great, that it was with the utmost difficulties any insurances could be effected, as the merchants and others concerned in shipping could not afford to give premiums adequate to indemnify the underwriters.

Several gallant exploits were, however, performed at this period, by the British navy, the most important of which shall be particularized in the present chapter.

The following is a copy of a letter from Lieu-

tenant Williams, of his majesty's cutter *Entrepreneur*.

"On the 12th of December, at eight in the morning, I observed four vessels at anchor under the Castle of Paro, between Malaga and Almeria Bay. It being a dead calm, at nine they got under weigh, sweeping towards us, and at half-past ten they hoisted French colours, and commenced firing on us. Our guns could not reach them till 11 a. m. when we began our fire; one vessel on our starboard-bow, the other on the starboard-quarter, and two right astern; the enemy keeping up a tremendous fire of round and grape-shot, which we returned with double vigour,

with round and grape-shot, and musketry. About twelve o'clock the enemy shot away our main-topmast, peak, balyards, and block; fore-geers, fore-halyards, and jib-tye; and two of our star-board guns disabled, by the stock of one and the carriage of the other being broken. The enemy seeing us in this disabled state, attempted to board us, but with the courage that every true Englishman is possessed with, we repulsed them; we now kept up a well-directed fire with the two foremost guns and musketry. The enemy made a second attempt, but with the usual courage was again repulsed. By this time one man was killed and four wounded. I then ordered the starboard-sweeps to be manned, and pulled the cutter's head round, it still being calm, and a swell from the S. W. We got our larboard guns to bear on them, and with two well-directed broadsides, and three cheers, three of them sheered off. I was now informed our canister and musket-ball was all expended; but, nevertheless, with two well-directed broadsides, double shot, we carried away the largest of the two's fore-mast and bowsprit. At this moment they attempted to board a third time, but they were again repulsed, and that with great loss on their side; but by this exertion two of our larboard guns were dismounted. The enemy's fire began to slacken; we then gave three cheers, and with two of our guns double-shotted, raked them, which must have made great slaughter; and at half-past two the enemy was taken in tow by two row-boats, who towed them in-shore; we still firing on them with our two guns until three o'clock, when they were out of our reach; we then manned our sweeps, and towed the cutter's head towards the offing, and began to clear the wreck, and by five o'clock we had our main-sail, jib, and fore-sail set, but they were more like riddles than sails, after four hours hard-fought action. The enemy's force, which I learnt from a Danish vessel which had been laying alongside them in Almeria Bay, consisted of one with three latten sails, two long eighteen-pounders, six guns, and seventy-five men; another, three latten sails and jib, five guns, and forty-five men; two others, two sails, two guns, and twenty-five men each. I was short of my complement four men, and had the master's mate and six men away in a detained vessel, leaving the total number on-board thirty-three, out of which we had only one killed, and ten wounded."

Much valour, though not attended with adequate success, was displayed in an attempt to destroy the convoy at Palamos. The following was the letter on this subject, from Captain Rogers, of his majesty's ship the *Kent*:

"The *Cambrian* hove in sight, which immediately determined me to attempt the destruction of the convoy at Palamos. I had great reliance in Captain Fane's knowledge of the place;

and as the reinforcement the French had received in Catalonia gave me no hope of assistance from General O'Donnell, who had full occupation for his troops, I felt that I should be deficient in my duty if I did not employ the means in my power with energy, to effect the important service of depriving Barcelona and the French army of the supplies which this convoy would convey to them. I gave it, Sir, every consideration, with the anxiety natural to responsibility, and the more I reflected the more my mind was fortified with hopes of success. I therefore formed my plan, and Captain Fane did me the favor to volunteer the command of 350 seamen, 250 marines, and two field-pieces, selected from the ships under my orders, and well-appointed for this desirable service. The enemy's vessels lay in the mole, and consisted of a very fine new national ketch, mounting fourteen guns, with sixty men, two xebecs of three guns each, and thirty men, and there were eight merchant vessels under their convoy, all laden with provisions for Barcelona; they were protected by two 24-pounders, one in a battery which stood high over the mole, and the other with a 13-inch mortar in a battery, on a very commanding height; there were also, from the information I received, about 250 soldiers in the town. From light winds it was near one o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th, before the ships could get far enough into the bay to put the men ashore, and they were soon after landed on the beach, in the finest order, under cover of the Sparrow-hawk and Minstrel sloops, without harm, the enemy having posted themselves in the town, supposing we should be injudicious enough to go into the mole without dislodging them; soon after, our men moved forward to take the town and batteries in the rear; the enemy withdrew to a windmill on the hill, where they remained almost quiet spectators of our people taking possession of the batteries and the vessels in the mole; the mortar was spiked, and the cannon thrown down the heights into the sea; the magazine blown up: the whole of the vessels burnt and totally destroyed, save two, which were brought out; in short, the object had succeeded to admiration, and at this time with the loss of no more than four or five men from occasional skirmishing: but I am sorry to relate, that in withdrawing our post from a hill, which we occupied to keep the enemy in check until the batteries and vessels were destroyed, I fear that our people retired with some disorder, which encouraged the enemy, who had received a reinforcement from St. Felice, to advance upon them, and, by some unhappy fatality, instead of directing their retreat to the beach where the *Cambrian*, Sparrow-hawk, and Minstrel lay, to cover their embarkation, the brave but thoughtless and unfortunate men came through the town

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down to the mole; the enemy immediately occupied the walls and houses, from which they kept up a severe fire upon the boats crowded with men, and dastardly fired upon and killed several who had been left on the mole, and were endeavoring to swim to the boats. Nothing could exceed the good conduct of Captain Pringle, of the Sparrow-hawk, Captain Campbell, of the Minstrel, and Lieutenant Conolly, first of the Cambrian, (who commanded that ship in the absence of Captain Fane,) both in the landing and withdrawing the men, and the officers in the launches with carronades, and the two mortar-boats of the Cambrian; indeed the officers and men of all the boats distinguished themselves beyond all praise in going to the mole to bring off the men who had been left behind. In performing this arduous service they suffered much, but I had the satisfaction to perceive the fire of their carronades and mortars upon the enemy was very destructive. I feel a delicacy in noticing the exertions and gallantry of an individual where most appear to have an equal claim, but it is due to Mr. George Godfrey, my first lieutenant, whose exertions both on shore and in the boats bringing off the men were conspicuous. Unfortunately, Captain Fane, as I am informed, was at the mole, giving directions to destroy the vessels, when our men were withdrawn from the post on the hill; he remained there with firmness to the last, and is among the missing, but I have received a satisfactory account that he is well. I feel, Sir, with unfeigned grief, that our loss has been severe, but had it not been for the indiscretion of the people straggling from their post and coming into the town, contrary to my caution, the enemy would not have dared to approach them, and the loss would have been very inconsiderable, compared with the importance of the service performed. The French had entered Catalonia with an army of 10,000 men, with little means of subsistence, and as I was ordered to this coast for the express purpose of depriving the enemy of their expected supplies, I considered that some energy and enterprise were necessary to accomplish it; the force I employed was fully adequate to this service, and I confided the execution of it to an officer of reputation; I therefore cannot reproach myself, as my conduct would have been censured if I had not undertaken it, although I must ever deeply regret the severe loss.

"I have, &c

(Signed)

"THOMAS ROGERS."

"Admiral Sir C. Cotton, Bart. Commander-in-chief," &c.

The capture of eleven of the enemy's vessels was thus detailed by Captain Whitby:—

His Majesty's Ship Cerberus, Feb. 13.

"Having completed the water of his majesty's ships under my command at Lissa, on the 9th

inst. I proceeded to reconnoitre the coast of Italy with this ship and Active, in hopes of intercepting vessels which were reported to have sailed from Ancona for Corfu, and taken shelter in various harbours along the coast during the southerly winds just set in.

"On the morning of the 12th instant we discovered several vessels lying under the town of Ortano, and as the wind was light, the boats of both ships were dispatched, under the orders of Lieutenant Dickinson (first of the Cerberus) to bring them out if practicable. On the near approach of the boats to the vessels a fire of great guns and small arms was instantly opened from an armed trabaccolo (which was not till then observed), and soldiers posted on the beach and hills commanding the bay; our boats formed in close order, gave three hearty cheers, and in a few minutes cleared all before them, the men from the vessels and the troops on shore running in all directions.

"To prevent any annoyance whilst the prizes were bringing out, Lieutenant Dickinson landed with the marines under Lieutenant Mears, of that corps, embarked in the Active, and a division of small-arm men under Mr. James Rennie, master's mate of this ship, taking a strong position on the hills, and planting the British flag at the very gates of the town, whilst the launches, under Lieutenants Haye and Campston, with the barge of the Active, under Mr. James Gibson, master's mate of that ship, were employed in covering them with the carronades. This judicious and advantageous movement was of the greatest service to those employed at the sea-side, as it kept the soldiers and inhabitants who had collected in great force in check, and allowed the work which had been so ably undertaken to be most fully completed; as, in addition to the convoy, consisting of ten sail (under the vessel armed with six guns), which was found in the harbour laden with grain, oil, &c. two large magazines, filled with all sorts of naval and military stores, destined for the garrison of Corfu, (and which it is said they stand in much need of,) was most completely destroyed by fire; and I feel convinced the enemy will suffer most severely by this capture, as they must have been some time in making so large a collection. As I believe you are unacquainted with the situation of Ortano, I must beg leave to state it, and you will then be able to form your own opinion of the difficulties that existed, and to which our men and boats were necessarily exposed.

"The harbour is formed by a large pier running out into the sea, and connected with a range of hills leading to the town, which stands on the top of the highest, completely commanding the vessels in the bay and the road up to it, so that the marines, to gain the strong post they had, and

to prevent being exposed to the severe fire of musketry, were obliged to climb up the rocks by their hands, with a prospect of falling down a precipice every step they took.

"Having detailed to you, Sir, the particulars of this service, I have much pleasure in adding that our loss has been only four wounded; and when it is considered that they were exposed to a teasing fire from the bushes and houses, from ten in the morning until three in the afternoon, it will, I trust, be thought trifling in comparison with the annoyance the enemy have received by the capture and destruction of their magazines and vessels.

"I cannot speak too highly of the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Dickinson on this occasion; the style in which he boarded the trabaccolo, armed with six guns and full of men, with the gig of this ship, supported by the barge under Mr. Rennie, (of whom he speaks in the highest terms of praise,) forms only a small part of his merit; his arrangements being so well made and so promptly executed by those under him, were such as to have ensured the most complete success, could it have been possible for the enemy to have collected any additional regular force with that already opposed to them.

"No language I can make use of is strong enough to express the zeal and conduct of every person concerned.

"I feel particularly indebted to Captain Gordon for the judicious manner his ship was placed, by which means he prevented any body of the enemy from forming in the rear of our men, and the promptitude and zealous co-operation I have constantly experienced from him since we have been serving together.

"Enclosed is a list of the vessels captured and destroyed.—I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) "HENRY WHITBY, Captain.

"To George Eyre, esq. captain of his majesty's ship Magnificent, senior officer," &c.

Here followed a list of eleven vessels captured.

The French frigates (Emily, forty guns, Adrian, forty, and Dromedaire, twenty,) which had escaped from Toulon, were pursued by Captain Otway, of the Ajax, who succeeded in cutting off the Dromedaire, a very fine frigate ship of 800 tons. The other two frigates narrowly escaped from Captain Chamberlayne.

The French national brig, La Cannoniere, of ten 4-pounders, one 24-pound carronade, and four swivels, with a complement of seventy-seven men, was chased by Captain Atchison, of his Majesty's brig Scilla, who got possession of a sloop, one of her convoy.

The conquest of the Island of Ternate was effected by the Dover, Captain Tucker, having on board a detachment of troops from Amboyna,

under Captain Forbes. The reduction of this island was boldly accomplished July 28.

The French frigate, *Entreprenante*, of thirty-two guns, after a gallant action, struck to the British sloop of war *Atalanta*, Captain Hickey. The *Atalanta* had one killed and four wounded; the *Entreprenante* had thirty killed and wounded.

The capture of the five French privateers, and the destruction of a sixth, at Sidonia, deserves particular notice. Sidonia is about twenty miles from Cadiz, and well situated both for affording protection to this species of naval warfare, and facilitating the capture of any merchant-vessels going into Cadiz; in which service these privateers had been too successful. Their capture had also long been an object of desire, from a suspicion that their crews were principally deserters from the British ships lying in Cadiz Bay, Americans, and others. They were small cutter-rigged vessels, with sweeps; and when they undertook any considerable enterprise, seventy French dragoons (in garrison at Sidonia) were embarked on-board them. Captain Price, of the *Sabine*, provoked by their daring intrusions, anchored his ships as close as possible into the roadstead, and, in the night, dispatched the boats manned with volunteers to attack them, under the command of Lieutenant Usherwood, assisted by Lieutenant Finnucane and Mr. Settle, master. They succeeded most admirably: each boat took a privateer. The prisoners taken had been marched from Antwerp.

Captain Brisbane, of his majesty's ship *Belle Poule*, being off the coast of Istria, with his majesty's ship *Alceste* in company, at ten a. m. discovered and chased a large French brig of war of eighteen guns, which shortly afterwards hauled into the small harbour of Posenza. Having received intelligence that such a vessel might be expected conveying supplies of all descriptions for the French frigates at Ragusa, which had escaped from the recent gallant action off Lissa, the captain left no means untried to capture or destroy her. After reconnoitering her position, and consulting the pilots and a most intelligent officer on-board, Mr. Thomas Boardman, acting-lieutenant of the *Acorn*, who, from his general local knowledge of the Adriatic, had handsomely volunteered his services for the cruise, Captain Brisbane found it impracticable for the frigates to enter the harbour, there being only fifteen feet water in it, but that the brig might nevertheless be cannonaded with effect where she was then lying. Accordingly, at three p. m. both ships stood in, within a cable's length of the rocks at the entrance of the harbour, and opened an animated fire on her, and a battery under which she lay, and in an hour obliged her to haul ashore under the town out of reach of the shot. The ships were frequently hulled by the battery, but sustained no other damage but what could be

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immediately repaired. All farther efforts from the frigates being perfectly useless, the captain determined on taking possession of an island in the mouth of the harbour, and within musket-shot of the town. The ships were anchored, after the close of day, about four miles from the shore, and about eleven o'clock the same night 200 seamen, and all the marines, went under the orders of Lieutenant John McCurdy, senior lieutenant of the *Belle Poule*, accompanied by the officers and petty officers, and took possession of the island without opposition. With incessant labour and the most extraordinary exertions, a defence was thrown up, and a battery of four guns, (two howitzers and two 9-pounders) mounted on a commanding position by five o'clock. A field-piece was also placed at some distance to the left, to divide the attention of the enemy, who, aware of the operations, had been busily employed during the night in planting guns in various parts of the harbour. Soon after five a. m. the French opened a cross fire from four different positions, which was immediately returned, and kept up on both sides with great vigour for five hours, when the brig being cut to pieces and sunk, and of course the object of their landing accomplished, the guns, ammunition, &c. were all re-embarked with the most perfect order and regularity. This service was not performed without some loss, having had four killed and as many wounded belonging to the two ships.

Captain Parker, of his majesty's ship the *Amazon*, made a gallant and successful attack by the boats of the said ship, under the directions of Lieutenant Westphall, on an enemy's convoy near the Penmarks. One of the enemy's vessels having been cut off by the *Amazon*, the remainder, eight in number, ran on shore under the protection of a battery, and of a considerable number of troops; notwithstanding the fire from which Lieutenant Westphall succeeded in bringing out three and destroying the other five, without any loss.

Captain Sutton, of his majesty's sloop *Derwent*, captured *La Rafleur* French privateer, of Granville, manned with twenty men with small arms.

A letter from Captain Hawtayne to Admiral Young thus recorded the capture of a division of the enemy's gun-boats.

"His majesty's ship *Quebec*, *Heligoland*, Aug. 6.

"Sir,—I have to acquaint you with a very gallant achievement, (the capture of a division of the enemy's gun-boats), which has been performed by boats from this part of your squadron, under the direction of the first-lieutenant, Samuel Blyth, of the *Quebec*, who had the honor to command a party of brave officers and men that nobly seconded him.

"The weather was particularly fine and settled for this kind of service, and they had already cap-

tured and sent to me a *vaisseau de guerre* of the *Douanes Imperiales*, manned with an officer and twelve men (one of them was killed before she surrendered), and a merchant vessel which they were towing out; when, being near the island of Nordeney, on the 3d, four of the enemy's gun-boats were seen at anchor within.

"The enemy silently waited the attack, their guns loaded with grape and canister, (not using any round-shot), until the boats were within pistol range, when a discharge took place from the whole line. The first vessel was immediately boarded and carried, but the others with great bravery maintained themselves severally, until they found their vessels were no longer in their own possession.

"The loss sustained was, on our side, four killed and fourteen wounded; on that of the enemy, two killed and twelve wounded.—I have the honor to be, &c. C. HAWTAYNE."

"William Young, Esq. Admiral of the White."

The following account of a naval action during the summer, is extracted from a letter:

"The sufferings and exertions of the *Brevedageren* commenced on the 31st of July, and continued without intermission until the 2d of August, in opposing a Danish squadron, consisting of the *Langeland* brig, mounting twenty-two long 18-pounders, and 200 men; *Logan* and *Keil* brigs, mounting twenty and eighteen long 18-pounders, 175 men each. The English force consisted of the *Algerine* cutter, ten guns and sixty men, Lieutenant Blow; and *Brevedageren*, twelve guns, forty-seven men, Lieutenant Devon.

"On the evening of the 31st of July, our two ships observed three suspicious vessels standing towards them from the coast of Norway, which were soon discerned to be enemies; the wind being very light, the *Algerine* and *Brevedageren* continued going from them during the night, as fast as they were able, and at day-light found themselves about four miles from the advanced brig of the enemy, which appeared considerably distant from the two others. Lieutenant Blow, commanding the *Algerine*, being the senior officer, sent a boat to the *Brevedageren*, to inform Lieutenant Devon that it was his intention to attempt cutting this vessel off; and accordingly both the *Algerine* and *Brevedageren* tacked for that purpose, and commenced sweeping towards her, it being calm. The enemy observed this manœuvre, and prevented its being executed by closing his squadron. The *Algerine* and *Brevedageren* again sought safety by retreating. At four o'clock, a. m. 1st of August, the Danish commodore in the *Langeland*, being nearly within shot, the *Algerine* and *Brevedageren* again bore down to the attack, by desire of Lieutenant Blow. It must be observed, that the Danish commodore

was at this time about two miles from his own squadron. The action was commenced about thirty minutes past eleven o'clock, with the *Langeland*—at twelve o'clock in close action. Soon after, the second enemy's brig commenced firing on the *Algerine* and *Brevedageren*, when the *Algerine* found it necessary to take to her sweeps, and hauled out of the action. The *Brevedageren* could not follow the example; consequently, she was left in the midst of three brigs of the enemy, each of them more than double her force. In this perilous situation, Lieutenant Devon, the gallant commander of the *Brevedageren*, resolved to fight as long as he could fire a gun; and the few brave fellows he commanded admirably supported his heroic resolution, never in the least betraying a symptom of fear, but, on the contrary, nobly cheered their commander in obeying every order. At half-past one, *p. m.* when scarcely a shadow of hope existed of saving the *Brevedageren*, a favorable breeze of wind sprung up, of which Lieutenant Devon availed himself to get off, and fortunately the enemy, intent on keeping up his fire, seemed not immediately to perceive it. Lieutenant Devon then directed to cease firing, and took to his sweeps, which, aided by a boat's crew of ten men, sent by the *Algerine* about the close of the action, and the breeze, gained nearly a mile on the enemy by two o'clock, who still continued his broadsides with an apparent intention to sink the *Brevedageren*, as all his shot fell low. The enemy perceiving the advantage gained over him, left off firing, and again every exertion was made on the one side to escape, and on the other to prevent it. The *Brevedageren*, however, preserved her distance, the *Langeland* continuing to annoy her with her chace-guns. At five, one of the other Danish brigs, the *Logan*, was advancing fast on the *Brevedageren*, and ranging upon her starboard quarter. At this time the *Algerine* cutter, who had much the advantage of the *Brevedageren*, from her superiority of sweeping, hove to, and attracted the enemy's attention. This manœuvre was of much advantage, as the enemy from this time did not gain the least upon the *Brevedageren*, and at sun-set he gave up the chace. Lieutenant Devon, however, not thinking himself safe so near such powerful and hostile neighbours, continued with his little crew labouring at the sweeps until twelve o'clock at midnight, when they literally fell from their oars, completely worn out. The wonder is how they could have stood it so long, having been closely engaged with so superior a force for upwards of an hour, besides tugging at the oar from six o'clock on Wednesday evening until Thursday at midnight.

"At day-light on Friday, the enemy was distant about six miles, but they did not resume the

chace. Thus, by an exertion and perseverance not to be exceeded, was rescued from the Danes his majesty's brig, which they probably were the more anxious to possess, as she had formerly been taken from them. The *Brevedageren* had one man killed in the beginning of the action, and providentially only three wounded throughout the whole of the severe contest. She has, however, suffered much in her hull, masts, sails, and rigging, which I should presume would necessitate her going to England. To prevent the possibility of his colours being shot away, Lieutenant Devon had hoisted and nailed in different parts of his brig several English union-jacks; and to remind his brave fellows of the anniversary of the memorable 1st of August, he took from his cabin a likeness of the immortal Nelson, and made it fast to the mast."

An unpleasant affair took place on the 16th of May, between his majesty's ship *Little Belt*, and the American frigate *President*. About ten o'clock in the morning, the latter was perceived by Captain Bingham; but not knowing what she was, he made towards her, and on discovering her to be a frigate, carrying a broad pendant, he stood on a different tack. About six o'clock in the evening he observed the frigate standing towards him under a heavy press of sail, and about eight o'clock she was so close to him, that the stars in her pendant were very visible; and perceiving that it was the intention of the frigate to take him, he avoided the same, and at the same moment hailed to know what ship it was. No answer being returned, he again hailed, and was answered by a full broadside of round and grape shot. The action then commenced, and continued for three-quarters of an hour, when both at one moment ceased firing. Captain Bingham was hailed by Commodore Rogers, to know if he had struck, and informed him, at the same time, that it was the American frigate *President*; and was answered by Captain Bingham in the negative.

Night coming on, each ship commenced repairing damages, and on the following morning Commodore Rogers sent his lieutenant on-board the *Little Belt*, stating his regret at the circumstance; that he did not know she was a vessel of such inferior force, and requesting to conduct her into an American port to repair her damages, which Captain Bingham declined; but no explanation for his cowardly conduct took place. Captain Bingham had eleven men killed and twenty-two wounded. It was said that the *President* had been dispatched in search of his majesty's ship *Guerriere*, which had taken an English seaman out of an American coasting-vessel, to demand him; and, in case of refusal, to conduct the British frigate into New York.

It was apprehended that this business would be productive of some serious consequences. The

BOOK IX. editor of one of the American papers, however, exercised his wit on the occasion, by saying, "a new play with an old title, *She stoops to conquer*, or *The Mistakes of a Night*, was performed with loud applause, on the 16th, off the coast of Virginia, by the President and Little Belt."

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A French privateer was gallantly repulsed by a British merchantman, the particulars of which were thus communicated by the captain.

"*Three Sisters, off the Isle of Wight, Sept. 18.*

"I have to acquaint you with a desperate engagement I have had with a French privateer, *Le Fevre*, mounting ten guns, six long sixes, and four 12-pound carronades, with swivels and small arms, manned with fifty-eight men, out from Brest fourteen days, in which time she captured the *Friends* schooner from Lisbon, belonging to Plymouth, and a large sloop from Scilly, with cod-fish and sundries, for Falmouth. On the 11th, at nine *p. m.* we observed her on the larboard bow; we were then steering N. N. E. about ten leagues from Scilly, and nearly calm.

"I immediately set my royals, fore-steering sails, and made all clear for action. At two *a. m.* when all my endeavours to escape were useless, she being within musket-shot, I addressed my crew, and represented the hardships they would undergo as prisoners, and the honor and happiness of being with their wives and families. This had the desired effect; and they immediately huzzaed with a desperation I never before witnessed, and made me confident of success. I ordered the action to commence, and endeavoured to keep a good offing, but which he prevented by running alongside, and immediately attempted to board, with a machine I never before observed, which was three long ladders, with points at the end that served to grapple us to them. They made three desperate attempts with about twelve men at each ladder, but were received with such a determination, that they were all drove back with great slaughter, and formed a heap for the others to ascend with greater facility.

"Finding us so desperate, they immediately, on their last charge failing, knocked off their ladders, one of which they were unable to unhook on our side, and left it with me, and sheered off; but I am sorry to say, without my being able to injure them, as they had shot away part of my rudder before they boarded me, and wounded several of my masts and yards; for it seemed to be their aim to carry away some of my masts, but which happily they did not effect. The most painful of my narrative is the loss of two men and a boy killed, and four wounded, but the wounded are doing well. Our whole crew amounted to twenty-six men and four boys, and deserve the highest applause that can be bestowed upon them.

(Signed) "GEORGE THOMPSON."

We shall conclude this chapter with the remarkable actions off Boulogne, which was thus detailed by Capt. Carteret.

"*His majesty's ship Naiad, off Boulogne, 7 a. m. Sept. 21.*

"SIR,—Yesterday morning, while this ship was lying at an anchor off this place, much bustle was observed among the enemy's flotilla, moored along shore close under the batteries of their bay, which appeared to indicate that some affair of unusual moment was in agitation. At about noon, Bonaparte, in a barge, accompanied by several other officers, was distinctly seen to proceed along their line to the centre ship, which immediately hoisted the imperial standard at the main, and lowered it at his departure, substituting for it a rear-admiral's flag; he afterwards visited others, and then continued in his boat for the rest of the evening.

"Since it is so much within the well-known custom of that personage to adopt measures that confer supposed *eclat* on his presence, I concluded that something of the kind was about to take place. Accordingly, seven praams, each having twelve 24-pounders long guns, with one hundred and twenty men, and commanded by Rear-admiral Baste, weighed and stood towards this ship, being expressly ordered by the French ruler, as I have since learned, to attack us. As the wind was S. W. with a very strong flood-tide setting to the N. E. while the enemy bore nearly south from us, it was clear that by weighing we could only increase our distance from him; so that our only chance of closing with him at all, was by remaining at anchor.

"The *Naiad*, therefore, quietly awaited his attack in that position, with springs on her cable.

"It was exclusively in the enemy's own power to choose the distance; each ship of his squadron stood within gun-shot, gave us successively her broadsides, tacked from us, and in that mode continuously repeated the attack. After this had so continued for three-quarters of an hour, ten brigs (said to have four long 24-pounders) and one sloop (said to have two such guns) also weighed and joined the ships in occasionally cannonading us, which was thus kept up for upwards of two hours without intermission, and returned, I humbly hope, with sufficient effect by this ship.

"At slack water the *Naiad* weighed her anchor and stood off, partly to repair some trivial damages, but chiefly by getting to windward, to be better enabled to close with the enemy, and get within shore of some at least of his flotilla. After standing off a short time, the *Naiad* tacked and made all sail towards them; but at about sun-set it became calm, when the enemy took up his anchorage under the batteries eastward of Boulogne, while the *Naiad* resumed here in her former position.

"In this affair not a British subject was hurt, and the damages sustained by this ship are too trifling for me to mention or report. I have, indeed, to apologize for dwelling so long on this affair, but my motive is the manner in which I understand it has been magnified by the enemy, and the extraordinary commendations which have been lavished on the Frenchmen engaged in it by their ruler. It is fitting, therefore, that his majesty's government should know the real state of the case, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty may rest assured, that every officer and man on board the Naiad did zealously and steadily fulfil his duty. I have the honor to be, &c.

"PHILIP CARTERET, Capt.

"Thomas Foley, esq. rear-admiral of the red," &c.

"*His majesty's ship Naiad, off Boulogne, Sept. 21, 1811.*

"SIR,—This morning, at seven o'clock, that part of the enemy's flotilla which was anchored to the eastward of Boulogne, consisting of seven praams, and fifteen smaller vessels, chiefly brigs, weighed and stood out on the larboard-tack, the wind being S. W. apparently to renew the same kind of distant cannonade which took place yesterday; different, however, from yesterday, for there was now a weather-tide. The Naiad, therefore, weighed, and getting well to windward, joined his majesty's brigs Rinaldo, Redpole, and Castilian, with the Viper cutter, who had all zealously turned to windward in the course of the night to support the Naiad in the expected conflict. We all lay-to on the larboard-tack, gradually drawing off-shore, in the hope of imperceptibly inducing the enemy also to withdraw farther from the protection of his formidable batteries.

"To make known the senior officer's intentions, no other signals were deemed necessary, but "to prepare to attack the enemy's van," then standing out, led by Rear-admiral Baste, and "not to fire until quite close to the enemy."

"Accordingly the moment the French admiral tacked in shore, having reached his utmost distance, and was giving us his broadsides, the king's small squadron bore up together with the utmost rapidity, and stood towards the enemy under all the sail each could conveniently carry, receiving a shower of shot and shells from the flotilla and batteries, without returning any, until within pistol-shot, when the firing on both sides of his majesty's schooners threw the enemy into inextricable confusion. The French admiral's praam was the principal object of attack by this ship; but as that officer in leading had of course tacked

first, and thereby acquired fresh way, and was now under much sail, pushing with great celerity for the batteries, it became impossible to reach him without too greatly hazarding his majesty's ship. Having, however, succeeded in separating a praam from him, which had handsomely attempted to succour his chief, and which I had intended to consign to the particular care of Captains Anderson and McDonald, of the Rinaldo and Redpole, while the Castilian attacked others, it now appeared best preferably to employ this ship in effectually securing her.

"The Naiad accordingly ran her on-board; Mr. Grant, the master, lashed her alongside; the small arms-men soon cleared her decks, and the boarders, sword-in-hand, completed her subjugation. Nevertheless, in justice to our brave enemy, it must be observed, that his resistance was most obstinate and gallant, nor did it cease until fairly overpowered by the overwhelming force we so promptly applied. She is named *La Ville de Lyons*, was commanded by a Mons. Barbaud, who was severely wounded, and has on-board a Mons. *La Coupé*, who, as commodore of a division, was entitled to a broad pendant. Like the other praams she has twelve long guns, 24-pounders (French), but she had only one hundred and twelve men, sixty of whom were soldiers of the 72d regiment of the line. Between thirty and forty have been killed and wounded.

"Meanwhile the three brigs completed the defeat of the enemy's flotilla, but I lament to say, that the immediate proximity of the formidable batteries whereunto we had now so nearly approached, prevented the capture or destruction of more of their ships or vessels. But no blame can attach to any one on this account; for all the commanders, officers, and crews, did bravely and skilfully perform their duty. If I may be permitted to mention those who served more immediately under my own eye, I must eagerly and fully testify to the merits of, and zealous support I received from, Mr. Greenlaw, the first lieutenant of this ship, as well as from all the excellent officers of every description, brave seamen, and royal marines, whom I have the pride and pleasure of commanding.

"I have the honor herewith to inclose reports of our loss, which I rejoice to find so comparatively trivial, and that Lieutenant Charles Cobb, of the Castilian, is the only officer who has fallen. I have the honor to be, &c.

"P. CARTERET, Captain.

"Thomas Foley, esq. rear-admiral of the red," &c.

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CHAPTER X.

French Affairs.—Measures relative to Suppressed Printers.—Birth of young Napoleon.—Young Napoleon made King of Rome.—Remarks on the French and Austrian Alliance.—Flight of the Archduke Francis.—Baptism of the King of Rome.—Bonaparte's Speeches to the Legislative Body, and at the Meeting of a Council of Commerce.—Affairs of Spain.—Death of Romana.—Portugal.—Proclamation to the Portuguese.—Denmark.—Unsuccessful Attack on Anholt.—Great Britain.—Death of the Spanish Ambassador at Paddington.—Re-appointment of his Royal Highness the Duke of York to the Office of Commander-in-Chief.

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THE French emperor, with consummate caution, maintained an entire control over the press in France. An imperial decree, of the 2d of February contained the following regulations relative to suppressed printers:—

“The printers retained in Paris are bound to purchase the presses of the suppressed printers; they shall pay for them according to the valuation which shall be set upon them, within the period of one year, and by four instalments.

“Each of the retained printers shall pay one sixtieth of the total price of this purchase.

“Immediately after the publication of this decree, seals shall be affixed on the types belonging to the suppressed printers.

“They may sell them if they please, provided they are sold only to licenced printers and type-founders.

“An indemnification shall be paid to the suppressed printers by those who are retained.

“This indemnification is fixed at the rate of 4,000 francs to every suppressed printer.

“It shall form one general fund, which shall be divided among the suppressed printers, in proportion to the extent and business of their printing establishment duly ascertained.

“For this purpose the suppressed printers shall be divided into classes.

“This division into classes shall be made, and the indemnification fixed by a commission.

“Each of the sixty retained printers shall pay a sixtieth of the sum total fixed for the indemnification due to the suppressed printers.

“Every creditor of the suppressed printers may object to the amount of the purchase-money, for the preservation of his rights.

“The commission shall consist of the inspector of the imperial press, who shall preside, of an auditor of the council of state, of two inspectors of books, and two licenced printers.”

Another decree of the same date ordered, that printers' licences should be delivered to them on parchment by the director-general of the press. The price of issuing these licences was fixed at

fifty francs for Paris, and twenty-five francs for the other cities of the empire.

Though the retreat of Massena and the defeat of Victor were known in France towards the latter end of January, there was not the slightest allusion to these events in any of the French papers of that period. The birth of the young Napoleon seemed to have entirely engrossed the public attention for the moment. No expense was spared by the government to give all possible *éclat* to this event.

In any review of the state of Europe, France, not only from her magnitude, but still more from her ambition, necessarily obtruded herself as the main object of the picture. The aim of the Emperor Napoleon at this time was, to render France, according to his own term, and the original idea of Talleyrand, the centre of a system of public law and government; or, in other words, to occupy the place amongst the European nations, which was formerly possessed by the emperors of Germany amongst the electoral states. The young Bonaparte accordingly received the name of the King of the Romans, which was formerly the title of the prince appointed to succeed the emperor.

The object of the Emperor Napoleon was evidently a compromise with the house of Austria. The Emperor Francis had been persuaded to consider the family of Napoleon as his own, and therefore not to consider his own grandaun so much lost as transferred. The son of Napoleon being the grandson of the Emperor Francis, the splendid title of the King of the Romans, and the acknowledged supremacy amongst the European states, was still attached to the Austrian family.

Though this point of view was calculated to satisfy the Emperor Francis, it could not have been equally pleasing to the remainder of the Austrian family. It for ever excluded the archdukes from all hopes of the imperial thrones; it tended, in fact, to extinguish the greatness and sovereignty of the house of Austria, and most effectually to merge it in that of the house of

Bonaparte. The connexion of Bonaparte and the house of Austria was merely with the Emperor Francis. If any accident, whether of nature or fortune, happened to the Emperor Francis, the family alliance would certainly not have been held in much respect by the archdukes, who were all discontented with the insignificance to which their house was reduced.

Such was the relative state of France and Austria; the alliance between them being rather between the Emperors Francis and Napoleon, than between the two families. The Emperor Francis, if the matter were considered in a mere selfish point of view, lost very little, and gained much; that is to say, he gained a splendid establishment for his daughter, and put himself into a state of security by winning over his enemy. On the other hand, the loss fell on the archdukes, who were supplanted by the family of Bonaparte.

It was natural, therefore, that such of the states of Europe, as, from their natural interests, were the enemies of France, should, at this time, keep a steady eye upon this principle of weakness in the French and Austrian alliance. The court of Petersburg could never forget that the alliance of France and Austria was necessarily an alliance against Russia, as the common object and purpose of Austria and Russia were necessarily to aggrandize themselves at the expence of Turkey. Turkey was the natural fund from which both Austria and Russia always sought their accession of dominion, each power naturally looking towards the attainment of that district or province which immediately bordered on itself, and which was incapable of defence. Accordingly France, as the son and ally of Austria, was consequently bound to assist the Emperor Francis in these objects of his ambition, and thereby necessarily oppose the immediate views of Russia. There was no hope or possibility of any compromise, France having another motive to assist these designs of Austria, inasmuch as any accession of dominion, or strength to the Russian empire, would be so much added to the actual power of an enemy of France.

The Archduke Francis was so disgusted at the slavery of his family, and ascendancy of the French in Vienna, as to be desirous of absenting himself from the scene of humiliation; and it was considered a singular coincidence, that the brother of Bonaparte, and the brother of the Emperor of Austria, equally ashamed of the Corsican's triumphs, should both, at the same time, seek an asylum beyond the reach of his power.

The motives of the Archduke Francis were not well understood; but, whatever they were, he succeeded in his attempt to escape. His flight from the Austrian dominions had hitherto been kept a profound secret. He left Vienna early in

the spring, privately, with a suite of about ten persons, and travelled *incog.* under the title of a count, to Salonica, where he took shipping for Smyrna. There, after remaining a short time, an order arrived from the British admiral to Captain Peyton, of the Weazle gun-brig, to convey his royal highness and suite to Sardinia, where the party arrived in May: it being given out that his highness came merely on a visit to the King and Queen of Sardinia, the latter of whom being nearly related to him.

The Archduke was much pleased with his voyage from Smyrna, and particularly with the attentions of Captain Peyton, the grandson of Admiral Peyton, of Greenwich, and nephew to the two late Admirals Peyton. Captain Peyton was invited to dine with the King and Queen of Sardinia, the Archduke, &c.; and, in return, he gave a ball on the king's birth-day (4th of June) to their majesties and the Archduke, on board his ship. The singularity of the place and scene delighted the royal personages: it was the first English ship of war on-board of which the queen had ever been, and she was in high spirits on the occasion. Her majesty danced with Captain Peyton: to whom, and to his officers, in return for this unusual and unexpected entertainment, a *fête-champetre* was given, followed by a masked ball at the theatre; while the crew of the Weazle were regaled with the best productions of the island in abundance. The Archduke afterwards presented Captain Peyton with a gold snuff-box, having his initials on it, set with brilliants; as a token of his esteem of the captain, in consequence of his conduct.

On the 20th of March, at nine in the evening, the King of Rome was christened in the Thuilleries chapel. His majesty, the emperor, accompanied by the princes, princesses, and great dignitaries, was followed by two witnesses of the ceremony, the great officers, ministers, the grand eagles of the legion of honor, military officers, pages bearing flambeaux, and the heralds of arms. The chapel had been prepared for his majesty the emperor with a *fautueil*, surmounted by a canopy, and provided with a praying-desk. The King of Rome, preceded by his officers, was carried by his governess; M. the Marshal Duke of Congliano carried the end of his mantle. The galleries of the chapel were filled by the persons belonging to the court. His majesty was received at the gate of the church by his eminence the cardinal grand almoner, who presented to him the blessed water. He was seated betwixt the altar and the balustrade, upon a tapestry of white velvet, a stand of granite, surmounted by a magnificent vermillion vase, forming the baptismal font. The two sponsors were, the Archduke Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, uncle of the empress, and Prince Eugene, the late empress's son. On

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the right of the altar were the cardinals; on the left, the bishops, in their robes, &c. All having taken their proper places, the cardinal grand almoner sang the *Veni Creator*, accompanied by the music of the chapel. After the hymn, his eminence approached the seat, towards which his majesty advanced with the child and the sponsors, and presented the infant to be baptised. This ceremony was followed by *Te Deum*, sung by all the music of the chapel. During the *Te Deum*, the King of Rome, carried by his governess, and attended by his state officers, by an aide-de-camp of the emperor, four chamberlains, two grooms, and a master of the ceremonies, preceded by four pages, was carried back to his apartment. M. the Count of Lacépède, grand chancellor of the legion of honor, and M. the Count of Marescalchi, grand chancellor of the order of the iron crown, after having received the orders from the emperor, carried the grand cordon of these orders to the King of Rome. During the ceremony, a beautiful display of artificial fire-works, and the most brilliant illuminations throughout the whole city, amused the French people.

On the 22d of March, the emperor being on his throne, surrounded by the princes of his family, and all the great officers of state, an address was presented to him by the senate, in which it was stated that the happiness of his people was his first object. The emperor replied thus:—

“The testimony of France goes directly to my heart. The great destiny of my son will be accomplished. With the love of the French every thing will be easy for him. I am pleased with the sentiments you express.”

The council of state was presented by the prince, arch-chancellor of the empire, and made a similar address.—His majesty replied:—

“I have eagerly desired what Providence has granted me. My son will live for the happiness and glory of France. Our children will devote themselves for her happiness and glory. I thank you for the sentiments which you express.”

On the 16th of June the French emperor proceeded from the palace of the Thuilleries, in great state, to the palace of the legislative body. Discharges of artillery announced his departure from the Thuilleries, and his arrival at the palace of the legislative body.

The empress, Queen Hortense, Princess Pauline, the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, and the Grand Duke of Frankfort, were in one tribune; the corps diplomatique in another tribune; the bishops convoked for the council, and the mayors and deputies of the good cities, summoned to be present at the baptism of the King of Rome, were on benches.

His majesty placed himself on his throne; the King of Westphalia, the princes, grand dignitaries, grand eagles of the legion of honor, occu-

pied their accustomed places about his majesty; Prince Jerome Napoleon on his right.

After the new members had been presented, and taken the oaths, the emperor made the following speech:—

“Gentlemen deputies of departments to the legislative body,—The peace concluded with the Emperor of Austria has been since cemented by the happy alliance I have contracted—the birth of the King of Rome has fulfilled my wishes, and satisfies my people with respect to the future.

“The affairs of religion have been too often mixed and sacrificed to the interests of a state of the third order. If half Europe has separated from the church of Rome, we may attribute it specially to the contradiction which has never ceased to exist between the truths and the principles of religion which belong to the whole universe, and the pretensions and interests which regarded only a very small corner of Italy. I have put an end to this scandal for ever. I have united Rome to the empire. I have given palaces to the popes at Rome and at Paris. If they have at heart the interests of religion, they will often sojourn in the centre of the affairs of christianity. It was thus that St. Peter preferred Rome to an abode even in the Holy Land.

“Holland has been united to the Empire; she is but an emanation of it—without her the Empire would not be complete.

“The principles adopted by the English government not to recognise the neutrality of any flag, have obliged me to possess myself of the mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, and have rendered an interior communication with the Baltic indispensable to me. It is not my territory that I wished to increase, but my maritime means.

“America is making efforts to cause the freedom of her flag to be recognised—I will second her.

“I have nothing but praises to give to the sovereigns of the confederation of the Rhine.

“The union of the valais has been foreseen ever since the act of mediation, and considered as necessary to conciliate the interests of Switzerland with the interests of France and Italy.

“The English bring all the passions into play. One time they suppose France to have all the designs that could alarm other powers, designs which she could have put in execution if they had entered into her policy. At another time they make an appeal to the pride of nations, in order to excite their jealousy. They lay hold of all circumstances which arise out of the unexpected events of the times in which we are. It is war over every part of the continent that can alone ensure their prosperity. I wish for nothing that is not in the treaties I have concluded. I will never sacrifice the blood of my people to in-

terests that are not immediately the interests of my empire. I flatter myself that the peace of the continent will not be disturbed.

"The King of Spain is come to assist at this last solemnity. I have given him all that was necessary and proper to unite the interests and hearts of the different people of his provinces. Since 1809, the greater part of the strong places in Spain have been taken after memorable sieges. The insurgents have been beat in a great number of pitched battles. England has felt that this war was approaching its termination, and that intrigues and gold were no longer sufficient to nourish it. She found herself therefore obliged to change the nature of it, and from an auxiliary she is become a principal. All she has of troops of the line have been sent into the Peninsula—England, Scotland, and Ireland, are drained. English blood has at length flowed in torrents, in several actions glorious to the French arms. This conflict against Carthage, which seemed as if it would be decided in fields of battle, on the ocean, or beyond the seas, will henceforth be decided in the plains of Spain! When England shall be exhausted, when she shall at last have felt the evils which for twenty years she has with so much cruelty poured upon the continent, when half her families shall be in mourning, then shall a peal of thunder put an end to the affairs of the Peninsula, the destinies of her armies, and avenge Europe and Asia by finishing this second Punic war.

"Gentlemen deputies of departments to the legislative body,—I have ordered my minister to lay before you the accounts of 1809 and 1810. It is the object for which I have called you together. You will see in them the prosperous state of my finances. Though I have placed within three months 100 millions extraordinary at the disposal of my ministers of war, to defray the expences of new armaments which then appeared necessary, I find myself in the fortunate situation of not having any new taxes to impose upon my people; I shall not increase any tax, I have no want of any augmentation in the imposts."

The sitting being terminated, his majesty rose and retired amidst acclamations.

In his speech at a meeting of a council of commerce, about the beginning of summer, Bonaparte still railed against England:—

"I have," said he, "deliberately weighed my resources with those of England—my situation with hers; and though the balance was decidedly in my favor, I have offered her peace upon honourable conditions. I have gone so far as even to offer to give up Holland. She was not at all disposed to listen; and I have proved to her, that though I menaced her with total ruin, I should advance nothing which I could not put in execution. I have the means of equipping many

fleets, and of repairing the losses and checks they might experience. It was not with ambitious views that I have united all the coasts of the north with France; I owed it to the system of blockade which I have established by my decrees of Berlin, and which I desire to have observed with the most strict severity. See me, then, master of all the coasts of the Baltic.

"Yes, sirs, I am, and always will be, the master of the Baltic. The Emperor of Russia has not, indeed, as yet caused my decrees to be observed in his ports; but he will, ere six months, or I declare war against him. Since Tilsit, what prevented my march to Petersburg? that which I did not do, I can do yet. The struggle with England is distressing. I know it—but the issue cannot be doubtful. My resources are real, they are from territorial revenues; and those of my enemy rest only on credit; and, of course, as illusory as the feeble basis of commercial operations on which they are founded. I have now in my coffers 200 millions, (he repeated, stamping with his feet,) 200 millions, which shall be better employed than in purchasing sugar, and coffee, and cocoa—they shall serve to sap the power of those who have these only for the representatives of power. I am not ignorant that in pursuing my system with vigour, many fortunes will be ruined: but they will be those only who have been so imprudent as to make speculations beyond their means, or have chosen to become the bankers and agents of England. Sons of Mr. Martin, sons of Andre, here present—you furnish an example. All those who follow the same course will have the same loss. If I was King of Bourdeaux, or of Marseilles, or indeed of Holland, I should act probably as others have done; but I am at the head of a great empire, and of a numerous population, and it is not for me to sacrifice the general good to serve a few towns.

"All Europe has been too long tributary to England—her monopoly should be destroyed, and it shall be by me. If I was only Louis XIV. she might yet a long time condemn the force of France; but I have many more means than the greatest of her kings, and all shall be employed to effect her fall."

Till the battles of Barrosa, Albuera, &c. revived the drooping cause, the patriots of Spain were evidently losing ground. The Spanish army lost their brightest ornament by the death of the Marquis de la Romana, after a short illness, January 23. He was not only an upright patriot, but a strenuous and zealous defender of the cause in which the Spaniards were at this time engaged.

It was truly gratifying to English feelings, that the insolent boast of the French emperor, that "England could not contend singly against France," was retorted upon him by the signal defeat of the French in Portugal.

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Marshal Beresford ably followed up the success and glory of Lord Wellington, which occasioned the following

Proclamation of the Governors of the Kingdom of Portugal and of the Algarves.

"Portuguese,—The day of our glory is at last arrived; the troops of the enemy, in disgraceful flight, and routed on all points, rapidly disappear from the Portuguese territory, which they have infected with their presence. The governors of Portugal rejoice with you on this happy event; and after humbling themselves in the presence of the Almighty, the first and sovereign author of all good, they render due thanks to his royal highness the prince-regent our lord, whose wisdom established the bases of our defence; to his British majesty, to his enlightened ministry, and to the whole British nation, in whom we have found powerful and liberal allies, the most constant co-operation in repelling the common enemy, and that honor, probity, and steadiness of principle which particularly characterise that great nation; to the illustrious Wellington; whose sagacity and consummate military knowledge enabled him to penetrate the plans of the enemy, to take the most effectual precautions for frustrating them, and compelled them at last to fly with the remains of their numerous army, diminished by famine, by the most severe privations, and by the incessant pursuit of the allied forces; to the zealous and indefatigable Beresford, the restorer of discipline and organization to the Portuguese troops; to the brave and skilful generals and officers of both nations; to their brave comrades in arms, who, with generous emulation, never fought that they did not triumph; and, in fine, to the whole Portuguese people, whose loyalty, patriotism, constancy, and humanity, have been so gloriously distinguished amidst the tribulations which have afflicted us.

"A nation possessed of such qualities can never be subdued; and the calamities of war, instead of disheartening, serve only to augment its enthusiasm, and to make it feel all the horror of the slavery with which it was threatened.

"But, Portuguese, the lamentable effects of the invasion of those barbarians; the yet smoking remains of the humble cottage of the poor, of the palace of the man of opulence, of the cell of the religious, of the hospital which afforded shelter and relief to the poor and infirm, of the temples dedicated to the worship of the Most High; the innocent blood of so many peaceful citizens of both sexes, and of all ages, with which those heaps of ruins are still tinged; the insults of every kind heaped upon those whom the Vandals did not deprive of life—insults many times more cruel than death itself; the universal devastation of the

fields, of plantations, of cattle, and of the instruments of agriculture; the robbery and destruction of every thing that the unhappy inhabitants of the invaded districts possessed;—this atrocious scene, which makes humanity shudder, affords a terrible lesson, which you ought deeply to engrave on your memory, in order fully to know that degenerate nation, who retain only the figure of men, and who in every respect are worse than wild beasts, and more blood-thirsty than tigers or lions. Wretched are they who trust in their deceitful promises! Victims of a foolish credulity, a thousand times will they repent, but without avail, of the levity with which they have trusted to the promises of a nation without faith and without law; of men who acknowledge neither the rights of humanity, nor respect the sacred tie of an oath. Opposed to such an enemy, the only alternatives which remained to us were resistance or retreat; the former depended on a competent armed force, the latter is a law which the duty of preserving life and property imposes on all peaceful citizens. These evacuating the towns where they dwell, transporting the effects which they can carry off, destroying those which they are obliged to abandon, and which might serve for the subsistence of the enemy, escape the horrors of the most infamous slavery, throw themselves into the arms of their fellow-countrymen, who receive them as brothers, assist the military operations, depriving the invaders of the means of maintaining themselves in the territory which they occupied; and in this way they are so far useful to themselves, because the enemy, not being able to support himself for a long time in positions where he is in want of subsistence, will soon be obliged to evacuate them; and the inhabitants returning immediately to their homes, neither suffer the inconveniences of a lengthened absence, nor find their houses and fields in that state of total devastation, in which the enemy's army would have left them, had he remained for a longer period.

"Such, Portuguese, are the lessons of experience which we ought never to forget.

"But amidst such great disasters, Providence is pleased to give us sources of consolation which will make them less sensibly felt.

"The unfortunate people who fled from the fury of their cruel oppressors have experienced the greatest kindness in the humanity of their fellow-citizens. In all the districts to which they have fled they were received with open arms; the inhabitants eagerly pressed to afford them all that succour which they could individually bestow; they filled their houses with emigrants; and many times have we perceived, with tears of joy, the generous emulation of those who disputed with one another who should afford the rights of hos-

pitality to those unknown families who arrived in this capital without shelter or the means of subsistence.

"It is the duty of the government to take immediate measures for the relief of these necessitous persons; but the want of public funds, which are not even sufficient to provide for our defence, must make these measures less effectual, unless individuals liberally concur in a proceeding as much recommended by humanity as by patriotism.

"Under the inspection of an illustrious tribunal, which has advanced part of these succours, by the wise and economical measures of a member of that tribunal, executed by zealous and intelligent officers, the wretched fugitives have been fed, and numberless unfortunate persons have been rescued from the jaws of death. This great expence has been supported, not only by the resources which were at the disposal of government, but, still more by voluntary donations presented by natives and foreigners; among whom we ought to mention with particular distinction the subjects of his Britannic majesty, both those who are employed in the army, those who are attached to the legation, and those who are comprehended in the class of merchants. Those acts of patriotism and of Christian charity were not confined to the capital and its vicinity. In all the districts of the kingdom, whither the fugitives resorted, they met the same reception, and experienced the same kindness and liberal aid, as far as the ability of the inhabitants enabled them to extend it.

"The governors of the kingdom, in the name of the prince-regent, return thanks to all for such distinguished services, by which the lives of so many of his subjects have been saved, and those calamities softened which were caused by the scourge of a destructive war. His royal highness will rejoice in being the sovereign of a people so loyal, patriotic, generous, and Christian.

"It now only remains, to complete the work, to promote the restoration of the fugitives to their homes, to render habitable the towns which the barbarism of these spoilers has left covered with filth and unburied carcases; to relieve with medicine and food the sick who are perishing for want of such assistance, to give life to agriculture, by supplying the husbandman with seed-corn, as well as a little bread for his consumption for some time, and facilitating his means of purchasing cattle, and acquiring the instruments of agriculture.

"Such have been and are the constant cares of the governors of the kingdom.

"Portuguese! tribulations are the crucible in which the merit of men is purified. You have passed through this ordeal, and the result has been glorious. You are become a great nation,—a nation worthy of those heroic progenitors who illustrated the cradle of the monarchy. Preserve

unalterable these sentiments; confide in your government, as your government confides in you; draw every day more closely the bonds of union among yourselves, with other nations and with our generous allies, who are our true brothers. Let one soul, one will, direct our common efforts; and if any one attempt to sow discord, let us tear from our bosom the venomous viper, and let us seal with his blood the ratification of our indissoluble alliance.

"Practise these maxims with the same constancy with which you have hitherto followed them, and you will be invincible.

"The Bishop Cardinal elect, P. SOUZA.

"CHARLES STUART. Marquis MONTEIRO MOR.

"Conde de REDONDO.

"RIC. RAIMUNDO NOGUEIRA.

"Palace of the Government, March 30, 1811."

An important change in the policy of the northern powers, with respect to the "continental system," seemed at this time probable. Denmark was the first to shew a disposition to relax the rigour of that system. In an arrangement between her and Sweden, she admitted conditions which were ostensibly, as well as virtually, in opposition to the principles imposed by France upon the continental powers. As far as depended upon Denmark, the commercial intercourse between Sweden and England was scarcely liable to interruption; for there was hardly a case of a Swedish vessel sailing either to or from England which would not fall within some of the provisions of the following decree, emitted by the court of Copenhagen:—

1. All Swedish vessels, detained on account of the bill of sale not being on-board, shall be released without further process.

2. Every Swedish vessel, detained merely because her destination was an English port, but which is furnished with documents from the Swedish government, as well as Swedish vessels now returning from England, laden with salt, or which are returning in ballast, shall neither be detained nor condemned.

3. Swedish vessels, which sailed for England before the declaration of war was known at the Swedish port from whence the vessel was dispatched, cannot be detained, much less condemned.

4. A Swedish vessel cannot be condemned merely for having used an English licence.

5. Swedish vessels suspected of having availed themselves of English convoys, cannot be condemned without proofs the most incontestible.

An attack upon the island of Anholt, then in possession of the enemy, was intended to have been put in execution in the fall of 1810; but as the enemy's ships of war kept on their station until the frost and ice set in, this plan was given

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up, being found to be impracticable. But in the commencement of the spring of 1811, the attack was again resolved to be made; however, the gun-boats, which were intended to be used in the expedition, were at that time in winter-quarters in the lakes, which were a long time filled with ice, and which prevented the vessels being put into action before the beginning of the month of March.

The order for attack was given, and on the 23d the flotilla and the transports were assembled in Gierillo bay. The island was reconnoitred, and it was found that there was only one schooner lying on the station. The light-house was fortified, but no other part of the island. It was in consequence determined that the troops should be disembarked by night; and on the morning marched against the light-house fort, and storm it, whilst in the mean time the gun-boats were to fire upon it from the rear, a formal siege being found to be impracticable. On the 26th, twelve gun-boats and twelve transport-vessels sailed from Gierillo bay, having on-board the troops destined for the expedition. On the 27th, at four o'clock in the morning, the troops were disembarked in the greatest order. The first lieutenant, Carl Holsten, in the naval service, marched immediately with 200 seamen along the shore, but unfortunately he was discovered by a patrol of cavalry. The enemy now fled into the fort, and it was not possible to cut him off. The intrepid naval Lieutenant Holsten followed them, and stormed the fort, but was beaten off. Major Melstedt then put himself at the head of the 650 men under his command, and being joined by 150 men under Captain Reydz, and the seamen under Lieutenant Holsten, undertook a general storm, but were again forced to retire. In the meanwhile, the flotilla were laid round the fort, and commenced a firing on it, whilst all the troops were preparing to make a fresh attack. The loss which had been sustained by these brave warriors only tended to increase their ardour. Whilst the gun-boats kept up a brisk fire on the flank of the fort, Major Melstedt on the one side, and Lieutenant Holsten on the other, commenced the attack. The out-works were already gained, and the troops were preparing to get over the high walls, when cartridge-shot was poured down on them from more than forty pieces of cannon. Major Von Melstedt ended his honorable career at the head of his troops; Captain Von Reydz then immediately took the command, and infused new life into the brave troops, who with the greatest steadiness stood the dreadful fire, and in conjunction with the valiant Lieutenant Holsten again renewed the attack.

A cannon-ball carried away both Captain V. Vrydz's legs, and another put an end to the life

of Lieutenant Holsten, whilst leading his brave seamen to the combat. The men who had still to pass the inner and very deep ditch, were obliged to give way for the cartridge-balls; but their retreat was nevertheless conducted with the utmost order. An English flying battery pursued the fugitives, and the retreat was performed under a continual fire from the enemy. In the mean time, and very unexpectedly, a frigate was seen to the northward, which stood round to the east of the island, a brig steered to the west part, and a schooner came from the southward. It came on to blow hard, and the gun-boats could no longer keep their station. Endeavours were then made to re-embark as many as possible of the troops, and to save such as had escaped from the enemy. The transport-vessels had something the appearance of gun-boats, and they were therefore caused to steer towards the Trefoid, in order thereby to decoy the frigate to follow them, and save the gun-boats and the troops embarked on-board of them; the wind increased, and the gale became so violent, that the gun-boats could scarcely be kept afloat. To enter into an engagement with the enemy was not to be thought of, and it would have been an useless waste of time to have endeavoured to collect the boats together. It was therefore deemed most expedient to let the flotilla disperse itself. Signal was immediately made for the boats to reach the nearest shore, and the flotilla accordingly dispersed itself agreeably to orders given. This movement could not be perceived by the frigate, which was lying to the eastward of the island, on account of the reef which ran out from it. Eight of the gun-boats that were nearest together made the best of their way for Jutland, whilst the other four, with the utmost bravery, engaged the brig and schooner. They detained the enemy in his progress, and brought him several points out of his course.

Although this expedition was unsuccessful, yet the enemy did not obtain an easy victory. Even during the retreat, the schooner sustained so much damage, that she was obliged to put in under the island, and stay to obtain assistance. Besides the three commanders, several other Danish officers fell in the field of honor.

Among the affairs of Great Britain, we must first notice the death of the Spanish ambassador, Duke De Albuquerque, at Paddington, February 18; his disorder was derangement of the most violent kind. He was seized with it on the 8th, and never had a lucid interval from that day. His usual residence was at the Clarendon hotel; and on the first appearance of the disorder, he beat his own servants severely. This naturally excited astonishment, for his temper was usually calm and mild, and he had ever been one of the kindest and most indulgent masters. He then

burst forth into a strain of invective against Bonaparte, so loud that he might be heard in the street; *Moriar Napoleon* was his constant cry, from the moment of his attack almost to that of his death. Medical aid was called in, and he was removed to Paddington, where his paroxysms were so violent, that it was with difficulty he could be kept in bed. On the night of the 17th, after a restless day, during which he had scarcely ever ceased to cry out *Moriar Napoleon*, he dropt into a short sleep, and a message was dispatched to Admiral Apodaca, with the intelligence. It was thought his disorder would assume a quieter aspect; vain hope! at half-past eleven he awoke in a violent paroxysm, and almost immediately expired. On the 2d of March, his remains were removed from the Spanish chapel, Spanish-place, Manchester-square, and interred at King Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster Abbey.

The re-appointment of his royal highness the Duke of York to the command of the British army engaged much of the public attention in the month of June; his royal highness had, in 1809, resigned the important office of commander-in-chief, in consequence of an investigation which had taken place into his conduct, on the testimony of a discarded mistress (Mrs. Clarke); Lord Milton having made a motion in the house of commons, (June 6), relative to this re-appointment, the chancellor of the exchequer candidly stated the circumstances which had immediately preceded the appointment of his royal highness to the command of the army; and when the house was in possession of them, he said they would be better enabled to judge of its propriety. "The house must be aware, that the gallant officer who held the command of the army since the resignation of the Duke of York, was an officer not only of long and eminent service, but of advanced age. He had been for half a century in some active situation in the service of his country. On his being attacked with illness in the beginning of the year, he had made a representation to his royal highness the prince-regent, that neither with safety to himself, nor justice to the duties of his office, could he continue to hold it. To this representation, made most earnestly, and repeated more than once, it was impossible not to attend. The place, then, thus becoming vacant, the next question which arose was as to the propriety of the person to be chosen to fill it. From the situation of our army, and our extended scale of operations on the Peninsula, it was quite impossible that such an office could be suffered to remain long vacant. Who, then, ought to be chosen as the successor to Sir David Dundas, was the question? From every view which he could take of affairs, he was inclined on every account to fix his choice on his royal highness

the Duke of York. Whatever might occur to others, still when he considered his long and tried services—the advantage of which he had been to the army, and when he also considered who were likely to become his competitors, he must say, without any disparagement to those gentlemen, who under other circumstances would be very eligible, that he preferred the appointment of his royal highness the Duke of York. There was no difference of opinion on this subject; and he certainly could not hesitate, when he considered that his royal highness was particularly qualified, which appeared from his arrangements, all of which were calculated to be of benefit to the service, of advantage to the officer, and of comfort to the soldier; arrangements, too, several of which seemed to be made to prevent many of those practices which it was the object of the enquiry to detect. Under these circumstances, he thought they would disgrace themselves, if, from an apprehension of any motion which either the noble lord or any one else could bring before parliament, they withheld from the public the advantages to be derived from the services of his royal highness. There was not either the least reason to suppose that his restoration would be received with any indisposition on the part of the army. He did not mean to infer that their mere choice ought to direct any appointment; though certainly, if ever there was a time when the feeling of the army ought to be made the ground of action, it was the present: but when their feeling was founded on the eminent services of the individual who had excited it, then that feeling and the ground of the appointment were the same. Unless, then, there was something in the manner in which the house had, on a former occasion, expressed itself, there could be no doubt of the propriety of this appointment. According to the statement of the noble lord, (Lord Milton) one would suppose that he thought the resolution of the house militated against the Duke of York's return to office not only now, but for ever. If not for ever, and yet that the appointment was to be conceived improper now, at what period could any one say the prohibition was to expire? What, however, was the state of the case at the conclusion of the enquiry? The first resolution went to acquit his royal highness of any personal corruption or connivance. It was a full, fair, free, and complete acquittal. After his acquittal, then, certain circumstances operated on the mind of his royal highness, which induced him to tender his resignation. The noble lord had said, however, that it was the opinion of the house that he should retire. This was never expressed, and therefore it was impossible for the noble lord to have any means of knowing it. That there were some in the house who were of this opinion, he was very willing to admit; but still there were

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others who thought so very differently, that they even were of opinion the house ought to come to some future resolution, expressing their opinion that the enquiry should not be followed by any such resignation. When his right honorable friend (Mr. Bathurst) proposed his resolution in 1809, he expressly declared, that he had taken care so to frame it as to preclude the suspicion that he recommended any such result. Thus, then, as far as the mover's own declaration, and the implied opinion of those who supported him, went, they by no means acted on such a sentiment. True it certainly was that a feeling had been excited in the country, to which his royal highness might have thought it better to submit than expose his father's government to embarrassment. He should not pursue what had been detailed at the time, or what had been detailed since; but he could not avoid asking the house, whether if previous to the termination of the enquiry they had been aware of the nature of the conspiracy which was on foot—aware by what means the evidence had been obtained, and what arts had been employed to represent that as an independent and patriotic enquiry—he would not ask, after all that, whether their decision would have been different; but he would ask, whether they thought all that feeling would have been excited in the country? What, then, he would ask the house, was to be inferred from the resolution? What but a complete acquittal? The next step was a declaration that it was not necessary to go farther. In the amendment the word “now” was particularly emphatic. The amendment said it was not “now” necessary to go farther. It did not mean that because the Duke of York had resigned, they would not then go farther; but that on his re-appointment, or at any future time, it would be at their discretion, to enter into farther investigation. The case left off with a full acquittal on the part of the Duke of York of all guilt. As to the nature, manner, or propriety of any future proceedings after the vote of acquittal, of course there were different opinions. He, taking a large share in those debates, had certainly told the house, that in his opinion they ought to proceed farther. Whe-

ther his proposition, or the proposition of his right honorable friend opposite, as one of a stronger description, would have been adopted, was still to be discussed; but all discussion on the subject had been put a stop to by the resignation of his royal highness. But the noble lord had now stated that there ought to be a recorded censure upon ministers, for advising an appointment in the face of a resolution of the house. If this was the case—if the house really meant by their resolution to imply an impossibility of the Duke of York's return to office, he must say a resolution more unfairly stated by its mover, or adopted by the house, he never saw; the mover directly declaring he did not mean to imply any such thing, and the house fully acquiescing in that explanation so given. He never had the slightest idea, in his own mind, that the resolution operated, or was ever intended to operate, as the least bar or obstacle to the re-appointment of his royal highness. The house, however, might take a view of all the previous circumstances, and then he left it to them to judge whether they thought the prerogative had been so ill exercised in this instance as to call for their interference. The advice which had been given, had been given under a full consideration of all the circumstances; and on these circumstances he relied for his justification. The advice had been called for by the long tried and eminent services of the illustrious personage in question, who had fully proved himself most capable of filling the situation. In recommending his appointment, he really thought that he was recommending the appointment of the fittest man in the country for the office; and he now left its consideration to the house, with the observation, that they could not censure it without charging and contradicting the construction of their own resolution.”

The motion having been negatived by a majority of 249, the re-appointment of his royal highness was peremptorily maintained; and having been restored to his important situation, justice must add, that he carefully discharged the duties of it with credit to himself, and with utility to his country.

CHAPTER XI.

Continuation of the Campaign.—Reverses of Fortune.—Siege of Badajoz abandoned by Lord Wellington.—Desperate Attack on Tarragona.—Capture of Olivo.—Fall of Tarragona.—Surrender of Figueras.—Review of Lord Wellington's Conduct.—The English, after a desperate Battle, raise the Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.—Battle of Fuente Guinaldo.—General Hill's Defeat of the French at Arroy de Molino.—Surrender of the University of Cervera.—Attack of the Castle of Belpuig.—Conquest of Saguntum by the French.—Merida surprised and taken by General Hill.

THE Duke of Ragusa, commander-in-chief of the French army of Portugal, was in motion the beginning of June, for the purpose of driving beyond the Coa that part of the English army which Lord Wellington (when he set out for the siege of Badajoz) had left upon the frontiers before Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the 5th of June the Duke of Ragusa arrived at Ciudad Rodrigo, with his advanced-guard, and a body of two thousand horse; the English divisions forced their retreat into the mountains of Sabugal and Alfayates to get to the Tagus.

Lord Wellington drew back successively his troops round Badajoz; but feeling himself pressed, he resolved to try a grand effort to carry the place before the two armies united. After a dreadful fire of artillery, a first assault was made; but the breach was defended by Frenchmen, 600 English remained on the place. A second assault had the same result—so that the English lost more than 1,200 men in these fruitless attacks. Lord Wellington was about to make a desperate effort, when, on the 16th, the Duke of Ragusa arrived at Merida, and joined the Duke of Dalmatia. The two armies marched upon Badajoz, the siege of which Wellington raised precipitately, re-entering Portugal with all his troops. His lordship candidly confessed, "that he was unfortunately mistaken in his estimate of the quality of the means necessary to take the place."

The defence of Tarragona became more obstinate in proportion as the attack advanced. On the 21st, a howitzer blew up the powder magazine of the enemy's breaching battery, but in an hour it was repaired. Three practicable breaches having been opened at four in the morning, Suchet ordered the assault, and at seven all was ready; 1,590 grenadiers were united with scapers and scaling-ladders, and disposed in columns of attack and reserve. They were followed by 1,000 workmen. At seven at night, at the signal of four bombs at once, five columns darted against the points marked out, crying, *Vive L'Empereur*. Five thousand men defended the works attacked and the lower town. They opposed at first a

strong resistance and a very warm fire; but the irresistible impetuosity of the grenadiers overthrew all obstacles in a few minutes. Colonel Bouvier with his column scaled the breach of the bastion of the Chanoines, and pursued the Spaniards to the extremity of the bastion; they tried to stop the French at the passage of the draw-bridge, a dreadful carnage was made, and the ditches were filled with dead bodies. The curtain was next scaled, and the enemy reached the breach of Fort Royal, where ladders were applied.

By the capture of the lower town and its dependencies, eighty pieces of cannon fell into the enemy's hands. Their loss, however, was very severe. In his dispatch on this occasion, Suchet made use of the following remarkable expressions: "I fear much, if the garrison wait for the assault in their last hold, I shall be forced to set a terrible example, and intimidate for ever Catalonia and Spain, by the destruction of a whole city."

In the night of the 29th of May, between ten and eleven o'clock, was lost, in a few minutes, the fort of Olivo, and that which ought not to have been effected without the sacrifice of at least 4,000 of the enemy, was, by their craft and intrigue, performed with less than the loss of 200. The capture of the place appeared to have been the consequence of changing its garrison (the regiment of Iuberia), for that of Almeria, at nine at night. The enemy having obtained information of this disposition, of the word that had been given, &c. presented themselves at the moment it was to have been carried into effect. A part of the new garrison having entered, the enemy entered with them, giving the word, Almeria, to the centinels as they passed. When within, they began the attack with the bayonet, at the same time aiding their companions without to mount the walls. In the confusion, while one could not be known from another, they killed a great number, and took prisoners eight hundred soldiers, and sixteen officers, according to the dispatch which Suchet sent, to request that the officers might have their baggage sent to them for their journey through Aragon into France. Olivo being taken, all the

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Tarragona was taken by storm about half-past six in the evening of June 28. Although the French were then within pistol-shot of the wall, it did not appear likely the place would have fallen so soon, from the intrepidity of the Spanish soldiers, who shewed the greatest indifference to the shot which were constantly whizzing past them, and precautions had been taken by fortifying a range of buildings which ran in a parallel with the wall, by blocking up the streets leading from it with wine-pipes filled with earth, and cutting a deep and extensive ditch on the side facing the enemy, which formed a barrier as strong as the wall, and would have required new works to have reached it. Such was the state of wretched Tarragona on Friday the 28th of June. At half-past six in the morning, the French opened by degrees a very heavy fire of great guns and musketry, the Spaniards returning it with equal vigour. It had been concerted this morning by the Spanish General, Campo Verde, who was at Cambrils with 10,000 men, that he should attack the French early next morning, on one side; Colonel Skerrit, who commanded about 1,200 British, on another part, while the garrison made a sortie; but the governor's conduct was so wavering, that a short time after this agreement, he sent off to know if the British squadron could embark the garrison. Captain Codrington, of the navy, pointed out the impropriety of doing so after the above arrangements for an attack, and advised him to hold out. He sent off word again to say, that he would defend the place to the last extremity; that the enemy had made a small breach, but it was of no consequence. About six o'clock in the evening, from treachery, or heinous neglect on the part of the principal officers, the troops stationed to protect the walls were left destitute of ammunition. The French, always vigilant, took immediate advantage of this neglect, marched coolly up to the very gate, forced it open with hatchets and bars, and entered the town. The Spaniards on the wall made resistance for some time with the bayonet, but were obliged to give way to musketry and bayonet combined. A sanguinary tumult ensued—women, children, and defeated soldiers, by their cries of "the French are in the town," spread the panic to those soldiers who were able to resist, and the flight became general towards the gate opposite to that by which the French entered; but it was too small for the multitude to escape in time from the diabolical fury of the French, who had already begun a savage massacre. Several precipitated themselves from the wall, and were killed. About 4,000 got out,

and rushed furiously through a body of French infantry, who were waiting for them outside, and continued their flight on the road leading towards Barcelona. They had already got out of range of the French musketry, congratulating themselves on their escape, when a destructive fire assailed them from several field-pieces, which the French, expecting the event, and determining that none should escape, had taken the usual precaution to place behind a deep ditch which they had cut across the road. The miserable Spaniards, now almost stupified with terror, attempted the heights, but the French, equally prepared at all points, coolly put them to death, although defenceless and unresisting. Those that remained, in despair threw themselves into the sea, where the English boats made every effort to save them, and succeeded in picking up 500, the mangled remains of 8,000 men, women, and children; for these Vandals spared neither sex nor age. Those that remained in the town met with a miserable fate. The French, on entering, set it on fire in several places, and, shocking to relate, an hospital, containing 3,000 wounded Spaniards, was burnt!

The fall of Tarragona, which the French took possession of, occasioned great discomfiture in the minds of the Spaniards; fears were entertained for other important places; and these were in some measure realized by the surrender of Figueras, at discretion, on the 19th of August. The garrison consisted of 3,500 men, and nearly 350 officers. The blockade of Figueras lasted four months, during which time 2,000 men perished within the walls.

That the reader may better comprehend the present designs of the commander-in-chief, we shall here take a brief review of his late operations.

When Lord Wellington expelled the French from Portugal, (such was the expression at the time,) in the month of March, two very powerful fortresses were in the hands of the enemy. Almeida and Badajoz commanded the two high roads from Spain into Portugal; and the enemy which possessed either or both of these fortresses, possessed not only a facility but even a perfect security in any future advanced movement. Lord Wellington, therefore, had no sooner cleared the open country of the enemy, and repelled them into Spain, than he immediately adopted the resolution of besieging these posts. Almeida having been exhausted by the supplies which it had afforded to the French army, was nearly in a state of famine, and Lord Wellington very naturally calculated that it would fall by the mere effect of a blockade. He accordingly took up a position of great ability, so that he at once blockaded Almeida and put himself in a condition in which the enemy could not attack him without having the advantage greatly against them. Almeida, however, in the

opinion of the enemy's generals, was of too great importance to be abandoned without an effort. This effort was accordingly made in the battle of Fuente Donora, and totally failed. The result was, the fall of Almeida, and the fugitive escape of her garrison, as mentioned in chapter 8.

It cannot be doubted, therefore, that Lord Wellington accomplished upon this point an affair of great importance. If Almeida were of no value would the French have hazarded a battle to preserve it? And was not its fall, immediately subsequent to this battle, an indisputable proof that the victory was really with the English general?

The fortress of next importance was Badajoz, which commanded the great western road into Spain, in the same manner as Almeida commanded the north-eastern. Lord Wellington, therefore, in the course of his pursuit of Massena, detached Marshal Beresford to clear the enemy from Alentejo, and to prepare the way for the siege of Badajoz. The marshal was successful in his first efforts, but the siege of Badajoz, defended by a good officer and a brave garrison, was beyond his strength. He therefore passed the fortress, and entered Estremadura, in the plains of which he continued to support himself and to refresh his cavalry.

Lord Wellington proceeded in person to undertake this important service himself. He sat down before Badajoz, and in his dispatches home, most certainly authorized the ministers and the public to expect the speedy reduction of that fort. In this, however, his lordship was disappointed. But let it not be imputed to him as any culpable want of judgment, that he did not foresee what the courage of the garrison, and the desperation of the French, might possibly effect. Nothing could be more reasonable than the expectation that Badajoz could not hold out. The works were in ruins, and within a few days more the most heroic courage would have been unavailing.

Marshal Soult, who commanded the army in Andalusia and Estremadura, availed himself of this short interval; collected all his forces, and reached Albuera. The battle of Albuera was bloody and desperate, and though the advantage of the mere battle was on the side of the English, the consequent event effected the French purpose. The Anglo-Portuguese army was too much crippled to remain on the plains. It became necessary, therefore, to abandon the siege of Badajoz, and to cover the passes of Alentejo and the roads to the banks of the Tagus.—Lord Wellington accordingly took up a position for this purpose, and the French, having saved Badajoz, and accomplished the design of their advanced movement, returned into Andalusia,

and dispersed themselves in search of food and forage.

The French having received their reinforcements, were again enabled to advance, and as there was only one road by which they could indulge any expectation of entering Portugal, Lord Wellington hastened to possess himself of it. He accordingly quitted the strong mountains of the Arranches, and his position at Portalegre, and hastened to the Coa and the Agueda, between which is the high road from Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo into Portugal, by Guarda and Almeida. When he reached this position, there was every appearance that Ciudad Rodrigo had a weak garrison, and was in a more distressed condition than the event proved. Lord Wellington, therefore, converted his position into a blockade of this fortress, and a general expectation was entertained that he might possess himself of it.

Ciudad Rodrigo had been for some time blockaded by the English under Lord Wellington, and a considerable body of Portuguese and Spanish auxiliaries; the French were said (as before intimated) to have totally evacuated Portugal, but they suddenly returned with a view to relieve that important fortress; in consequence of which a desperate battle was fought, in which the French were completely successful, and the English raised the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, towards the close of September. By Lord Wellington's dispatches it appeared, that "the Portuguese artillerymen attached to the guns, which were for a moment in the enemy's possession, were cut down at their guns." Again, "The enemy having collected, for the object of relieving Ciudad Rodrigo, the army of the north, which were withdrawn from the attack which they commenced on General Abadia in Galicia, in which are included twenty-two battalions of the imperial-guard, and General Souham's division of infantry, composed of troops recently arrived in Spain from the army of Naples, and now drawn from the frontiers of Navarre, where they had been employed in operations against Mina, together with five divisions, and all the cavalry of the army called of Portugal, composing an army of not less than 60,000 men, of which 6,000 were cavalry, and 125 pieces of artillery; I could not maintain the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, nor could any efforts which I could make, prevent, or materially impede, the collection of the supplies, or the march of the convoy for the relief of that place. I did all that I could expect to effect, without incurring the risk of great loss for no object; and as the reports, as usual, were so various, in regard to the enemy's real strength, it was necessary that I should see their army."

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A gallant action was however successfully fought by General Hill, who succeeded, on the 28th of October, in surprising General Girard's division, at or near Arroy de Molino, consisting of about 7,000 men, where he took upwards of 1,500 prisoners, and killed about 240. Among the former, were General Bron, the Prince D'Arenberg, the chief of the staff, two colonels, and forty other officers. General Girard was badly wounded, and escaped to the mountains with about 300 infantry. The enemy lost their artillery and baggage. The English had only nine killed, and thirty wounded. General Hill marched to Merida, where he found no enemy, and destroyed the extensive magazines at that place.

October 11, the University of Cervera surrendered to Colonel Green, at this time employed on a particular service at Catalonia: 350 men composed its garrison, and a very considerable depôt of wheat was found. On the 12th, Colonel Green accompanied the Baron de Eroles to the attack of the castle of Belpuig, near Lerida, which being determined to defend itself, was ultimately reduced by mines, and one ten-pounder, the castle becoming a ruin before the surrender: upwards of 160 prisoners fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

About fifty miles to the north of Ciudad Rodrigo is the river Douro, flowing east and west, that is to say, across the country. From the south bank of this river issues the river Agueda, which runs southerly towards Ciudad Rodrigo. About twenty miles from its mouth in the Douro, the main stream of the Agueda divides itself into two branches, an easterly one towards Portugal, and a westerly one in Spain. The eastern branch is the river Azava. The westerly branch is the continuation of the Agueda. The plain, therefore, in which Ciudad Rodrigo is situated, is intersected by these two rivers. The Agueda runs down to the town, which is situated upon it, and the Azava flows parallel to it, and about eight miles distant, on the Portuguese frontier.

Lord Wellington took up his position in part between these two rivers, and partly on a ridge of hills on the Portuguese side of the Azava, and about seven miles from Ciudad Rodrigo, so as to have the latter river in his front; and in this position he awaited the attack of the enemy.

On the 24th of September, they encamped for the evening on heights above Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 25th, the enemy moved forwards. General Montbrun, at the head of fourteen squadrons, amongst which were the Lanciers de Berg, moved briskly to the Azava, and having passed that river, began the battle by attacking our army posted on the ridge. General Montbrun's division of cavalry consisted of two parts; the one under himself, the other under General

Wattier. General Wattier took the charge of the attack of the ridge, whilst Montbrun, going off to the left, took the road to Fuente Guinaldo, where was the English right. It was seen, at the same time, that the greatest part of the enemy's infantry were taking the same direction.

Lord Wellington, therefore, having thus discovered the object of their principal attack, immediately hastened reinforcements to his division in that quarter, and himself rode from one position to the other, to encourage them to do their duty; to receive the enemy in squares, and to fall back, when necessary, without disorder.

In the mean time, General Wattier had commenced the feint attack on the English left. Immediately, however, upon his crossing the Azava, he was charged by two squadrons of the 16th and 14th light dragoons, and, for the moment, was compelled to give way. General Wattier now put himself at the head of his men, and rallied them with much spirit. They made a second charge upon the English cavalry, but, as they were advancing, were unexpectedly saluted by a brisk discharge of musketry from a wood on their left flank. This well-timed fire was from the 61st regiment, which, with the most laudable promptitude, had been secretly sent, and posted there during the first attack. The effect was to the full what had been anticipated. The impetuosity of the enemy's charge, and the connection of their ranks, were broken; and Major-general Anson falling upon them at the same time, converted their confusion into a route. They hastily re-crossed the Azava, and were pursued for some distance by the English.

Whilst this was going on, the English left General Montbrun, with the greater part of the French cavalry, and with the French infantry following up immediately behind him, to attack the extreme part of the English right. The position of this right was on a ridge of heights, in front of Fuente Guinaldo, and crossing the road to that town. As Lord Wellington could not foresee the point of their attack, before they put themselves in march, this was the weakest part of the English line. The object of Montbrun was to force through it, and thus, by turning it, and getting into its rear, to shut in the English position between himself and the Azava. Montbrun succeeded so far as to reach the position before the reinforcements sent up by Lord Wellington. The small body of English troops, however, sustained the onset with most distinguished bravery. One regiment of French dragoons succeeded in taking two pieces of cannon, which had been posted on a rising ground, on the right of the English; but they were charged by the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, under the command of Major Ridge, and the guns were immediately

retaken. The 77th regiment, and three squadrons of Major-general Alten's brigade, distinguished themselves equally eminently. The enemy attacked the position in three columns; the 5th regiment, as we have said, repulsed their left column; the 77th their centre column, and the three squadrons of Major-general Alten their right column.

In the mean time, the great body of the enemy's infantry came up, and Lord Wellington seeing their superiority, and that the continuance of the contest in that quarter would lead to a general action, ordered their retreat on Fuente Guinaldo. This was accordingly done in the best possible order. The troops on the position were formed into several squares, and marched in this shape. The French cavalry in vain rushed upon them. The squares halted, and repelled them with the most distinguished steadiness. One of the squares in particular, composed of the 5th and 77th regiments, was charged on three of its sides at once; it halted on the instant, and fixing itself, as in the manner of a determined individual, in position, received and repulsed the enemy with the most heroic firmness. Not a man was scarcely moved from his rank and lines, except where his corpse filled up the space previously occupied by his living body. It is in these kinds of charges, man to man, that the great question of national superiority of mind and manhood is decided: and happily the decision has been invariably in favor of the English, and never more so than in the several sharp contests on the frontiers of Portugal.

This retreat was followed by the whole of the English line, which entered its temporary entrenchments at Fuente Guinaldo in the course of the same evening, and of the following morning. The French followed this movement so far as to present themselves in front of Fuente Guinaldo on the morning of the 26th; but as Lord Wellington declined a battle, from the several reasons already mentioned, they shortly withdrew again behind the Aguada; and, a few days afterwards, both Marmont (who succeeded Massena) and Lord Wellington resumed not only their former positions, but almost their former relations and views. Marmont posted himself at Placentia, and Lord Wellington took up the same line around Ciudad Rodrigo as before.

After the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, Marshal Suchet advanced against General Blake, and completely defeated the Spanish army under his command. After twenty days labour and fatigue, Suchet succeeded in making a practicable breach in the walls of the castle of Saguntum; but during this period General Blake, with a view to save Saguntum from falling into the hands of the French, advanced to give Suchet battle, and compel him to raise the siege. This was on the 24th of October; a battle ensued, and the result

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was, that after seven hours' hard fighting, the Spaniards were entirely broken and put to flight, with the loss of 6,500 killed, wounded, and prisoners: (the latter amounted to 4,639, of whom 230 were officers,) forty colonels or lieutenant-colonels, two field-marsbals, sixteen pieces of artillery, eight caissons, 4,208 English muskets, and four stand of colours. The day after this battle, which was fought on the 25th of October, Suchet summoned the castle of Saguntum to surrender; and the lieutenant-colonel of artillery, who was sent with an answer to the summons, was conducted through the midst of the officers and prisoners, that he might have no doubt as to the issue of the battle which had taken place the day before. Saguntum accordingly surrendered, and the garrison, added to the men taken from the army under General Blake, made the total amount of prisoners 7,211, of whom upwards of 369 were officers.

After the fall of Saguntum, the key to Valencia, General Blake threw himself into it with 17,000 men: Suchet, however, continued his approaches, and, on the 26th of December, made a furious attack upon the Spanish lines. After a slight resistance, these were broken, and the whole army put to the rout. Blake, with about 5,000 men effected his escape into the city, whilst Mahi and the other Spanish generals retreated to Allayada.

At the close of this year, General Hill surprised and took Merida with very little loss. The following was his letter, on this occasion, to Lord Wellington:

"Merida, Dec. 30, 1811.

"My Lord—In pursuance to your lordship's instructions, I put the troops under my orders in march from their several cantonments, and entered this province on the 27th inst. by Albuquerque, Villa de Rey, and St. Vicente; and by the intelligence which I received from various quarters, I was led to entertain the most sanguine hopes that I should have been able to surprise the enemy's troops stationed in this town. I was, however, disappointed in my expectations, by finding in La Nava, on our approach to that village yesterday, with the column from Albuquerque, a party of the enemy, consisting of about 300 voltigeurs and a few hussars, being part of a detachment which had arrived there the night preceding, apparently on a plundering excursion, the remainder whereof has proceeded to Cordivallas, another village about two leagues distant. A patrolle from La Nava fell in with the head of our column, and gave the alarm to the detachment, which immediately commenced its retreat towards Merida, followed by the cavalry of my advanced-guard, consisting of between 3 and 400 of the 13th light dragoons and 2d hussars. As I considered the intercepting of the

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entire of this party to be of the greatest importance to our ulterior operations, I directed the cavalry above-mentioned to make every effort to effect it, or, at least, to check its march until the arrival of some infantry.

"The intrepid and admirable manner, however, in which the enemy retired, his infantry formed in square, and favored as he was by the nature of the country, of which he knew how to take the fullest advantage, prevented the cavalry alone from effecting any thing against him; and after following him for upwards of a league, and making an ineffectual attempt to break him, I judged it advisable to give over the pursuit, and he effected his retreat, with the loss of about twenty killed, and as many wounded, from four nine-pounders, which, by the great exertions of Major Hawker, and his officers and men, got within range, and followed him for some distance, but were unable to close upon him, owing to the deepness of the country.

"One wing of the 71st light infantry, under Lieu-

tenant-colonel the Hon. H. Cadogan, also exerted themselves in a most laudable manner to overtake the enemy, but were at too great a distance to admit of their accomplishing it in any reasonable time.

"The arrival of the above-mentioned party at Merida, made the enemy acquainted with our approach, of which I have reason to think he was before entirely ignorant; and he, in consequence, evacuated the town during the night, leaving unfinished some works which he was constructing for its defence, and we entered it in the course of the day. I regret to state that we had two men killed, and some wounded in the affair.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "R. HILL."

"Since writing the above, it has been reported to me, that 180 fanegas of wheat have been found in the depôt of this town, belonging to the French, besides a quantity of bread.

"Lord Viscount Wellington, &c."

CHAPTER XII.

Brief Review of the War in Portugal and Spain during 1811.—The Colonial Warfare and Foreign Relations.—The Prince Regent's Speech on the opening of Parliament in 1812.—Continuation of Hostilities.—Valencia taken by Suchet.—Tupper's Address to the Valencians.—Ciudad Rodrigo captured by Lord Wellington.—The Fortress of Peniscola surrendered to the French.—Badajoz taken by Storm, by Lord Wellington.—Sir Rowland Hill's Victory at Almaraz.—Major-general Slade's Action.—Lord Wellington enters Salamanca.—Capture of Madrid by the Allies.—Lord Wellington abandons Madrid, and retreats to Portugal.—Dismissal of Ballasteros from the Spanish Service.

THE conduct of the war in Portugal, during 1811, was such as reflected equal credit both on the country and on the army and commanders. On the commencement of this year, Lord Wellington was in front of Santarem, to which place Massena had retreated when he found it impossible to break through his lordship's admirable lines at Torres Vedras. This event of Massena's march disappointed every expectation in Europe but that of Lord Wellington. His lordship foresaw, from the very commencement, that he should be able to make an effectual stand on the high ground about Lisbon. The whole conduct of the war, therefore, as far as respected his lordship, was that of a complete drama, in which the skilful poet, act by act, and scene by scene, conducts his fable to the destined catastrophe, and converts every seeming impediment into the means of furthering his plot and action.

The fortune of the war, however, did not end

in this mere defence. Massena remained at Santarem only till he had consumed all the food and forage which the adjacent country could supply. In the same moment, in which he had thus devoured the country, he learned that the expected reinforcements to Lord Wellington were about to arrive, and that Sir Joseph Yorke was already upon the coast of Portugal. This information, and the urgency of his necessity, compelled him to retreat before the English at Cartaxo, as he had already retreated before them at Torres Vedras. Lord Wellington followed him in the pursuit with all the skill and success which had been anticipated from his known abilities. The retreat of Massena was covered by one of the ablest of the French generals. A triumph over an army conducted by Massena, and covered by Marshal Ney, augmented the reputation of Lord Wellington, and the brave army under him. Massena not having sufficiently proved, what

however was well known to Europe, the prowess of the English army, had importunately solicited the command in Portugal, as the means of adding to his reputation; he obtained it, and by the unexpected event of his retreat lost a considerable part of the name which he had previously obtained. He deemed it, therefore, well worth one desperate effort, to endeavour to recover some of his lost glory. Such was the occasion of the battle of Fuente Donora. The gaining of the victory in this battle therefore, was, on the part of the English, at once a confirmation of their former successes, and an accession of new military glory.

Whilst this was going forward on the north-east frontier of Portugal, another, and a greater achievement, by the British army, was on its progress in the south. Lord Wellington, whilst on the retreat, had detached Marshal Beresford towards Badajoz. The marshal did not succeed in taking that fortress; but with a spirit worthy of his name and country, he marched immediately into Spain, that he might meet the advancing enemy. Marshal Soult, upon his part, was hastening up from Seville on his apprehension of the fate of Badajoz, already closely pressed by the English and Portuguese. The two armies, thus seeking each other, shortly came into contact, and each fought with the spirit of their respective circumstances. The issue of the day at Albuera added another occasion of triumph to British generals. It was surely no inconsiderable praise to repel the best army, and the best marshal of France, with an army of Portuguese, raised and disciplined almost within the year.

Such was the course of glory and merit, which had been performed by the English army of Portugal during the year 1811; the result of which was, as far as respected the hopes of maintaining Portugal, and reinstating the Prince of the Brazils, more promising than at any former period.

With respect to the war in Spain, it necessarily followed the chances and fortunes of the war in Portugal. Every victory in Portugal was in fact a victory in Spain. Every thing which impaired the strength of the French armies, necessarily augmented and confirmed that of the allies in the same proportion. The aspect of the war in Spain, however, had other ground to stand upon besides that of the Portuguese successes. The Guerillas fought with a perseverance and patriotism which promised ultimately to save their country. Duran, Espoz y Minha, and the Empecinado, found employment for three of the best marshals of France. Two hundred thousand Frenchmen were calculated to have already perished in Spain, and yet the kingdom was as unconquered as ever.

It would be unpardonable, however, in this enumeration, not to make a distinct mention of

the battle of Barrosa, in which the united skill and courage of General Graham, and the characteristic gallantry of his army, obtained a most complete victory against a vast numerical superiority of the enemy. The advantages of such victories were not in their immediate fruits. Their main value was in the effect which they had in animating and inspiring the allies, and in giving an auspicious air and commencement to the good fortune of a cause which much wanted it. The Spaniards were engaged in a contest in which they were too well acquainted with their inferiority to the disciplined troops of the enemy. It was worth half a dozen battles, therefore, to give them a proof that the enemy was less invincible than they had been led to imagine him. General Graham, in the battle of Barrosa, may be said to have laid the first stone of the Spanish independence.

The colonial warfare equally contributed to England's general prosperity, and to the augmentation of her national military honor. The capture of the Isle of France cleared the Indian seas of the pirates which infested her distant trade.

The conquest of Batavia completed the expulsion of the enemy from the surface of these seas. It procured for the English the last colony which his fortune had left him.

With respect to foreign relations, their general appearance was to the full as satisfactory as the circumstances of the war. Russia, indeed, was still hostile, but her hostility was of a kind which every Russian and Englishman must have wished it. Sweden, likewise, was not that ready ally of France, which the French emperor had anticipated. America, however, did not appear, at this period, inclined to be on good terms with Great Britain.

The imperial parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain was opened with its usual formalities January 7, 1812. The speech of the prince being mere narrative, was as follows:

"My lords and gentlemen,—We are commanded by his royal highness the prince-regent, to express to you the deep sorrow which he feels in announcing to you the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition, and the unhappy disappointment of those hopes of his majesty's early recovery, which had been cherished by the dutiful affection of his family, and the loyal attachment of his people.

"The prince-regent has directed copies of the last reports of her majesty the queen's council to be laid before you, and he is satisfied that you will adopt such measures as the present melancholy exigency may appear to require.

"In securing a suitable and ample provision for the support of his majesty's royal dignity, and for the attendance upon his majesty's sacred

person during his illness, the prince-regent rests assured, that you will also bear in mind the indispensable duty of continuing to preserve for his majesty the facility of resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, in the happy event of his recovery, so earnestly desired by the wishes and the prayers of his family and his subjects.

"The prince-regent directs us to signify to you the satisfaction with which his royal highness has observed, that the measures which have been pursued for the defence and security of the kingdom of Portugal, have proved completely effectual; and that on the several occasions in which the British or Portuguese troops had been engaged with the enemy, the reputation already acquired by them has been fully maintained.

"The successful and brilliant enterprise which terminated in the surprise, in Spanish Estremadura, of a French corps by a detachment of the allied army under Lieutenant-general Hill, is highly creditable to that distinguished officer, and to the troops under his command, and has contributed materially to obstruct the designs of the enemy in that part of the peninsula.

"The prince-regent is assured, that while you reflect with pride and satisfaction on the conduct of his majesty's troops, and of the allies, in these various and important services, you will render justice to the consummate judgment and skill displayed by General Lord Viscount Wellington, in the direction of the campaign. In Spain the spirit of the people remains unsubdued; and the system of warfare so peculiarly adapted to the actual condition of the Spanish nation, has been recently extended and improved, under the advantages which result from the operations of the allied armies on the frontier, and from the countenance and assistance of his majesty's navy on the coast. Although the great exertions of the enemy have in some quarters been attended with success, his royal highness is persuaded, that you will admire the perseverance and gallantry manifested by the Spanish armies. Even in those provinces principally occupied by the French forces, new energy has arisen among the people; and the increase of difficulty and danger has produced more connected efforts of general resistance.

"The prince-regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, commands us to express his confident hope that you will enable him to continue to afford the most effectual aid and assistance in support of the contest, which the brave nations of the peninsula still maintain with such unabated zeal and resolution.

"His royal highness commands us to express his congratulations on the success of the British arms in the island of Java.

"The prince-regent trusts that you will concur

with his royal highness in approving the wisdom and ability with which this enterprise, as well as the capture of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, has been conducted, under the immediate direction of the governor-general of India; and that you will applaud the decision, gallantry, and spirit conspicuously displayed in the late operations of the brave army under the command of that distinguished officer Lieutenant-general Sir Samuel Auchmuty, so powerfully and ably supported by his majesty's naval forces.

"By the completion of this system of operations, great additional security will have been given to the British commerce and possessions in the East Indies, and the colonial power of France will have been entirely extinguished.

"His royal highness thinks it expedient to recommend to your attention, the propriety of providing such measures for the future government of the British possessions in India, as shall appear from experience, and upon mature deliberation, to be calculated to secure their internal prosperity, and to derive from those flourishing dominions the utmost degree of advantage to the commerce and revenue of the united kingdom.

"We are commanded by the prince-regent to acquaint you, that while his royal highness regrets that various important subjects of difference with the government of the United States of America still remain unadjusted, the difficulties which the affair of the Chesapeake frigate had occasioned have been finally removed; and we are directed to assure you, that in the further progress of the discussions with the United States, the prince-regent will continue to employ such means of conciliation as may be consistent with the honor and dignity of his majesty's crown, and with the due maintenance of the maritime and commercial rights and interests of the British empire.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His royal highness has directed the estimates for the service of the current year to be laid before you. He trusts that you will furnish him with such supplies as may be necessary to enable him to continue the contest in which his majesty is engaged, with that spirit and exertion which will afford the best prospect of its successful termination.

"His royal highness commands us to recommend that you should resume the consideration of the finances of Ireland, which you had commenced in the last session of parliament. He has the satisfaction to inform you, that the improved receipt of the revenue of Ireland in the last, as compared with the preceding year, confirms the belief that the depression which that revenue had experienced is to be attributed to accidental and temporary causes.

"My lords and gentlemen,—The prince-regent is satisfied that you will entertain a just sense of the

arduous duties which his royal highness has been called upon to fulfil, in consequence of his majesty's continued indisposition.

"Under this severe calamity, his royal highness derives the greatest consolation from his reliance on your experienced wisdom, loyalty, and public spirit, to which in every difficulty he will resort, with a firm confidence, that, through your assistance and support, he shall be enabled, under the blessings of divine providence, successfully to discharge the important functions of the high trust reposed in him, and in the name and on the behalf of his beloved father and revered sovereign, to maintain unimpaired the prosperity and honor of the nation."

The thanks of parliament were voted to the respective general officers and admirals employed in the late conquests in the east, and the Honorable Major-general Cole received personally the thanks of the house for his gallant conduct in the battle of Albuera. An annuity of 2,000*l.* in addition to former annuities, was also granted to General the Earl of Wellington.

On the 12th of January, the Marshal Count Suchet sent an account of the capture of Valencia to his government, which capitulated on the 9th. He stated, that the lines were six thousand toises in extent, and that Valencia expended twelve millions of reals, and employed some thousands of men for two years in erecting them. By the surrender of Valencia, the French took 374 pieces of artillery, 180,000 pounds of powder, 3,000,000 of cartridges, 16,131 prisoners of the line, 1,950 sick in the hospitals, 1,800 cavalry and artillery horses, 21 stands of colours, 893 officers, and 22 generals or brigadiers. Bonaparte, on this occasion, created Suchet Duke of Albufera.

By the acquisition of Valencia, the enemy obtained possession not only of the chief part of the Spanish regular forces, consisting of upwards of 16,000 men, but also of an entire province, which from its situation gave him the command of the sea-coast of the Mediterranean, from Barcelona to the Straits of Gibraltar.

The following account of this city is extracted from "Travels in Spain." "Valencia is one of the noblest cities in all Spain, situate in a large vega, or valley, above sixty miles in compass: here are the strongest silks, the sweetest wines, the excellentest almonds, the best oils, and most beautiful females of all Spain, for the prime courtizans in Madrid and elsewhere are had hence. The very brute animals make themselves beds of rosemary, and other fragrant flowers, hereabouts; and when one is at sea, if the wind blows from the shore, he may smell this soil before he comes in sight of it, many leagues off, by the strong odoriferous scent it casts. As it is the most pleasant, so it is also the most temperate clime of all Spain; and they commonly call it the second Italy, which

made the Moors, whereof many thousands were destroyed and banished hence to Barbary, to think that paradise was in that part of the heavens which hung over this city."

Soon after the fall of Valencia, the following proclamation was issued at Alicant, in the Spanish language, by Mr. Tupper. This admirable paper was addressed to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Valencia, and very generally distributed among them.

"When the sacred duty of maintaining your rights, your independence, and national honor, decided you gloriously to declare yourselves against the perfidy and treachery consummated at Bayonne, against your innocent and outraged king, you did me the honor to elect me a member of the government which then exercised the sovereignty, in order to concur in directing your enthusiasm and noble determination; and all unanimously declared eternal war against the usurper of your rights. I accepted, with satisfaction, so honorable a distinction, and I swore to accomplish, by all the means in my power, your heroic intentions. Your cause was noble, just, and necessary; and by a happy chance I was the first Englishman that united himself to you, to oppose the fraudulent and ambitious views of Napoleon. Your admirable decrees,—your decision,—your valour,—and your sacrifices, we remember them all with delight; and though fate has condemned you, in these days of mourning, to groan beneath the yoke of usurpation, your noble breasts are still animated with the same sentiments, the same ardour, and the same patriotism. Your former heroic defence filled Europe with admiration; your oppressors, in announcing it to the world, proclaimed your virtues, and at the same time manifested your resistance and inextinguishable hatred to the tyrannical dominion of the usurper.

"Perhaps, for a short time, you may be flattered with illusive promises; but soon will you fatally experience, that treason, ferocity, and perfidy, are the consequences of the operations which give rise to his iniquitous invasion.

"You, Valencians, have fulfilled your duties, have observed your oaths; and your enemies bitterly confess, that your will and your opinions are not and cannot be conquered. All the bayonets and all the satellites of Napoleon are insufficient to gain the heart of one Spaniard worthy of that honorable name. But with what surprise and contempt must the whole world have observed, that the kingdom of Valencia now remains condemned to a state of orphanism, without representative authorities; and that its former members,—timid, cowardly, without mind or dignity, or perhaps without character,—wrapped up in doubtful principles, vilely abandoned the sacred duties with which they were entrusted; and at the first alarm,—at the first reverse of fortune,

BOOK IX. when they ought to have shewn the greatest firmness and patriotism,—shamefully fled, resigned their authority, and placed themselves in the midst of your enemies, to adorn the triumphal car of a conqueror, who tramples on all that men hold most holy and respectable. What example, and what spectacle has the Junta of Valencia just exhibited! What indelible opprobrium for its members,—what dishonor for this kingdom, that with justice prided itself on being the first to raise the neck against the Napoleonic treason.

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“At the commencement of the Spanish revolution, you, Valencians, unanimously declared war against your oppressors, without arms, without necessities, and without troops; and by the efforts of a generous people, governed by men of decided patriotism, armies and resources were soon created: but now the fruits, the anxieties, and the labours of three years are in danger of being annihilated by the criminal conduct of your imbecile and pusillanimous representatives. Such men were unworthy to direct and govern you. Their proceedings must be an object of abomination to the French themselves, whose protection they slavishly implore. Where are the oaths of your representatives? Did no resources remain in the kingdom? Did none of our strong places remain, no troops, no public spirit? The nation, Valencians, exists, and will continue to exist, notwithstanding the effects of treason or of weakness: and to the nation belong those unfortunate districts now traitorously abandoned to themselves. And what is the example at the same time exhibited by Arragon, Guadalaxara, Soria, and Catalonia, your neighbours? There you may see the public authorities, even in the midst of the enemy, exciting the public virtue, and declaring eternal war against the vile usurper of the throne. Their illustrious members have added new lustre to the Spanish name; but you, junta of Valencia, sealed with ignominy, are worthy neither of the French nor Spanish name. Your desertion, unexampled in Spain, blots you from the list which distinguishes her sons, and condemns you to the black class of men without a country.

“In fine, inhabitants of the kingdom of Valencia, new authorities worthy of your confidence are about to arise. They will give an energetic and brilliant impulse to your valour and patriotism. Your resources are great, the national spirit one: you will equal or exceed the Gallicians or Catalonians in disinterestedness, enthusiasm, or virtue. They disdained to dishonor themselves with the slavish name of Frenchmen; and will you, Valencians, conduct yourselves with less dignity and with less spirit than they? No, from the present misfortunes will spring up a sacred flame which will consume your oppressors. In all parts there are Spaniards; and do not doubt that the happy day of the restoration of Valencia will yet arrive.

“In Catalonia, a formidable army is organizing; and General Lacy is besieging Tarragona.

“Nearly all the interior of Spain is free from enemies; and the divisions of Mina, Duran, Empecinado, Amor, Montijo, and others, appear with a formidable aspect, and increase considerably.

“In Alicant the army rejoins; and the English general, Roche, in the service of Spain, has undertaken to pay, clothe, and arm the garrison, and every soldier that presents himself to him; who may soon be in a condition to combat the enemy, now proud of his conquest.

“In Majorca formidable forces are organizing, which will soon triumph in the Peninsula.

“In Carthagea a new army is forming.

“In La Mancha is a numerous division in a respectable condition; and the fortress of Las Penas de San Pedro is the bulwark of its liberty.

“General Ballasteros continues victorious, and his division increases every day more and more. Before Tariffa 3,000 enemies have been routed by General Copons and the English; and have been obliged to raise the siege of that fortress, losing all their artillery, after a practicable breach had been opened, from whence sallied the English colonel, Skerrett, with 2,000 men. In Cadiz an army of more than 30,000 men is rapidly organizing; and the besieging enemy confess, with dismay, that Cadiz is impregnable.

“In Estremadura, all the country is free (the enemy only possessing the spot on which he stands;) and its resources and troops are put in action.

“Gallicia respires equally free, and contains a numerous and warlike army.

“Asturias, invaded, for the fourth time, by the enemy, has obliged them to abandon that ancient asylum of the liberty of Spain.

“In Castile is a disciplined army, under the command of General Mendizabel; and finally, the allied army, under the illustrious Wellington, menaces the enemy in various points, and occupies the greater part of his forces.

“Such is the state of the efforts of the nation to secure its independence, and purge its territory of a cruel, devastating, and perfidious enemy. And shall Valencia remain out of the list of the valiant provinces which do honor to the nation? Will she consent to be blotted out of the map of Europe, and to see herself attached to the great and usurped yoke of Napoleon?

“Valencians! you have still an opportunity; it is still in your power to choose between the ignominy of becoming Frenchmen and the glory of calling yourselves Spaniards. We cannot waver as to your noble reply. ‘Spaniards we are,’ is resounded on all sides. Catalonia, Arragon, Soria, all Spain, in fine, give us an example, and teach us our duties.

“Re-unite, then, in parties truly patriotic, ac-



*Major General,
Henry Mackinnon*

*Engraved for Gifford's History of the War,
by H.R. Cook from a Miniature by Jaeger*

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cording to the disposition of the supreme government, intercept the enemy's convoys, and prevent the forced imposition of contributions, of devastations, and plunder. Whatever you seize from the enemy shall be the patrimony of your valour, and the reward of your labours. All shall be for you, and for your benefit. And that your intentions may be prosperous, you may proceed to the city of Alicant, where will be delivered to you, by my hands, arms, stores, and all things needful, which the generous English nation offer you.

"The confidence which I have felt in you, remains engraven in eternal characters in my breast; and as I was one of the first to unite myself with you to forward your noble cause, so will I be the last to abandon it, and my efforts shall be redoubled till the national independence is obtained. Sustaining your just cause, I shall have had the satisfaction of fulfilling the most precious of my duties.

"Valencians, I shall not detain you to make known my proclamations to the soldiers in the French army, to encourage desertion among them. To every German, Pole, Swiss, Italian, &c. that presents himself, will be given a gratuity of twenty dollars and clothing, with liberty to go wheresoever he pleases. By these means we may hope to weaken the force of the enemy, to deliver many unfortunate and brave men from their bonds, and to restore them to their own country.

(Signed) "P. CAREY TUPPER.

"Alicant, Feb. 14, 1812."

On the 19th of January, Lord Wellington took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm. The following is his lordship's account of this capture, addressed to Lord Liverpool, and dated

"Gallegos, January 20, 1812.

"I informed your lordship, in my dispatch of the 9th, that I had attacked Ciudad Rodrigo, and in that of the 15th, of the progress of the operations to that period; and I have now the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that we took the place by storm yesterday evening after dark.

"We continued from the 15th to the 19th to complete the second parallel, and the communications with that work; and we had made some progress by sap towards the crest of the glacis. On the night of the 15th, we likewise advanced from the left of the first parallel down the slope of the hill, towards the convent of St. Francisco, to a situation from which the walls of the Fausse Braye and of the town were seen, on which a battery of seven guns was constructed, and they commenced their fire on the morning of the 18th.

"In the mean time, the batteries in the parallel continued their fire; and yesterday evening their fire had not only considerably injured the defences of the place, but had made breaches in the Fausse Braye wall, and in the body of the

place, which were considered practicable; while the battery on the slope of the hill, which had been commenced on the night of the 15th, and had opened on the 18th, had been equally efficient still farther to the left, and opposite to the suburb of St. Francisco.

"I therefore determined to storm the place, notwithstanding that the approaches had not been brought to the crest of the glacis, and the counterscarp of the ditch was still entire. The attack was accordingly made yesterday evening in five separate columns, consisting of the troops of the 3d and right divisions, and of Brigadier-general Pack's brigade. The two light columns, conducted by Lieutenant-colonel O'Toole, of the 2d caçadores, and Major Ridge, of the 5th regiment, were destined to protect the advance of Major-general Mackinnon's brigade, forming the third, to the top of the breach in the Fausse Braye wall; and all these, being composed of troops of the 3d division, were under the direction of Lieutenant-general Picton.

"The fourth column, consisting of the 43d and 52d regiments, and part of the 95th regiment, being of the light division, under the direction of Major-general Craufurd, attacked the breaches on the left, in front of the suburb of St. Francisco and covered the left of the attack of the principal breach by the troops of the 3d division; and Brigadier-general Pack was destined, with his brigade, forming the 5th column, to make a false attack upon the southern face of the fort. Besides these five columns, the 94th regiment, belonging to the 3d division, descended into the ditch, in two columns of the right of Major-general Mackinnon's brigade, with a view to protect the descent of that body into the ditch, and its attack of the breach in the Fausse Braye, against the obstacles which it was supposed the enemy would construct to oppose their progress.

"All these attacks succeeded; and Brigadier-general Pack even surpassed my expectations, having converted his false attack into a real one, and his advanced-guard, under the command of Major Lynch, having followed the enemy's troops from the advanced works into the Fausse Braye, where they made prisoners of all opposed to them.

"Major Ridge, of the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, having escalated the Fausse Braye wall, stormed the principal breach in the body of the place, together with the 94th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, which had moved along the ditch at the same time, and had stormed the breach in the Fausse Braye, both in front of Major-general Mackinnon's brigade. Thus these regiments not only effectually covered the advance from the trenches of Major-general Mackinnon's brigade by their first movements and operations, but they preceded them in the attack.

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“Major-general Craufurd and Major-general Vandeleur, and the troops of the light division on the left, were likewise very forward on that side; and in less than half an hour from the time the attack commenced, our troops were in possession of, and formed on the ramparts of the place, each body contiguous to the other. The enemy then submitted, having sustained a considerable loss in the contest.

“Our loss was also, I am concerned to add, severe, particularly in officers of high rank and estimation in this army. Major-general Mackinnon was unfortunately blown up by the accidental explosion of one of the enemy's expence magazines, close to the breach, after he had gallantly and successfully led the troops under his command to the attack. Major-general Craufurd likewise received a severe wound while he was leading on the light division to the storm, and I am apprehensive that I shall be deprived for some time of his assistance. Major-general Vandeleur was likewise wounded in the same manner, but not so severely, and he was able to continue in the field. I have to add to this list, Lieutenant-colonel Colbourne, of the 53d regiment, and Major-general Napier, who led the storming party of the light division, and was wounded on the top of the breach.

“I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship the uniform good conduct, spirit of enterprise, and patience and perseverance in the performance of great labour, by which the general officers, officers, and troops of the 1st, 3d, 4th, and light divisions, and Brigadier-general Pack's brigade, by whom the siege was carried on, have been distinguished during the late operations. Lieutenant-general Graham assisted me in superintending the conduct of the details of the siege, besides performing the duties of the general officer commanding the first division; and I am much indebted to the suggestions and assistance I received from him for the success of this enterprise.

“The conduct of all parts of the 3d division; in the operations which they performed with so much gallantry and exactness, on the evening of the 19th, in the dark, afford the strongest proof of the abilities of Lieutenant-general Picton and Major-general Mackinnon, by whom they were directed and led; but I beg particularly to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel O'Toole of the 2d caçadores, of Major Ridge of 2d battalion 5th foot, of Lieut.-colonel Campbell of the 94th regiment, of Major Manners of the 74th, and of Major Grey of the 2d battalion 5th foot, who has been twice wounded during this siege.

“It is but justice also to the 3d division to report, that the men who performed the sap belonged to the 45th, 74th, and 88th regiments, under the

command of Captain M'Leod of the royal engineers, and Captain Thompson of the 74th, Lieutenant Beresford of the 88th, and Lieutenant Metcalf of the 45th, and they distinguished themselves not less in the storm of the place, than they had in their performance of their laborious duty during the siege.

“I have already reported, in my letter of the 9th instant, my sense of the conduct of Major-general Craufurd, and of Lieutenant-colonel Colbourne, and of the troops of the light division, in the storm of the redoubt of St. Francisco, on the evening of the 8th instant. The conduct of these troops was equally distinguished throughout the siege; and in the storm, nothing could exceed the gallantry with which these brave officers and troops advanced and accomplished the difficult operation allotted to them, notwithstanding that all their leaders had fallen.

“I particularly request your lordship's attention to the conduct of Major-general Craufurd, Major-general Vandeleur, Lieutenant-colonel Barnard of the 95th, Lieutenant-colonel Colbourne, Major Gibbs, and Major Napier of the 52d, and Lieutenant-colonel M'Leod of the 43d. The conduct of Captain Duffy of the 43d, and that of Lieutenant Gurwood of the 52d regiment, who was wounded, have likewise been particularly reported to me; Lieutenant-colonel Elder, and the 3d caçadores, were likewise distinguished upon this occasion.

“The 1st Portuguese regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Hill, and the 16th, under Colonel Campbell, being Brigadier-general Pack's brigade, were likewise distinguished in the storm, under the command of the brigadier-general, who particularly mentions Major Lynch.

“In my dispatch of the 15th, I reported to your lordship the attack of the Convent of Santa Cruz, by the troops of the 1st division, under the direction of Lieutenant-general Graham, and that of the convent of Saint Francisco, on the 14th instant, under the direction of Major-general the Hon. C. Colville. The first-mentioned enterprise was performed by Captain Laroche de Stackenfels, of the 1st line battalion king's German legion; the last by Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, with the 40th regiment. This regiment remained from that time in the suburb of Saint Francisco, and materially assisted our attack on that side of the place.

“Although it did not fall to the lot of the troops of the 1st and 4th divisions to bring these operations to their successful close, they distinguished themselves throughout their progress, by the patience and perseverance with which they performed the labours of the siege. The brigade of guards, under Major-general H. Campbell, was particularly distinguished in this respect.

“I likewise request your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, the

chief engineer, and of Brigade-major Jones, and the officers and men of the royal engineers.—The ability with which these operations were carried on exceeds all praise; and I beg leave to recommend those officers to your lordship most particularly.

“Major Dickson, of the royal artillery, attached to the Portuguese artillery, has for some time had the direction of the heavy train attached to this army, and has conducted the intricate details of the late operation, as he did those of the late sieges of Badajoz, in the last summer, much to my satisfaction. The rapid execution produced by the well-directed fire kept up from our batteries, affords the best proof of the merits of the officers and men of the royal artillery, and of the Portuguese artillery employed on this occasion. But I must particularly mention Brigade-major May, and Captains Holcombe, Power, Dynely, and Dundas, of the royal artillery; and Captains Da Cunha and Da Costa, and Lieutenant Silva, of the 1st regiment of Portuguese artillery.

“I have likewise particularly to report to your lordship, the conduct of Major Sturgeon, of the royal staff corps. He constructed and placed for us the bridge over the Agueda, without which the enterprise could not have been attempted, and he afterwards materially assisted Lieutenant-general Graham and myself, in our reconnoissance of the place, on which the plan of the attack was founded; and he finally conducted the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, as well as the 2d *caçadores*, to their points of attack.

“The adjutant-general, and the deputy quarter-master-general, and the officers of their several departments, gave me every assistance throughout this service, as well as those of my personal staff; and I have great pleasure in adding, that, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the increased difficulties of procuring supplies for the troops, the whole army have been well supplied, and every branch of the service provided for during the late operations, by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Commissary-general Bisset, and the officers belonging to his department.

“The Marshal del Campo, Don Carlos d’Espana, and Don Julian Sanchez, observed the enemy’s movements beyond the Tormes, during the operations of the siege; and I am much obliged to them, and to the people of Castile in general, for the assistance I received from them. The latter have invariably shewn their detestation of the French tyranny, and their desire to contribute, by every means in their power, to remove it.

“I will, hereafter, transmit to your lordship a detailed account of what we have found in the place; but I believe there are 153 pieces of ordnance, including the heavy train belonging to the French army, and great quantities of ammunition and stores. We have the governor, General

Banier, about 78 officers, and 1,700 men prisoners.

“I transmit this dispatch by my aid-de-camp, the Hon. Major Gordon, who will give your lordship any farther details you may require; and I beg leave to recommend him to your protection.—I have the honor to be, &c.

“WELLINGTON.”

On the 4th of February, the fortress of Peniscola was taken by the French. This fortress is situated on a rock insulated by the sea, near the great road, one league from Benecarlos, and is only connected with the continent by a tongue of sand, thirty toises in breadth and sixty in length. An old castle of the Templers, built on the summit, is surrounded by the town, containing 2,000 inhabitants, and with a fortification of sufficient extent, guarded by several ranges of batteries. A garrison of 1,000 men defended the place, under the orders of Brigadier Garcio Navarro, a man of rank, who was taken prisoner in 1811, at Falcet, and made his escape. Five English vessels cruised on the coast, and communicated with the place, which thus received continual succour from without.

Some time after the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington laid siege to Badajoz. On the 25th of March he opened batteries on an outwork of that fortress called La Picuina, which he took by storm on the 26th. At length, on the 6th of April, Badajoz was taken by storm.

On the night of the storming of Bajadoz, which was not in the possession of the English till after six hours hard fighting, a letter from an officer stated that the carnage was horrible to the last degree. The French had employed every imaginable contrivance for repelling the assault. From the peculiar situation of the place it was necessary to scale, although a large breach was effected: the enemy threw down the ladders as fast as they were reared, and thus precipitated whole companies into the fosse. When at last the English established themselves on the walls and leaped down, they fell on *chevaux de frize* formed of old swords ground to the utmost sharpness. There were trenches and breastworks across the streets, and these also undermined ready for blowing up.

It must be confessed, that this conquest was dearly purchased, 1,035 men having been killed, and 4,822 wounded, and the majority severely. The following was Lord Wellington’s account?

“The fire continued during the 4th and 5th against the face of the bastion of La Trinidad, and the flank of the bastion of Santa Maria; and on the 4th, in the morning, we opened another battery of six guns, in the second parallel, against the shoulder of the ravelin of St Roque, and the wall in its gorge.

“Practicable breaches were effected in the

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bastions above-mentioned, in the evening of the 5th; but as I had observed that the enemy had entrenched the bastion of La Trinidad, and the most formidable preparations were making for the defence as well of the breach in that bastion, as of that in the bastion of Santa Maria, I determined to delay the attack for another day, and to turn all the guns in the batteries in the second parallel on the curtain of La Trinidad, in hopes that by effecting a third breach, the troops would be enabled to turn the enemy's works for the defence of the other two, the attack of which would besides be connected by the troops destined to attack the breach in the curtain.

"This breach was effected in the evening of the 6th, and the fire of the face of the bastion of Santa Maria, and of the flank of the bastion of La Trinidad being overcome, I determined to attack the place that night.

"I had kept in reserve, in the neighbourhood of this camp, the 5th division, under Lieutenant-general Leith, which had left Castile only in the middle of March, and had but lately arrived in this part of the country, and I brought them up on that evening.

"The plan for the attack was, that Lieutenant-general Picton should attack the castle of Badajoz by escalade with the third division; and a detachment from the guard in the trenches, furnished that evening by the 4th division, under Major Wilson of the 48th regiment, should attack the ravelin of St. Roque upon his left; while the 4th division, under the Honorable Major-general Colville, and the light division, under Lieutenant-colonel Barnard, should attack the breaches in the bastions of La Trinidad and of Santa Maria, and in the curtain by which they are connected. The 5th division were to occupy the ground which the 4th and light divisions had occupied during the siege; and Lieutenant-general Leith was to make a false attack upon the outwork called Pardeleras, and another on the works of the fort towards the Guadiana, with the left brigade of the division, under Major-general Walker, which he was to turn into a real attack, if circumstances should prove favorable; and Brigadier-general Power, who invested the place with his Portuguese brigade on the right of the Guadiana, was directed to make false attacks on the *tête-du-pont*, the fort St. Christoval, and the new redoubt called Monceur.

"The attack was accordingly made at ten at night. Lieutenant-general Picton preceding, by a few minutes, the attack by the remainder of the troops.

"Major-general Kempt led this attack, which went out from the right of the first parallel; he was unfortunately wounded in crossing the river Rivellas below the inundation; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and the obstinate resistance

of the enemy, the castle was carried by escalade, and the 3d division established in it at about half-past eleven.

"While this was going on, Major Wilson, of the 48th regiment, carried the ravelin of St. Roque by the gorge, with a detachment of 200 men of the guard in the trenches, and, with the assistance of Major Squire, of the engineers, established himself within that work.

"The 4th and light divisions moved to the attack from the camp along the left of the river Rivellas and of the inundation. They were not perceived by the enemy till they reached the covered-way, and the advanced-guards of the two divisions descended, without difficulty, into the ditch, protected by the fire of the parties stationed on the glacis for that purpose; and they advanced to the assault of the breaches, led by their gallant officers, with the utmost intrepidity: but such was the nature of the obstacles prepared by the enemy at the top and behind the breaches, and so determined their resistance, that our troops could not establish themselves within the place. Many brave officers and soldiers were killed or wounded by explosions at the top of the breaches; others who succeeded to them were obliged to give way, having found it impossible to penetrate the obstacles which the enemy had prepared to impede their progress. These attempts were repeated till after twelve at night, when, finding that success was not to be attained, and that Lieutenant-general Picton was established in the castle, I ordered that the 4th and light divisions might retire to the ground on which they had first assembled for the attack.

"In the mean time, Major-general Leith had pushed forward Major-general Walker's brigade on the left, supported by the 38th regiment under Lieutenant-colonel Nugent, and the 15th Portuguese regiment under Lieutenant-colonel De Regoa; and he had made a false attack upon the Pardeleras with the 8th caçadores, under Major Hill. Major-general Walker forced the barrier on the road of Olivença, and entered the covered-way on the left of the bastion of St. Vicente, close to the Guadiana. He there descended into the ditch, and escaladed the face of the bastion of St. Vicente.

"Lieutenant-general Leith supported this attack by the 38th regiment, and the 15th Portuguese regiment; and our troops being thus established in the castle, which commands all the works of the town, and in the town; and the 4th and light divisions being formed again for the attack of the breaches, all resistance ceased; and at day-light in the morning, the governor, General Philipon, who had retired to Fort St. Christoval, surrendered, together with General Vellande, and all the staff, and the whole garrison."

While Lord Wellington was employed in the

siege of Badajoz, the French were by no means inactive; they made a very considerable diversion on the northern bank of the Tagus, which, though not successful in the relief of Badajoz, its original intent, was yet productive of very injurious consequences. Marmont overrun an immense range of country, even to the vicinity of Abrantes. In this excursion the plunder he acquired was considerable, but the property he destroyed was much greater. On the south of the Tagus, however, the British arms were crowned with success. The cavalry of Soult, with a similar view to that of Marmont, had advanced as far as Villa Franca, where they were overtaken and defeated by Sir Stapylton Cotton, April 11. During the action the enemy's loss was very considerable, and about 150 prisoners, including a lieutenant-colonel, two captains, and one lieutenant, with about 130 horses, were brought off the field.

April 27, a vote of thanks to the Earl of Wellington, for the capture of Badajoz, was unanimously carried in both houses of parliament. Thanks were also unanimously voted to General Beresford and the other generals of Lord Wellington's army, and to the officers of engineers, and the officers of artillery, British and Portuguese, for the professional ability displayed by them.

On the 19th of May, General Sir Rowland Hill obtained a victory over the French at Almaraz, in which the enemy had about 100 killed and 300 taken prisoners. The loss on the part of the English was one captain, one lieutenant, one serjeant, thirty rank and file killed; two captains, six lieutenants, five ensigns, ten serjeants, one drummer, and 120 rank and file wounded. The following is an extract of General Hill's letter to Lord Wellington on this occasion, dated Truxillo, May 21.

"My Lord,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that your instructions, relative to the capture and destruction of the enemy's works at Almaraz, have been most fully carried into effect by a detachment of troops under my orders, which marched from Almendralejo on the 12th instant.

"The bridge was protected by strong works thrown up by the French on both sides of the river, and further covered on the southern side by the castle and redoubts of Mirabete, about a league off, commanding the pass of that name, through which runs the road to Madrid, being the only one passable for carriages of any description by which the bridge can be approached.

"The works on the left bank of the river were a *tête-du-pont*, built of masonry, and strongly entrenched, and on the high ground above it, a large and well-constructed fort called Napoleon, with an inferior entrenchment, and loop-holed tower in its centre. This fort contained nine pieces of cannon, with a garrison of between 4 and

500 men. There being also on the opposite side of the river, on a height immediately above the bridge, a very complete fort recently constructed, which flanked and added much to its defence.

"On the morning of the 16th, the troops reached Jeraicejo, and the same evening marched in three columns: the left column, commanded by Lieutenant-general Chowne (28th and 34th regiments, under Colonel Wilson, and the 6th Portuguese caçadores) towards the castle of Mirabete; the right column, under Major-general Howard, (30th, 71st, and 92d regiments) which I accompanied myself to a pass in the mountains, through which a most difficult and circuitous foot-path leads by the village of Romangordo to the bridge; the centre-column, under Major-general Long, (6th and 18th Portuguese infantry, under Colonel Ashworth, and 13th light dragoons, with the artillery) advanced upon the high-road to the pass of Mirabete.

"The two flank-columns were provided with ladders, and it was intended that either of them should proceed to escalade the forts against which they were directed, had circumstances proved favorable; the difficulties, however, which each had to encounter on its march were such, that it was impossible for them to reach their respective points before day-break; I judged it best, therefore, as there was no longer a possibility of surprise, to defer the attack, until we should be better acquainted with the nature and position of the works, and the troops bivouacked on the Leiza.

"I determined on endeavouring to penetrate to the bridge by the mountain path, leading through the village of Romangordo, although by that means I should be deprived of the use of my artillery.

"On the evening of the 18th I moved with Major-general Howard's brigade, and the 6th Portuguese regiment, for the operation, provided with scaling-ladders, &c. Although the distance marched did not exceed five or six miles, the difficulties of the road were such, that with the united exertions of officers and men, the column could not be formed for the attack before daylight. Confiding, however, in the valour of the troops, I ordered the immediate assault of Fort Napoleon. My confidence was fully justified by the event.

"The 1st battalion of the 50th, and one wing of the 71st regiment, regardless of the enemy's artillery and musketry, escaladed the work in three places nearly at the same time. The enemy seemed, at first, determined, and his fire was destructive; but the ardour of our troops was irresistible, and the garrison was driven at the point of the bayonet, through the several entrenchments of the fort and *tête-du-pont*, across the bridge, which having been cut by those on the opposite side of the river, many leaped into the river and thus perished.

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"The impression made upon the enemy's troops was such, that panic soon communicated itself to those on the right bank of the river, and Fort Ragusa was instantly abandoned, the garrison flying in the greatest confusion towards Naval Moral.

"I cannot sufficiently praise the conduct of the 50th and 71st regiments, to whom the assault fell. The cool and steady manner in which they formed and advanced, and the intrepidity with which they mounted the ladders, and carried the place, was worthy of those distinguished corps, and the officers who led them.

"Could the attack have been made before day, the 92d regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Cameron, and the remainder of the 71st regiment, under the Honorable Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan, were to have escalated the *tête-du-pont*, and effected the destruction of the bridge, at the same time that the attack was made on Fort Napoleon. The impossibility of advancing deprived them of this opportunity of distinguishing themselves, but the share which they had in the operation, and the zeal which they displayed, entitles them to my warmest commendation, and I cannot avoid to mention the steadiness and good discipline of the 6th Portuguese infantry, and two companies of the 60th regiment, under Colonel Ashworth, which formed the reserve to this attack.

"Our operations in this quarter were much favored by a diversion made by Lieutenant-general Chowne, with the troops under his orders, against the Castle of Mirabete, which succeeded in inducing the enemy to believe that we should not attack the forts near the bridge, until we had forced the pass, and thus have made way for our artillery. The lieutenant-general conducted this operation, as well as his former advance, entirely to my satisfaction. I regret much that the peculiar situation of Mirabete should have prevented my allowing the gallant corps under his orders to follow up an operation which they had commenced with much spirit, and were so anxious to complete.

"I cannot too strongly express how much I am satisfied with the conduct of Major-general Howard through the whole of this operation, the most arduous part of which has fallen to his share; and particularly of the manner in which he led his brigade to the assault. He was ably assisted by his staff Brigade-major Wemyss, of the 50th, and Lieutenant Battersby, of the 23d light dragoons.

"To Major-general Long I am also indebted for his assistance, although his column was not immediately engaged.

"Lieutenant-colonel Stewart and Major Harrison, of the 50th, and Major Cother, of the 71st, commanded the three attacks, and led them in a most gallant and spirited manner.

"I have received the greatest assistance from Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, of the royal artillery, whom, with a brigade of twenty 4-pounders, a company of British, and one of Portuguese artillery, your lordship was pleased to put under my orders. Circumstances did not permit his guns being brought into play; but his exertions, and those of his officers and men during the attack and destruction of the place, were unwearied. In the latter service Lieutenant Thiele, of the royal German artillery, was blown up; and we have to regret in him a most gallant officer; he had particularly distinguished himself in the assault. Lieutenant Wright, of the royal engineers, has also rendered me very essential service; he is a most intelligent, gallant, and meritorious officer; and I must not omit also to mention Lieutenant Hillier, of the 29th regiment, whose knowledge of this part of the country proved of great assistance.

"Almarez has been considered by the enemy in the light of a most important station; and I am happy to state that its destruction has been most complete. The towers of masonry which were in forts Napoleon and Ragusa have been entirely levelled; the ramparts of both in great measure destroyed; and the whole apparatus of the bridge, together with the work-shops, magazines, and every piece of timber which could be found, entirely destroyed.

"A colour, belonging to the fourth battalion of the corps étranger, was taken by the 71st regiment.

"Our loss has not been severe, considering the circumstances under which the attack was made. Captain Caudler, of the 50th regiment (the only officer killed in the assault) has, I am sorry to say, left a large family to deplore his loss. He was one of the first to mount the ladder, and fell upon the parapet, after giving a distinguished example to his men."

In consequence of the success of General Hill, Lord Wellington advanced towards Salamanca, which he reached on the 16th of June. The same night the French evacuated the town, leaving about 800 men in the fortifications which they had erected on the ruins of the colleges and convents which they had destroyed. The British entered the town on the 17th. While the French were in possession of Salamanca, they destroyed thirteen of twenty-five convents, and twenty-two out of twenty-five colleges, which existed in this celebrated seat of learning.

Major-general Slade had an action with his cavalry against that of the French under General L'Allemand. At first the British appeared to be successful, and the French retreated; but returning to the charge, they completely threw the English into confusion, and repulsed them. The loss on the part of the English was, two serjeants,

twenty rank and file killed; twenty-six rank and file wounded; two officers, ten serjeants, 106 rank and file missing; one officer's horse wounded; one missing; six troop-horses killed; fourteen wounded; 127 missing. Those missing were taken prisoners by the French.

Although Lord Wellington had entered Salamanca on the 17th of June, he did not obtain possession of the forts till the 27th. The loss of the allied army employed against Salamanca was, in killed, wounded, and missing, 509.

As the fall of Salamanca was a very serious issue in the fortune of the French on the Peninsula, Marmont, and the other French generals, spared no efforts to save it, and as far as was in their power, to awe the allied army from attempting the forts. It is not very often in the operations of the field, that one army will venture a siege or an assault upon fortified works, whilst the hostile army is immediately at hand,—in its flank or rear. Marmont, therefore, moved up to Salamanca, and took a position immediately opposite to the English and Portuguese army. After remaining a day and a night on the ground, the enemy commenced, as it were, an active operation, by seizing an important post; but Lord Wellington, upon his own part, immediately attacked them,—drove them in the instant from the post they had anticipated and occupied, and on the following day compelled them to depart even from their main position.

The next movement of Marmont was equally defeated by the skill and foresight of Lord Wellington. Marmont withdrew his army laterally, as it were, so as to throw his left wing upon a river, upon the other side of which were his own forts, so that his object, by these means, was to effect his communication with them without risking a battle with the allies—at least unless the allies should attack him. His left wing, therefore, was stationed at the ford of the above-mentioned river. Lord Wellington, however, here again saw his purpose, and again foiled him. By changing the front of his own army, he opposed its face immediately to the ford and to the possible passage of the river. The effect of this movement was directly to defeat the purposes of the French general, who made a futile attempt, and then, in despair, gave up all hopes of accomplishing the relief.

The affair of storming the forts was conducted on the part of his lordship and the British army with equal skill and valour. He gave an evidence of his prompt decision when he refused the offer of the capitulation of one of the principal of them, because he could see that the sole purpose of the offer was to gain some valuable time, during which the fire might be extinguished; and the condition of the enemy much improved. It was another act of promptitude, and of availing him-

self of circumstances, that having found that the governors of two of the forts were but subordinate officers, and could not act for themselves, however they might be inclined to capitulate, he ordered the fire to be directed upon the fort under the commander-in-chief of the station. This fire was successful, the chief governor surrendered, and the other minor forts fell of course.

The indefatigable and gallant leader Espoz y Mina, continued to harass the enemy in all directions—intercepting his convoys, cutting off his supplies, and making him feel, when least he expected it, the vengeance of his arm. In one affair he killed 700 French, wounded 500, released about 500 prisoners, who had been made in the late conflicts with Ballasteros, and took a large quantity of ammunition and other necessities.

On the 22d of July, the French army, under the command of Marshal Marmont, was defeated by that of the allies, commanded by Lord Wellington, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, in the fields of Salamanca, after seven hours continued fighting, in which the infantry, as well as the cavalry and artillery of both nations, performed prodigies of valour. The French were successively dislodged from their advantageous positions, and lost all the artillery which they had placed there. Their loss in men was at first estimated at 10 or 12,000, and afterwards greater, an immense number having been taken prisoners. The enemy lost many eagles, almost all his baggage, and an immense quantity of military stores. The loss of the allies in killed, wounded, and missing, by the return made afterwards, was 5,879. General Marmont was wounded by a shell towards the close of the battle, near the right shoulder, and so badly, that he was forced to be carried off the field in a litter, by six grenadiers. At Penaranda his arm was amputated.

Dispatches were received from the Earl of Wellington, dated the 13th and 15th of August, which contained intelligence of the allied army having entered Madrid, after an inconsiderable resistance on the 12th. On the capture of Madrid the allies took 2,500 prisoners, 189 pieces of cannon, 900 barrels of powder, 23,254 stand of arms, and great magazines of clothing, provisions, and ammunition.

Whilst his lordship was at Madrid, the French employed their time to the best advantage. Marmont departed for France, and General Clausel took the command of the army of Portugal. Behind the fortifications of Burgos, he employed the time in repairing the ruin and dilapidation consequent upon a defeat. He sent out his subdivisions to collect in his garrisons on the line of the Douro, and at Astorga; and though Astorga was lost before he reached it, he added very considerable reinforcements to himself from those of Toro and Zamora. He received, moreover,

another very considerable addition from the French Pyrenean frontier, and a still stronger one from General Caffarelli, the commander of the army of the north. This latter general now collected all his forces from Biscay and Galicia; and by his station became in fact the rear and component part of the army of Portugal. General Clausel or Sanham's army thus became nearly 35,000 efficient men, and, above all, possessed a most efficient cavalry.

Being informed of this state of things, Lord Wellington deemed it necessary to re-advance. He accordingly collected his forces at Arevalo, thence marched to the Douro, crossed it, and came in front of the enemy, who had re-advanced to Valladolid. As it was his lordship's purpose to pursue them to the Ebro, and thence, if possible, to the Pyrenean frontier, he followed them from Valladolid to Burgos, where he arrived on the 19th of September.

Lord Wellington had for some time laid siege to Burgos, but had hitherto been able to make but little progress, for want of a sufficient quantity of battering-cannon. He lost, during the siege, a great number of men. He had sprung several mines, but was repulsed with loss in every attempt. At length, on the 18th of October, the mine which he had prepared was sprung at seven in the morning; but the French had been employed in countermining it, and their mine exploded at the same time. The British troops immediately stormed the castle but without success; losing in this attempt upwards of 100 men killed, and a great many more wounded. So much time having been lost by Lord Wellington before this well-defended fortress, Marshal Soult and King Joseph seized the opportunity of advancing in great force towards Madrid. Fearing, therefore, that the British were not secure in the possession of the capital, Lord Wellington determined to raise the siege of Burgos, and advance to the relief of Madrid. His lordship consequently raised the siege of the castle of Burgos on the 21st of October, leaving the rear-guard of his army, under Sir Edward Paget, but without the least hope of his being successful. Lord Wellington, however, found it prudent to abandon Madrid, and continue his retreat to Portugal, for it would have been the height of madness to have risked a battle with the French forces for the salvation of the capital. Lord Wellington, when joined by General Hill, had about 50,000 effective men; but Marmont's army, consisting of nearly 40,000 men, was expected shortly to join Marshal Soult's, which amounted to between 50 and 60,000.

On the 24th of October, General Ballasteros addressed the following letter to the minister of war:

"Excellent Sir,—From the time of the surrender of Barcelona, Figueras, Pampeluna, and

San Sebastian, at which epoch I was at Madrid, I began to omit no means to bring about the revolution, maintaining a communication with various provinces of Spain, and acting with an energy surpassed by none. I flatter myself that no person contributed more than I did to the success of the 2d of May, from which has resulted our present situation. The motive which animated me to act thus, was a knowledge that it was the general wish of the nation to be informed for what purpose the surrender of those fortresses was intended, notwithstanding the political manner in which they were given up.

"From that epoch I have not quitted my arms, but resisted, to the honor of my country, the attempts which have been made to injure her by a foreigner.

"Always inflexible in remaining only a Spaniard, my country has found me ready to support her under every circumstance, without regard to my fortune, which I have ever viewed, as your highness must admit, with the greatest indifference.

"I was surprised at learning that the English general, Lord Wellington, was appointed chief of the Spanish armies, by a resolution of the general Cortes. They who, to preserve the reputation of their country, lie buried in their graves—thousands upon thousands of our companions in arms—are observing our proceedings; and I should not consider myself as having been born in the kingdom of Arragon, if I did not submit to your excellency, for the information of government, that I cannot condescend to a determination that tarnishes the honor of the Spanish name, degrading the chiefs who are at their head; supposing that they do not perceive the certain superiority to which this measure must lead, particularly keeping in view the events of Barcelona, Figueras, &c. which I have already mentioned, and which took place with a nation with whom we were connected by the ties of friendship and good understanding, and of whose bad faith, and fair promises, no person can give a more satisfactory account than the Duke del Infantado, president of the regency.

"I have received an account of this event, and, in consequence, an order to move my army; an order which compromises the honor of all the individuals belonging to it, either in the capacity of citizens or military men. I cannot hide this from them, without usurping the rights which belong to them, in the event of acknowledging Lord Wellington general-in-chief of the Spanish armies,—and as the point in question is of the utmost importance to the general good of the country, I wait the resolution of your highness for my ulterior determination.

"In the same order, your excellency informs me, that Lord Wellington returns thanks to the

generals of the nation, for the benefits, political and military, which they performed, to obtain the present results of the allied army. Then, to whom is to be confided the command of the armed force of the nation? Is Spain to be considered as a little kingdom of Portugal? Is not the origin of our revolution, to our honor be it spoken, different from that of the Portuguese? Have we not the honor to belong to the greatest nation in the world? Have not our arms resounded in the four quarters of the world? Can we give the command of our army to a foreigner, whatever may be our political situation, without disgracing the nation?—No, Spain has still resources; her generals, chiefs, officers, and soldiers, still fortunately preserve the honor they inherited from their forefathers; and in the present war have convinced the English and French, that in battle they display equal valour and discipline to themselves, and that their chiefs know how to conduct them to victory.

“The fields of Baylen, Albuera, Saragossa, and Gerona, with many others, which I omit to state, because I would not be thought to boast of myself, are indelible testimonies of this truth; and the fourth army, which I command, may tell the nation that in these qualities they are not inferior to any soldiers in the world; and that without degradation they cannot descend to submit to obscure the glories they have acquired, and the extraordinary services they have performed, out of compliment to Lord Wellington, although they are always ready to act in combination with him.

“Lastly, I entreat your excellency to demand the opinion of the national armies and citizens; and if they agree to this nomination, I will resign my employments, and retire to my house; to convince, in this manner, all the world, that only honor, and the good of my country, lead me to this exposition, and no ambitious views, as to fortune, which malice may sometimes attribute to me, without respecting the notoriety of my patriotism, acquired by weight of constancy, and signal services.

“F. BALLASTEROS.

“Head-quarters, Grenada, Oct. 24.

“To his Excellency the Minister at War.”

The following was the reply of Don Francisco Ballasteros to the dispatch by which he received his dismissal from his command.

“Most excellent Sir,—This morning, while engaged in the ordinary dispatch of business, I received your excellency’s dispatch, discharging me from the command of the captainship-general of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, and of the fourth army; informing me, at the same time, that my troops had formed, and were marching in the direction of Alcala; I immediately mounted my horse to learn from what source proceeded a

measure so contrary to the spirit of the royal ordinances, and the discipline with which I have always endeavoured to improve the army, and of which I have given so many proofs. On going out of the village I met a piquet of the first battalion of royal guards, with advanced sentinels, and arms ready to give fire, and a number of peasants in front. I was surprised at this novelty, and asked the officer what it meant? He answered, as did the sentinels when they came up, that he had orders not to let me pass. A colonel then came, to whom I stated my displeasure at being treated in this manner, which I considered as disgraceful. The peasants now broke out into strong expressions calculated to make an impression on the soldiers, for whom they knew I had made so many sacrifices. I, however, silenced them, ordering them to retire. I then proceeded to my house, sensibly feeling a treatment which I believe was never experienced in the Spanish armies by the most criminal subaltern officer. In a short time, the same battalion appeared in front of my house, and a guard was placed at the door of it. The people, indignant at an act of this kind, made loud lamentations, fearing something might be intended against my person. The sentiments of affection expressed by these good Spaniards, made a greater impression on me than this military apparatus, which I did not conceive to correspond to the dignity of my station, nor is it possible to believe that it was by your excellency’s orders.

“From this moment, I had sentinels placed upon me, and received orders from Brigadier Virues, to set out early in the morning for my destination, Ceuta, which I shall comply with, leaving the chief of the staff to deliver up the army, than which I think there is not a better in Europe, that has been organized, regulated, equipped, instructed, and disciplined, in only one fortnight. But I cannot but represent to your highness, that if my services have merited any attention, I could wish that the destination of Ceuta might be changed to the Province of Estremadura, and, if possible, to Fregenal or its vicinity, as I find my health much broken; and in that country, notwithstanding my misfortunes, I could maintain myself with respect, and my existence would not be burthensome to my country. This is the manner in which I have been treated with respect to my person, but I have felt still more sensibly the attack made on my reputation in the annexed paper, which Virues has published. He supposes in it, that I have distressed the people of Grenada by levying contributions, which I never thought of, but which, on the contrary, I always opposed; though I asked money of the intendant, which, however, he refused except as a loan, which I was to repay from the first funds I obtained.

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"I shall proceed towards my destination; but if my indisposition increases, I shall halt at Coin, where your excellency may address to me your answer. God preserve your excellency many years.

"Grenada, Oct. 10. "F. BALLASTEROS."

The following is the paper alluded to:—

"Notice to the Public.—The regency of the kingdom has been pleased to discharge *Senor Don Francisco Ballasteros* from the command of

general-in-chief of the fourth army, and the captaincy-general of the four Kingdoms of Andalusia, and to nominate in his stead, *ad interim*, *Don Joaquin Virues*, brigadier of the royal armies. In consequence, the contribution ordered by him is suspended till corresponding orders are received from government. The public, therefore, are not required to make the several payments assigned to them.

"VIRUES.

"Grenada, Oct. 30."

CHAPTER XIII.

Murder of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons.—Apprehension of John Bellingham, the Assassin.—Consequent Proceedings.—Conduct of the Prisoner.—Life and Character of the Right Honorable Spencer Perceval.—Naval Affairs.

A MELANCHOLY affair happened at about a quarter-past five, Monday afternoon, May 11; which, for some days, interrupted the impending business of parliament. As the Right Honorable Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer, and first lord of the treasury, &c. &c. was entering the lobby of the house of commons, he was shot by a man who had placed himself for that purpose at the side of the door leading from the stone staircase. Mr. Perceval was in company with Lord F. Osborne, and immediately on receiving the ball, which entered the left breast, he staggered and fell at the feet of Mr. W. Smith, M. P. for Norwich, who was standing near the second pillar. The only words he uttered were—"Oh! I am murdered," and the latter was inarticulate, the sound dying between his lips. He was instantly taken up by Mr. Smith, who did not recognize him until he had looked in his face. The report of the pistol immediately drew great numbers to the spot, who assisted Mr. Smith in conveying the body of Mr. Perceval into the speaker's apartments, but before he reached them, all signs of life had departed. Mr. Perceval's corpse was placed upon a bed, and Mr. Lynn, of Great George-street, who had been sent for, arrived, but too late even to witness the last symptom of expiring existence. He found that the ball, which was of an unusually large size, had penetrated the heart near its centre, and had passed completely through it. From thence the body was removed to the speaker's drawing-room, by Mr. Lynn and several members, and it was laid on a sofa.

The horror and dismay occasioned by the assassination of Mr. Perceval, prevented any at-

tention from being paid to other persons; and it was not until the right hon. gentleman was raised from the floor, that a person belonging to the vote-office exclaimed, "Where is the rascal that fired?" When a person, who had been unobserved, stepped up to him, and coolly replied, "I am the unfortunate man!" He did not make any attempt to escape, though he had concealed the pistol by which he had perpetrated the horrid deed, but resigned himself quietly into the hands of some of the bye-standers. They placed him upon a bench near the fire-place, where they kept him, and all the doors were closed, and the egress of any person prevented. When the assassin was interrogated as to his motive for this dreadful act, he replied, "My name is Bellingham: it is a private injury—I know what I have done—it was a denial of justice on the part of government." At this time the prisoner was in no legal custody, but was surrounded by many members, who insisted that he should be taken into the body of the house. The criminal was, however, previously searched, to which he made no resistance; and upon his person were found a steel pistol, loaded, about seven inches in length (nearly like that with which he had effected his fatal purpose, which had been secured) with a short screw barrel, and a bundle of papers folded like letters. The pistol with which the act was perpetrated was a small pocket-pistol, about six inches long, the barrel rather better than two inches in length, with the cock on the top, and a stop to the trigger. The calibre was nearly half an inch in diameter, and the barrel very strong. The pistol taken from his breeches-pocket was primed and loaded with one ball.

Two messengers then conveyed the prisoner to the bar of the house of commons, where the utmost confusion and anxiety prevailed. Members rushed from the house, strangers from the gallery, and adjacent parts, and peers from the lords, who all came to the spot, filled with the utmost horror and dismay at an event so truly alarming. Great confusion consequently ensued; numbers pressed round the spot where the prisoner was held in custody; and the expression of indignation was so great, that it almost appeared as if summary justice would have been done upon the offender. The speaker having taken the chair, was unable, for some minutes, to control the general disorder and agitation that prevailed. A number of peers were also in the house, among whom were Lord Liverpool, Lord Spencer, Lord Radnor, &c. Many individuals, who had witnessed part of this transaction, were mingled with members at the bar of the house, presenting a scene altogether new and extraordinary. Some degree of calm having been at length obtained, the speaker suggested to the house the propriety of having the prisoner immediately taken from the bar to the prison-room, and to prevent the confusion which might be apprehended if he were taken through the ordinary passage, that he might be conducted through the private passages and side stairs. This proposition meeting the ideas of the members present, he expressed his opinion that it would be better for a select number of members to precede and accompany the serjeant and the prisoner to the room in question, and there to take the examination of all persons who could give any information touching the circumstances of the case. The strangers in the lobby and in the house were desired not to depart until they had given their evidence. All the doors leading to Westminster-hall, and elsewhere, were ordered to be locked, and the egress and ingress of all persons prevented. Immediately after the prisoner was removed, the house adjourned, without proceeding in any other business, as, in fact, the sensation was too great to admit the possibility of further attention.

The prisoner having been conducted up-stairs to the prison-room, was stripped of his coat, waistcoat, and neckcloth, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any offensive weapon was concealed about his person; nothing of the kind, however, was found. By direction of the members he was then pinioned by a messenger, belonging to the house, on each side, in which position he was held during the whole course of the examination.

Mr. Alderman Combe, as a magistrate, was called to the chair, to take the depositions of the various witnesses in attendance, a duty in which he was shortly after aided by Mr. M. A. Taylor, also a magistrate.

Witnesses were then examined and bound

over to give their evidence before the grand jury, and thereafter at the Old Bailey, against the prisoner "*For the wilful murder of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval*," the members of parliament in the sum of 200*l.* recognizance; Mr. Burgess, also in 200*l.*; Mr. Jordan in 100*l.*; and the other persons in 50*l.* each.

The examinations having been brought to a conclusion, the prisoner was asked what he had to say against the fact with which he was charged, and cautioned by Sir. J. C. Hippisley not to say any thing that would be injurious to himself. He spoke to the following effect: "I have admitted the fact—I admit the fact, but wish, with permission, to state something in my justification. I have been denied the redress of my grievances by government; I have been ill-treated. They all know who I am, and what I am, through the secretary of state and Mr. Becket, with whom I have had frequent communications. They knew of this fact six weeks ago, through the magistrates of Bow-street. I was accused most wrongfully by a governor-general in Russia, in a letter from Archangel to Riga, and have sought redress in vain. I am a most unfortunate man, and feel here (*placing his hand on his breast*) sufficient justification for what I have done."

Here Lord Castlereagh interfered, and informed the prisoner that he was not then called on for his defence, but merely to say what he had to urge in contradiction to the fact with which he was charged. Any thing he might feel desirous of stating in extenuation of his crime, he had better reserve for his trial.

The prisoner said, "Since it seems best to you that I should not now explain the causes of my conduct, I will leave it until the day of my trial, when my country will have an opportunity of judging whether I am right or wrong."

Upon being again questioned, he repeated, "*I admit the fact*;" which admission was accordingly entered upon the record. The Bow-street officers were called in, and the prisoner having been permitted to dress, was handcuffed. He applied for his money, which having been left in the possession of Mr. Burgess, who had withdrawn, Mr. Whitbread assured him he should have it returned to him in the morning. He also asked whether he should be allowed an attorney and counsel? when Mr. Whitbread signified to him that Mr. Combe would take care that every necessary indulgence should be allowed him, consistent with his situation. In no part of the proceeding did he betray extreme agitation; but, at the moment that one of the witnesses said, "I supported Mr. Perceval into the secretary's room, and in a few minutes he died in my arms," the prisoner shed tears, and seemed much affected.

After the examination, he was reconducted to the prison-room, where he found much fault with

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the officer, for having inquired from some female something relative to his private affairs. He calmly said, he knew the consequence of the act he had committed, which he did not consider of a private nature. On the officer's answering, that he had only spoken in general terms to the female, and she told him she had in her possession a memorandum of 20*l.* due by a Mr. Wilson to him; the prisoner, in a most unconcerned manner, replied, he knew what it was; it was a bill that he expected would have been paid next day, at half-past nine o'clock. He did not talk at all incoherently, except on the subject of assassination: respecting that deed, he said, that he expected to be brought before a tribunal where ample justice would be done to him; and that he expected to be liberated, and ultimately to have his claims satisfied.

He was conveyed to the secretary of state's office for the home department, where he was placed in a room, in which he walked nearly the whole time.

On the breaking up of the council, he was sent to Newgate. His commitment was signed by Michael Angelo Taylor, Esq. M. P. who accompanied him in the coach to Newgate, where he was doubly ironed.

The body of Mr. Perceval was removed from the speaker's house the same night, to his own in Downing-street; and the next morning, at 11 o'clock, a most respectable jury was summoned to attend A. Gell, Esq. coroner for Westminster, at the sign of the Rose and Crown, in Downing-street. After taking a view of the body, and examining witnesses, a verdict of wilful murder was found against John Bellingham, *alias* Bellingham.

In the mean time, the Earl of Radnor, after a few words in the house of lords, moved an address to his royal highness the prince-regent, on the melancholy and afflicting occasion, the purport of which was, to express the feeling of regret and abhorrence entertained by the house at the melancholy circumstance attending the death of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council: requesting that information might be laid before the house respecting the same; and praying that measures might be taken by his royal highness for bringing the offender or offenders to condign and exemplary punishment.

The address being unanimously voted; it was ordered to be presented forthwith, by a committee of lords specially appointed. On the following day (May 12) the Duke of York rose, and stated, that he had in his hand the answer of the prince-regent to the address of the house, respecting the assassination of Mr. Perceval, which, with their lordship's permission, he would deliver at the table.

The answer was given in and read by the clerk. It contained only a few words, which were merely an echo to the address,—“That his royal highness the prince-regent participated in the sentiments of horror felt by their lordships at the atrocious murder of Mr. Perceval, and would take the requisite measures to bring the perpetrator to justice.”

The bill of indictment against Bellingham was found, May 14, at the Sessions-house, Clerkenwell. His trial came on the next morning (Friday) at the Old Bailey, and the court was crowded to an excess.—The counsel retained for the crown were the attorney-general, Messrs. Garrow, Knapp, Gurney, and Abbott.—For the prisoner, Messrs. Alley and Reynolds. So great was the press, that a number of eminent persons of both houses of parliament were compelled to intermix indiscriminately with the multitude in the body of the court and the ordinary galleries.

When the prisoner was called upon to plead, his counsel stated, that he had no right, being insane. Two affidavits were read to that effect; and application was made to put off the trial; but the attorney-general contended, that this was a contrivance merely to impose on the court and prevent justice. He put it to the court, that the prisoner had been four months in town, transacting every species of business, and he did not call any of those to shew, that he was in that deranged state of mind they would describe.

The court then consulted for a short time, and Sir James Mansfield pronounced judgment of the court respecting the application, and said, that the affidavits were not sufficient to induce them to put off the trial.

He was then arraigned, and Mr. Abbott opened the pleadings.

The attorney-general, in his address to the jury, noticed the manner in which the prisoner conducted himself, to shew that he was always *compos mentis*, and completely so at the time he committed the foul murder.

The assassination of Mr. Perceval having been proved by several witnesses, the prisoner was called upon for his defence; when, at his request, the papers taken from his person were delivered to him, and he proceeded to address the jury in a speech of above an hour's continuance, interspersed with the reading of those several documents and with his own comments. He expressed his thanks to the king's attorney-general for the resistance he opposed to the defence set up by his counsel, which went to prove that he was insane; because, if it had succeeded, it would not have answered the purpose of his justification. As to the lamentable catastrophe for which he was now on his trial before that court, no man could lament the sad event with deeper sorrow than he did—not even the family and nearest

friends of the unfortunate Mr. Perceval. He disclaimed, in the most solemn manner, any motive of personal or premeditated malice towards that gentleman in particular; and could only state, the unfortunate lot had fallen upon him as a leading member of that administration, which had repeatedly refused him any reparation for the unparalleled injuries he had sustained in Russia. He then entered into a detail of the injuries he had suffered. He was, he said, a person engaged in mercantile concerns at Liverpool, and in a prosperous situation; that in the year 1804 he went to Russia, on some mercantile business of importance to himself; and having finished that business he was about to take his departure from Archangel for England. At that time a ship, called the *Soleure*, was lost in the White Sea. She was chartered for England, and, by the direction of her owners, insured at Lloyd's coffee-house; but the underwriters at Lloyd's refused to pay the owners for their loss; and in consequence of some circumstances connected with this refusal, and the loss of this ship, with neither of which he had any concern whatever, he was seized in his carriage as he was passing the Russian frontier, by order of the military governor at Archangel, and thrown into prison.—He immediately applied to the British consul at Archangel, and through him to the British ambassador, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, then at the Russian court, stating his case. Lord G. L. Gower wrote to the military governor of Archangel, desiring, that if he, the prisoner, was not detained for any legal cause, he might be immediately liberated as a British subject; but the governor answered, that he, the prisoner, was detained in prison for a legal cause, and that he had conducted himself in a very indecorous manner. From this time Lord G. L. Gower, and the British consul, positively declined any farther interference in the business; and he, the prisoner, was detained in durance for near two years, in spite of all his endeavours to induce the British minister to interfere with the Emperor of Russia, for the investigation of his case. At length, however, after being bandied from prison to prison and from dungeon to dungeon, fed on bread and water, treated with the utmost cruelty, and frequently marched through the streets under a military guard, with felons and criminals of the most atrocious description, even before the residence of the British minister, who might view from his window this degrading severity towards a British subject who had committed no crime, to the disgrace and insult of the British nation; he was afterwards enabled to make his case known through the procureur; it was investigated, and he obtained a judgment against the military governor and the senate. Notwithstanding this decision, he was immediately sent to another prison, and a demand

was made on him for 2,000 roubles, alleged to be due by him to a Russian merchant, who was a bankrupt. He refused to pay this demand for a debt which he did not owe; and the senate, finding him determined to resist the demand, he was declared a bankrupt, and continued in prison under the pretence, that having been applied to for the payment of this demand, he had made answer that he could not pay it, because all his property was in England, no such answer having ever been given by him. Under this pretence he was detained in prison. When the Marquis of Douglas arrived in Russia, he made his case known to him; and said he only wished it to be shewn, that the money was justly due, and he would pay it. The Marquis of Douglas made a representation, and stated, it was only desired, that the justice of the claim should be shewn, and the money should be paid. This application, however, was ineffectual, and he was still required to pay the 2,000 roubles, or even 20 roubles, to acknowledge, in some degree, the justice of the demand. All this while his wife, a young woman of only twenty years of age, with an infant at her breast, remained at St. Petersburg, in expectation of his arrival; and at length, in the eighth month of her pregnancy, disappointed of her hopes, was obliged to set out, unprotected, on her voyage for England. At last, after a series of six years persecution in the manner he had described, the senate, quite tired out by these severities, in 1809 he received, at midnight, a discharge from his confinement, and an order to quit the Russian dominions; with a pass, which was in fact an acknowledgment of the justice of his cause.

On his return to England he laid a statement of his grievances before the Marquis Wellesley, accompanied by authentic documents, and claiming some redress for the injuries he had sustained through the conduct of the British minister in Russia; which injuries it was impossible he should have suffered, if they had not been countenanced and sanctioned by that minister. The noble marquis was then in court, and could contradict his statement if it was false. He represented the circumstances as they really were; and not as personally concerning himself, but as involving the honor of the British government. He was referred by the noble marquis to the privy-council, and from the privy-council to the treasury; and thus bandied from one department to another, he applied to Mr. Perceval, who refused to support his claims. He was next advised to petition parliament; but then he was informed it was necessary to have the sanction of his majesty's ministers, as his claim was of a pecuniary nature; and he accordingly wrote to Mr. Perceval during the session of 1811, but he received for answer from his secretary, that the time for presenting

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private petitions to parliament was gone by, and that Mr. Perceval could not encourage his hopes, that he would recommend his claims to the house of commons. He next memorialised his royal highness the prince-regent, in a statement of his sufferings; some time afterwards, he received an answer from Colonel M'Mahon, stating, that by some accident his petition was mislaid. He then wrote another petition to his royal highness, and he understood it was referred to the treasury, as appeared by a letter to him from Mr. Secretary Ryder, dated Whitehall, on the very day his royal highness came to unrestricted power; but at the treasury he was afterwards told that nothing could be done, and that he had nothing to expect. He wrote another memorial to the prince-regent, but was informed by a letter from Mr. Ryder, that his royal highness had not been pleased to give any commands on the subject. Foiled in all his attempts to obtain justice, he applied, about six weeks since, to the magistrates at Bow-street, in a letter, stating his grievances, 'intreating their interference by application to government', and adding, that if all redress was refused him, he must be obliged to do himself justice by taking such steps as those must be responsible for who resisted all his applications. He received an answer in few lines from Mr. Justice Read, saying, that the office could not interfere: but he found that Mr. Read, as was his duty, had represented the circumstance to government; and on a subsequent application to the treasury, he was informed there, that he had nothing to expect, and that he was at liberty to take such steps as he thought fit. Finding himself thus bereft of all hopes of redress; his affairs ruined by his long imprisonment in Russia, through the fault of the British minister; his property all dispersed for want of his own attention; his family driven into tribulation and want; his wife and children claiming support, which he was unable to give them; himself involved in difficulties, and pressed on all sides by claims he could not answer; and that justice refused to him which it was the duty of government to give, not as a matter of favor but of right; and Mr. Perceval obstinately refusing to sanction his claims in parliament, he was driven to despair, and under these agonizing feelings was impelled to that desperate alternative which he had unfortunately adopted, and for which the last answer of the government had given him a *carte blanche*.

Lord G. L. Gower was then in the court, and he called on him to contradict, if he could, the statement he had made. Mr. Perceval had unfortunately fallen the victim of his desperate resolution. No man lamented more sincerely than he did the calamitous event. He could never reflect on it without being ready to burst into tears.

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If he had met Lord Gower, in the desperate resolution he had taken, he (Lord G.) should have received the ball—and not Mr. Perceval. He disclaimed most solemnly all personal or premeditated malice against Mr. Perceval.

In the conclusion of his address, Bellingham became very animated and energetic:

"It is a melancholy fact," said he, "that the warping of justice, including all the various ramifications in which it operates, occasions more misery in the world, in a moral sense, than all the acts of God in a physical one, with which he punishes mankind for their transgressions; a confirmation of which, the single, but strong instance before you, is one remarkable proof."

"If a poor unfortunate man stops another upon the highway, and robs him of but a few shillings, he may be called upon to forfeit his life. But I have been robbed of my liberty for years, ill-treated beyond precedent, torn from my wife and family, bereaved of all my property to make good the consequences of such irregularities; deprived and bereaved of every thing that makes life valuable, and then called upon to forfeit it, because Mr. Perceval has been pleased to patronize iniquity that ought to have been punished, for the sake of a vote or two in the house of commons, with, perhaps, a similar good turn elsewhere."

"Is there, gentlemen, any comparison between the enormity of these two offenders? No more than a mite to a mountain. Yet the one is carried to the gallows, while the other stalks in security, fancying himself beyond the reach of law or justice: the most honest man suffers, while the other goes forward in triumph to new and more extended enormities."

"Every man within the sound of my voice must feel for my situation; but by you, gentlemen of the jury, it must be felt in a peculiar degree, who are husbands and fathers, and can fancy yourselves in my situation. I trust that this serious lesson will operate as a warning to all future ministers, and lead them to do the thing that is right, as an unerring rule of conduct; for, if the superior classes were more correct in their proceedings, the extensive ramifications of evil would, in a great measure, be hemmed up—and a notable proof of the fact is, that this court would never have been troubled with the case before it, had their conduct been guided by these principles."

"I have now occupied the attention of the court for a period much longer than I intended; yet, I trust, they will consider the awfulness of my situation to be a sufficient ground for a trespass, which, under other circumstances, would be inexcusable. Sooner than suffer what I have suffered for the last eight years, I should, however, consider 500 deaths, if it were possible for human nature to endure them, a fate far more preferable."

Lost so long to all the endearments of my family, bereaved of all the blessings of life, and deprived of its greatest sweet, liberty; as the weary traveller, who has long been pelted by the pitiless storm, welcomes the much-desired inn, I shall receive death as the relief of all my sorrows. I shall not occupy your attention longer, but relying on the justice of God, and submitting myself to the dictates of your conscience, I submit to the fiat of my fate, firmly anticipating an acquittal from a charge so abhorrent to every feeling of my soul."

Three witnesses were called to prove the prisoner insane, his father having died in a state of insanity. Sir James Mansfield then succinctly recapitulated the circumstances, and remarked, that the plea of insanity could not be of any avail in such a case, unless it could be proved that the prisoner, at the time he committed the act, was so far deranged in his mind, as not to be capable of judging between right and wrong.

The Jury, after retiring a short time, returned their verdict—Guilty. And the recorder, after a solemn and impressive address, pronounced the awful sentence.

On the morning appointed for Bellingham's execution, May 17, at seven o'clock, about twenty gentlemen, chiefly men of rank, assembled in the lord-mayor's parlour at the sessions-house. In about half-an-hour the lord-mayor and sheriffs arrived in full dress suits of black. It rained hard. When the prisoner appeared, he looked about him with a quick and sharp manner, and observed, "It is a very wet morning." He seemed as calm, collected, and firm, as any of the spectators, quite attentive to what was going forward without the least confusion. He was dressed in a brown great-coat, buttoned half way up; a blue-and-buff striped waistcoat, clay-coloured pantaloons, white stockings, and shoes. He kept on his round hat, and looked a little flushed in the face.

He did not struggle at first, and but very little afterwards. It was asserted in a morning paper, that after his body was opened, *his heart continued to perform its functions*, or in other words, *to be alive for four hours after he was laid open*. He was a tall, large-boned man, about forty years of age, with a thin, long visage, and aquiline nose.

A handsome provision was made by parliament for Mrs. Perceval and her children, immediately after this extraordinary assassination. The Right Honorable Spencer Perceval was descended from a very ancient family. He was second son of the Earl of Egremont, of the kingdom of Ireland, and Baron Lovel and Holland in England, by Catharine Compton, (this lady, on the 19th of May, 1770, was created a peeress of Ireland, by the style of Lady Arden, Baroness Arden, of

Lohart Castle, in the county of Cork, &c. to herself, and her heirs male; and who was succeeded by her eldest son, who, in 1802, was created a peer of England,) sister to Lord Northampton, was born at his father's house in Audley-square, November 1, 1762. He was named after his uncle Spencer, Earl of Northampton, and was brought up at Charlton in Kent, where his father had a house. At a proper age he was removed to Harrow school, whence he repaired to Trinity College, Cambridge. He obtained the degree of M. A. which shortened the road to the bar, for thither he was hastening, having been entered of Lincoln's Inn, of which he was then a bencher. He commenced his career by accompanying the judges through the midland circuit. On this circuit he was opposed to Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, and first distinguished himself on the trial of George Thomas, of Brackley, in Northamptonshire, for forgery, against whom he was retained as counsel. Mr. Law, now chief-justice, was on the other side. At this period he had chambers in Lincoln's Inn, together with a house in Bedford-street, opposite Bedford-row, whence his family removed to Hampstead. His practice was never very extensive in Westminster Hall, though great on the circuit. He began in the King's Bench, and then removed to the Court of Chancery. He was, however, considered as a rising man, and this was soon rendered evident, for he was appointed counsel to the Admiralty, and in 1799 he obtained a silk gown, but without a patent of precedence. His own university also paid him a high compliment, by his nomination as one of its two counsel.

From this period, his professional preferments were rapid, for in 1801 he succeeded Sir William Grant as solicitor, and in 1802 became attorney-general, in the place of Sir Edward Law, (Lord Ellenborough;) the latter office he held until Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville came into power in 1806.

Mr. Perceval had paid, (August 10, 1790) his homage at the shrine of wedlock, with Miss Jane Wilson, the youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, of Charlton, in the county of Kent. (His brother, Lord Arden, in 1787 married Margaret Elizabeth Wilson, the elder daughter.) With this lady he had got acquainted early in life, by the country-seats of the two families happening to be in the same parish.

Meanwhile Mr. Perceval, partly propelled by his own ambition, and partly by the spirit of his original destination, had determined on a public parliamentary life. His first acquaintance, at least that intimacy between himself and Mr. Pitt which laid the basis of his advancement in the state, commenced from the circumstance of Mr. Perceval's publishing a pamphlet, which had for its object to prove, "That an impeachment by

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BOOK IX. the house of commons did not abate by a dissolution of parliament." It is said, that when Mr. Pitt became intimate with him, he prognosticated warmly of his future success: declaring, that his talents, stability of character, conduct, and promptitude, were such, as to qualify him for the leading situations in government.

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At length an event occurred, in consequence of which he himself had an opportunity of entering the political arena, and exhibiting his prowess in St. Stephen's chapel. In consequence of the demise of his maternal uncle, April 7, 1796, a vacancy for the representation of the borough of Northampton took place, as his first cousin, Lord Compton, by succeeding to the earldom, of course vacated his seat.

Mr. Perceval gave a brilliant example of his talents on his first entrance into the house of commons. His figure was, indeed, far from commanding, and his delivery wanted dignity. He spoke, however, with great ease and grace; and his clear and musical voice, joined to the benevolent softness and unaffected placidity of his manners, made a deep impression on the house. No man was heard with more favor; because no man was ever treated by him but with kindness and civility. His first speech was on the assessed tax-bill. He was well attended to by the house, and followed by Mr. Sheridan, who commented on, and answered several of the arguments; observing, at the same time, "that this was a speech of great talent, great ingenuity, and considerable force!"

From this period, Mr. Perceval paid a particular attention to matters of finance. He observed, in reply to some observations on the part of Mr. Tierney, "that tricking in love, and tricking the public, were both, in his opinion, unquestionably immoral."

Soon after, the subject of this memoir attained the first grand step in his profession, having been appointed solicitor-general at the age of thirty-nine. In 1802, he became attorney-general.—When Mr. Perceval was appointed solicitor-general, he went into the court of chancery, where his practice soon became considerable. He was principally opposed to Sir Samuel Romilly; and though he was inferior as a practical-lawyer, he excelled him greatly as a speaker, and made the best stand that was ever made against that popular advocate in the chancery-court. Mr. Pitt, when he again assumed the reins of power, continued Mr. Perceval in his office. In consequence of a second coalition, to the full as singular as the first, Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, by the death of Mr. Pitt, found themselves in possession of power. This administration, however, was not of long duration, for it continued only during a year, a week, and a day; at the expiration of which period Mr. Perceval obtained

a seat in the cabinet, and the office of chancellor of the exchequer; which office he held till the death of the Duke of Portland, in 1809, when he was appointed to succeed him as first lord of the treasury, and prime minister of the country. He was in the fiftieth year of his age when he was assassinated, his lady being then pregnant with her twentieth child.

The Right Hon. N. Vansittart succeeded Mr. Perceval as chancellor of the exchequer.

Several captures of French privateers were made this year; and some brilliant actions were fought by the British navy, as usual. The *Ame-thyst* frigate, of forty guns, having on board 400 men, and 300 troops, was captured by the *Southampton*, of thirty-two guns, Captain Sir J. Yeo, after an action of two hours: the former had 300 men killed (including the French captain) and wounded; the latter, only twelve men killed and wounded.

The *Victorious*, Captain Talbot, attacked a squadron in the Adriatic, and after a most gallant action (April 16), captured the *Rivoli*, a new 80-gun ship, and 862 men. The *Victorious* had only 506 men, sixty of whom were in the sick-list. The action was long and severe.

L'Arianne and *L'Andromache*, of 44 guns, and 450 men each, and the *Mameluke* brig, of 18 guns, and 150 men, were totally destroyed by the *Northumberland*, Captain Hotham, on the 22d of May.

The destruction of the French national store-ship, *La Dorade*, of 14 guns, and eighty-six men, was accomplished by the Hon. Captain Bouverie, of the *Medusa*. The ship was carried, after a desperate struggle: the whole of her crew, except twenty-three taken, being killed or drowned. The *Medusa* had none killed, and only five wounded.

Sir James Saumarez, in the *Dictator*, with the *Podargus*, *Calypso*, and *Flamer* gun-brig, attacked the Danish force, far superior in numbers, on the 6th and 7th of July, and took the *Nayaden*, of 48 guns, and 335 men; *Laaland*, of 20 guns, and 120 men; *Samsøe*, of 18 guns, and 120 men; and *Kiel*, of 18 guns, and 120 men. The *Nayaden*, *Laaden*, and *Samsøe*, were abandoned, being complete wrecks. Several gun-boats were sunk.

The privateer *La Ville de Caen*, was, after an action of an hour and a half, boarded in a most spirited manner, and taken by his majesty's schooner *Sealark*, Lieutenant Thomas Warraud.

Le Courier was taken by Captain Harper, of the *Saracen* sloop. The French captain, M. Juan, and two of the crew, were desperately wounded, before they surrendered. Other vessels, belonging to the French, were captured; and very few of the British lost: indeed, the latter suffered more by storms at this period than by the enemy.

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CHAPTER I.

Events which led to Hostilities between Russia and France.—Mutual Preparations for War.—Commencement of Hostilities.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1810, Russia altered her political system. Her ukase of December 19 destroyed the commercial relations of France with that empire, and admitted English commerce, contrary to treaty, into her ports; her armings, which commenced in 1811, threatened the invasion of the duchy of Warsaw; and, finally, the protest respecting Oldenburg annihilated the treaty of alliance between France and Russia. It no longer existed when on both sides armies were forming for reciprocal observation. The whole of the last mentioned year was spent by France in conference and negotiation with Russia, in the hope of withdrawing, if possible, the cabinet of Petersburg from the war, upon which it appeared to be resolved, and to obtain a knowledge of its real intentions. It was proved to the certainty of evidence, that that power proposed at the same time to depart from the conditions of the treaty of Tilsit, to place herself in peace with England, and to menace the existence of the duchy of Warsaw, making use of the pretexts of indemnities claimed for the Duke of Oldenburg.

In February, 1811, five divisions of the Russian army quitted the Danube by forced marches, and proceeded to Poland. By this movement Russia sacrificed Moldavia and Wallachia. When the Russian armies were united and formed, a protest against France appeared, which was transmitted to every cabinet. Russia by that announced, that she felt no wish even to save appearances; and all means of conciliation employed on the part of France were ineffectual.

Towards the close of that year, six months after it was manifest in France that all this could end only in war, preparations were made for it, and the consequent divisions of the French armies were, of course, more favorable to the Spanish cause. The garrison of Dantzic was increased to 20,000 men. Stores of every description were conveyed to that place; and considerable sums of money were placed at the dis-

posal of the department of engineers, for the augmentation of its fortifications. The French army was placed on the war establishment. The cavalry, the train artillery, and the military baggage train, were completed. In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Austria, by which the latter was to furnish 30,000 men; the preceding month a treaty had been concluded between France and Prussia.

The following ukase was published by the Russian government at this time:—

“By the grace of God, we, Alexander the first, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, &c.

“The present situation of Europe requires the adoption of firm and strong measures, as well as indefatigable vigilance and energetic exertions, so as to fortify our extensive empire, in the most formidable way possible, against all hostile enterprize. Our bold and courageous Russian nation has been accustomed to live in peace and harmony with all the surrounding nations; but, when storms have threatened our empire, patriots, of all ranks and stations, were ready to draw the sword for the defence of their religion and laws.

“Now there appears to be the most urgent necessity to increase the number of our troops by a new levy. Our strong forces are already at their posts, for the defence of the empire; their bravery and courage are known to all the world. The confidence of their emperor and government is with them. Their faith and love to their country will make them irresistible against a far superior force. With the same paternal care have we adopted all defensive measures to secure the safety and welfare of all and every one; and therefore order, 1st, To raise in the whole empire, from each 500 men, two recruits; 2dly, To commence in all our governments two weeks after the receipt of the ukase, and to be finished in the course of a month; 3dly, To conform to the regulations laid down, with respect to the levy of recruits, by an ukase presented to the senate, and

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BOOK X. dated September 16, 1811; 4thly, The recruits to be kept in the garrison towns, with the garrison and interior battalions, on the same footing as the recruits for provisionary depôts are kept and brought up.

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"The immediate fulfilment of this order, for raising of recruits during the period fixed, is entrusted to the senate.

"ALEXANDER.

"St. Petersburg, March 23, 1812."

Several applications had, at this period, been made to the Emperor Alexander, by the French government, to give Bonaparte an interview, which the former very wisely declined.

In April, the first corps of the French grand army marched for the Oder; the second corps to the Elbe; the third corps to the Lower Oder; the fourth corps set out from Verona, crossed the Tyrol, and proceeded to Silesia. The guards left Paris. On the 22d of April, the Emperor of Russia took the command of his army, quitted St. Petersburg, and moved his head-quarters to Wilna. On quitting St. Petersburg, the Emperor Alexander was hailed by the acclamations of the inhabitants of his capital. War with France was by no means unpopular in Russia, for it was generally looked upon as inevitable.

Some days before the emperor's departure, Lauriston endeavoured to detain him, pretending that the French troops had advanced towards the Russian frontiers without orders from Bonaparte; and adding, that with the permission of his imperial majesty, he would send one of his aides-de-camp to direct them to countermarch. The answer of Alexander was, that the French marshals were not in the habit of acting without orders; that he (Lauriston) might act as he thought proper,—but his own resolution was irreversibly taken. It is supposed that this answer decided the departure of Bonaparte from Paris.

In the commencement of May, the first corps arrived on the Vistula; at Elbing and Marienburg; the second corps at Marienwerder, the third corps at Thorn, the fourth and sixth corps at Plock, the fifth corps assembled at Warsaw, the eighth corps on the right of Warsaw, and the seventh corps at Pulawy. The French emperor set out from St. Cloud on the 9th of May; crossed the Rhine on the 13th, the Elbe on the 29th, and the Vistula on the 16th of June.

All the means of effecting an understanding between the two empires became impossible. General Narbonne, aid-de-camp to the French emperor, was dispatched to Wilna, and could remain there only a few days. By that was gained the proof, that the demand which had been made by Prince Kurakin, and in which he declared, that he would not enter into any explanation before France had evacuated the territory of her own allies, in order to leave them at

the mercy of Russia, was the *sine qua non* of that cabinet.

The first corps advanced to the Pregel. The Prince of Eckmühl had his head-quarters, on the 11th of June, at Königsberg.

The Marshal Duke of Reggio, commanding the second corps, had his head-quarters at Wehlau; the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, commanding the third corps, at Soldass; the prince Viceroy, at Rastenberg; the King of Westphalia, at Warsaw; the Prince Poniatowski, at Pultusk. The French emperor moved his head-quarters, on the 12th, to Königsberg, on the Pregel; on the 17th to Insterburg; and on the 19th to Gumbinnen.

A slight hope of accommodation still remained. The emperor had given orders to Count Lauriston to wait on the Emperor Alexander, or on his minister for foreign affairs, and to ascertain whether there might not yet be some means of obtaining a reconsideration of the demand of Prince Kurakin, and of reconciling the honor of France, and the interest of her allies, with the opening of a negotiation.

The same spirit which had previously swayed the Russian cabinet upon various pretexts, prevented Count Lauriston from accomplishing his mission; and it appeared, for the first time, that an ambassador, under circumstances of so much importance, was unable to obtain an interview, either with the sovereign or his minister. The secretary of legation, Prevost, carried this intelligence to Gumbinnen; and the emperor issued orders to march, for the purpose of passing the Niemen. Napoleon then caused a proclamation to the soldiers to be inserted in the orders of the army; in which it is said, "At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war with England. She now violates her oaths. She refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, until the eagles of France shall have repassed the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy."

On the 23d of June, the King of Naples, who commanded the cavalry, transferred his head-quarters to within two leagues of the Niemen, upon its left bank. The marshal Prince of Eckmühl, commanding the first corps, moved his head-quarters to the skirts of the great forest of Pilwisky. The second corps, and the imperial guards, followed the line of march of the first corps. The third corps took the direction of Marienpol; the viceroy, with the fourth and sixth corps, which remained in the rear, marched upon Kalvary. The King of Westphalia proceeded to Novogorod, with the fifth, seventh, and eighth corps. The first Austrian corps, commanded by the Prince of Schwarzenberg, quitted Lemberg, made a movement on its left, and drew near to Lublin. The pontoon train, under the orders of General Eble, arrived on the 23d within two

leagues of the Niemen. On the 23d, at two in the morning, the French emperor arrived at the advanced-posts near Kowno, took a Polish cloak and cap from one of the light cavalry, and inspected the banks of the Niemen, accompanied by General Haxo, of the engineers, alone. On the 24th, he proceeded to Kowno.

At this period the Emperor of Russia was at Wilna, where he had been for sometime with part of his court and guards, and one part of his army occupied Ronikontoni and Novtroki. The Russian General Bagawout, commanding the second corps, and a part of the Russian army, having been cut off from Wilna, had no other means of safety than by proceeding towards the Dwina. Several Cossack officers, and officers charged with dispatches, were captured by the French light cavalry.

The Niemen, it should be observed, is navigable for vessels of two or three hundred tons, as far as Kowno. The communications by water are also secured as far as Dantzic, and with the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe. The Wilia, which flows by Wilna, is navigable for very small boats from Kowno to Wilna. Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, is also the chief town of all Polish Russia. Wilna contains from 25 to 30,000 inhabitants, with a great number of convents and fine public buildings. About twenty-four hours after the Russians received intelligence that the French had passed the river at Kowno, the Russian court left the place.

The following were the general orders of his Russian imperial majesty to the armies, given at Wilna, June 13 (o. s.) 25.

"For a long time past we had remarked the hostile comportment of the French emperor towards Russia; but we still hoped, through moderate and pacific measures, to avert hostilities. —At last, notwithstanding all our wishes to maintain peace, we witnessed an incessant repetition of open outrages, which compelled us to arm, and to assemble our troops; though still, while we could flatter ourselves with the hope of reconciliation, we remained within the confines of our empire; and without violating peace, were prepared for defence. All these moderate and pacific measures could not secure to us the tranquillity of which we were desirous. The French emperor, by an attack upon our troops at Kowno, has already commenced war; and consequently nothing farther remains for us, but, while we invoke the aid of the sovereign of the universe, the author and defender of truth, to place our force in opposition to the force of the enemy. It is unnecessary to remind our generals, our chiefs, and warriors, of their duty, and of their valour. In their veins flows the blood of the Sclavonians, so highly renowned of old for their victories. Sol-

diers! You are the defenders of religion, your country, and independence.

"I am with you. God is on your side.

"ALEXANDER."

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On the 27th the French emperor arrived at the advanced-posts, and put the army in motion for the purpose of approaching Wilna, and attacking the Russian army at day-break of the 28th, should it wish to defend Wilna, or retard its capture, in order to save the immense magazines which it had there. One Russian division occupied Troki, and another division was on the heights of Traka. At this time the Emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation to his subjects:

"The French troops have passed the borders of our empire—a complete treacherous attack is the reward of the observance of our alliance. For the preservation of peace I have exhausted every possible means consistently with the honor of my throne and the advantage of my people. All my endeavours have been in vain. The Emperor Napoleon has fully resolved in his own mind to ruin Russia. The most moderate proposals on our parts have remained without an answer. This sudden surprise has shewn, in an unequivocal manner, the groundlessness of his pacific promises, which he lately repeated—There therefore remain no further steps for me to take, but to have recourse to arms, and to employ all the means that have been granted me by providence to use force against force. I place full confidence in the zeal of my people, and on the bravery of my troops. As they are threatened in the middle of their families, they will defend them with their national bravery and energy. Providence will crown with success our just cause. The defence of our native country, the maintenance of our independence and national honor, have compelled us to have recourse to arms. I will not sheath my sword so long as there is a single enemy within my imperial borders.

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER."

At day-break of the 28th, the King of Naples put himself in motion with the advanced-guard, and the light cavalry of General Count Bruyeres. The marshal Prince of Eckmuhl supported him with his corps. The Russians every where retired. After exchanging some cannon-shot, they crossed the Wilia in haste, burned the wooden bridge of Wilna, and set fire to immense magazines, valued at many millions of rubles; more than 150,000 quintals of flour, an immense supply of forage and oats, and a great mass of articles of clothing, were burned. A great quantity of arms and warlike stores was destroyed and thrown into the Wilia. At mid-day the French emperor entered Wilna. In the afternoon

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the bridge over the Wilia was re-established, and another constructed.

The division of Bruyeres followed the enemy by the left bank. In a slight affair with their rear, about eighty carriages were taken from the Russians. The Polish light-horse of the guard made a charge on the right bank of the Wilia, put to rout, pursued, and made prisoners, a considerable number of Cossacks.

On the 25th, the Duke of Reggio crossed the Wilia; and next day he marched upon Javou, and on the 27th on Chatoui. This movement obliged the Prince of Wittgenstein, commandant of the first corps of the Russian army, to evacuate all Samogitia, and the country lying between Kowno and the sea; and to retire upon Wilkomir, after obtaining a reinforcement of two regiments of the guards.

On the 28th a rencounter took place opposite Develtovo. The Russians were driven from one position to another; and passed the bridge with so much precipitation, that they could not set fire to it. The Russians lost 300 prisoners, among whom were several officers, and about 100 killed or wounded. The French loss amounted to about fifty men, as they said.

The Russians then set fire to their grand magazine at Wilkomir; but a part of it fell into the hands of the French.

Hitherto the campaign had not been sanguinary; and in all the skirmishes the French did not make above 1,000 prisoners. But the Russians lost the capital and the greater part of the Polish provinces. All the magazines of the first, second, and third lines, the result of two years care, and valued at more than 20,000,000 of rubles, were consumed by the flames, except that part which fell into the power of the French. In short, the head-quarters of the French army were now in the place where the Russian court had fixed its residence for six weeks.

In consequence of the destruction of the triple line of magazines, the Emperor Alexander gave orders for the speedy establishment of magazines at Witepsk, Ostrow, Weliki-Louke, and Pskoff.

The Russian army was still posted and organized in a very advantageous manner. The first corps, commanded by Prince Wittgenstein, consisted of 18,000 men, including artillery and sappers. The second corps, commanded by General Bagawout, consisted of the same numerical force. The third corps, commanded by General Schomaloff, amounted to 24,000 men. The fourth corps, commanded by General Tutschkoff, consisted of 18,000 men. The imperial guards were at Wilna. The sixth corps, commanded by General Doctorow, consisted of 18,000 men; this corps afterwards formed a part of the army of Prince Bagration. The fifth corps was com-

manded by Prince Bagration, and amounted to 40,000 men.

Notwithstanding this immense army of the Russians, the French continued to advance, and the Russians to retreat, destroying almost every thing in their way. The immense magazines which they had in Samogitia were burned by themselves, which occasioned an enormous loss, not only to their finances, but still more to the subsistence of the people.

The corps of Doctorow, however, (viz. the sixth corps,) was, till the 27th of June, without any orders, and had made no movement. On the 28th it assembled, and put itself in motion, in order to proceed to the Dwina. On the 30th, its advanced-guard entered Soleinicki. It was charged by the light cavalry of General Baron Borde Sault, and driven out of the village. Doctorow, perceiving that he was anticipated, turned to the right, and made for Ochmiana. General Baron Pajol arrived at that place with his light cavalry, at the moment when Doctorow's van-guard entered it. General Pajol charged. The Russians were sabred and overthrown in the town. General Doctorow, perceiving that his route was intercepted, fell back upon Olehanoui. Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl, with a division of infantry, the cuirassiers of the division of Count Valence, and the second regiment of light cavalry of the guard, moved upon Ochmiana, in order to support General Pajol. The corps of Doctorow, thus cut off and driven towards the south, continued to prosecute the movement on the right by forced marches, with a sacrifice of its baggage, upon Smoroghoui, Danowcheff, and Robouilnicki, whence he made for the Dwina. This movement had been foreseen by the French; and General Nansouty, with a division of cuirassiers, the division of light cavalry of Count Bruyeres, and Count Moran's division of infantry, advanced to Mikailitchki, with a view to cut off this corps. He arrived on the 3d of July at Swin, at the time when it passed that place, and pushed it briskly. He took a large number of waggons, and obliged the Russians to abandon some hundreds of baggage-carts. From these incessant skirmishes Doctorow's army suffered in a very severe manner.

Torrents of rain fell at this time during thirty-six hours, without intermission. The weather suddenly changed from extreme heat to extreme cold. Several thousands of horses perished by the effects of this sudden transition; and convoys of artillery were stopped by the mud. By this terrible storm, the march of the French army was retarded.

Though the French troops were assembled by the end of April, warlike operations did not commence till the 12th of June. These operations lasted five days, but were productive of no attack. In the several skirmishes which took place, the

Grand Cossacks distinguished themselves. The Russian troops had been ordered to concentrate, in order to avoid a general engagement, until Prince Bagration's approach.

Major-general Korf, commanding the rear-guard of the 2d and 3d corps, repulsed all the attacks of the enemy, in the road to Dosna, and the horse-artillery, under the command of General Count Kutusoff.

On the 18th of June, *o. s.* (June 30,) Captain Galewa, of the regiment of Polish Hulans, was sent on a reconnoitring party, with a squadron intrusted to him, by the orders of Major-general Korf. On the evening of the 20th, he received orders to pass the village Lantupa, and to take his course to the town of Swenziany. On the morning of the following day, having collected his out-parties, he set out with a view of returning to his regiment; but all the places through which he had to pass were already occupied by three regiments of the enemy's cavalry. Captain Galewa seeing himself thus cut off, formed his squadron in column, and cut his way through the enemy's troops. Having succeeded in dashing through these, he was a second time met, in a wood, by a party of chasseurs, who endeavoured to intercept his route; but he quickly put them to flight. His loss consisted in one officer, and forty-six privates; and that of the enemy in two chiefs of squadron, and a considerable number of Hulans, grenadiers, and chasseurs, killed.

At the commencement of the Russian campaign, the French, according to their bulletins, won every victory, and the Russians, according to their accounts, sustained no loss. The latter had, indeed, to repel an atrocious invasion under great disadvantages. The population of the Russian empire has a character peculiarly its own. It is spread over such a vast surface and extent of country, that it is a point of time and difficulty to collect it into a given place of union. When such a power, therefore, was invaded by a strong and even numerous army, the first difficulty was to collect such a force as might meet

the inroad. Russia got over this difficulty, and very wisely appointed commanders, well known for their skill, experience, and fidelity. The Cossacks were also useful men in the field. Nothing can elude a Cossack's activity, escape his penetration, or surprise his vigilance. Mounted on a very little ill-conditioned, but well-bred horse, which can walk at the rate of five miles an hour, with ease, or in his speed dispute the race with the swiftest; with a short whip on his wrist, armed with the lance, a pistol in his girdle, and a sword, he never fears a competitor in single combat. The Cossacks act in dispersion, and when they do re-unite to charge, it is not with a systematic formation, but *en masse*, or what in Germany is called the *Swarm attack*. No cavalry has power, like them, to march for days and nights, climbing hills, swimming rivers, and winding through valleys without interruption.

The defeat of Marmont, by Lord Wellington, on the plains of Salamanca, served as a stimulus to the Emperor Alexander, and this glorious achievement was very properly celebrated at this period, by illuminations in England. A prayer of thanksgiving for the same, was also read in all churches and chapels throughout England and Wales. The victory of Salamanca confirmed the Emperor Alexander in his generous purpose of making another venture for the safety of Europe. It strengthened the hands and councils of the Russian ministry, and provided them with strong arguments to oppose the peace-party of the court of Petersburg. No victory, in the course of the war, happened more opportunely for every interest—for England, Spain, and the northern allies; and no defeat was attended with more serious consequences to the now-declining hopes of the French emperor.

Moscow had contributed towards the war 3,000,000 of silver rubles, and 100,000 men equipped. At St. Petersburg immense subscriptions were made, and 70,000 men were there organised. The enthusiastic patriotism of all ranks in Old Russia, in succouring the army, was beyond description.

CHAPTER II.

Battles of Dressa;—Of Riga;—Of Ostrovno;—Of Mohilow;—Of Polotzk;—Of Smolensko;—Of Valentina; and of Borodino.—The French enter Moscow.—Observations.

THE first Russian army, after passing Polotzk, made forced marches towards Witepsk. The corps of Lieutenant-general Count Wittgen-

stein, which had been strengthened with some battalions of reserve, remained at Drissa, in order to observe the movements of the enemy, as well

as to secure the Pskowisch road. To effect a junction of the two armies was the principal object of their movements. Prince Bagration's advanced-guard, under the command of Lieutenant-general Najewskji, was in the neighbourhood of Magilew. General Platoff, who commanded the rear-guard of Prince Bagration, was attacked near Romanoff by seven French regiments of cavalry, of the King of Westphalia's corps, which were totally defeated, and pursued for fifteen wersts. In this action, the first regiment of cavalry, Yagers, one of the best of the enemy's regiments, and one cavalry grenadier-regiment, were entirely destroyed; two colonels, sixteen officers, and 300 privates, taken prisoners.

The corps of Prince Wittgenstein having passed the Dwina, and retiring towards Riga, General Lewes was charged with covering the retreat of that prince. On the 21st of July, there took place, between him and the Prussian Generals Growert and Kleist, an action in which the Russians were forced to retreat, having lost 300 in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The west suburbs of Riga, with all the timber and piles of masts, were ordered to be burnt. Four thousand Russians were obliged to cut through 12,000 Prussians, (allies of the French) near Mittau, and retreated into Riga.

In the battle of Mohilow, July 23, the French claimed the victory over Prince Bagration. On the 25th they attacked the advanced-guard of General Bagration, but were driven back with the loss of 8,000 men. On the same day the main Russian army was attacked, and equally successful, the French being repulsed with the loss of 6,000 men. On the 30th and 31st a French corps, under the command of General Oudinot, attacked the Russians under the command of General Osterman, and were repulsed with great slaughter, leaving 3,000 prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of baggage; their loss in killed was estimated at 5,000 men.

It was reported at this time, on the authority of a private letter from Riga, that a gentleman, whose country-seat was at a distance from that town, was approached by the army under Macdonald, which officer, and fourteen others, were invited to partake of an elegant dinner. They were hospitably entertained, and in every respect treated with liberality; in return for which, on the close of the evening, Macdonald ordered every article of plate to be removed from the table, which, with every other valuable article, was packed up and conveyed away. The proprietor did not venture to complain, but made his escape, lest he might be compelled to accompany his plate.

The first Russian army took a strong position near Witepsk, and during their march, even from Polotzk, the enemy never dared to attack a single

corps of which it was composed. The small skirmishes of the van-guard along the banks of the Dwina, across which river the Russian cavalry frequently swam, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's piquets, were always to their advantage. After their arrival, it was necessary to make strong reconnoissances decisive with regard to the junction with the first. In the night, between the 13th and 14th of July (o. s.) the commander-in-chief, who had received information of patrols of the enemy having shewn themselves on the road to Bischenkowitschi, gave orders to Count Osterman Tolstoc to direct his march towards that place, with his corps. Scarcely had Count Tolstoc advanced three wersts, before he fell in with the enemy's videttes. Two videttes were taken, but the third escaped, and gave the alarm to the French van-guard. These caused immediately a regiment to march out against the two hussar squadrons of the guard, which were in front of this column. They charged the enemy, and immediately overthrew him, but pursuing with too much ardour, they fell in with the whole of the enemy's cavalry, by whom they were pursued close in with the Russian infantry. Count Osterman then continued his motions, and found the enemy drawn up in the order of battle, at no great distance from Ostrovno. The battle commenced with a cannonade, which continued several hours. Both sides fought with the utmost obstinacy. The greater number of warriors were on the French side, but the valour of the Russians overcame every thing. They not only remained masters of the field of battle, but even pursued the enemy four wersts beyond his position. Great loss was sustained on both sides.

The corps of General Doctorow, who had directions to observe the motions of the enemy in the vicinity of Bischen Kolwitsch, where a part of their troops were discovered marching towards him, began to make motions which retarded their progress. It was therefore necessary to suffer them to pass the Dwina, in order to join the army which was stationed near Witepsk, on the left bank of that river. In order to perform this, the commander-in-chief deemed it necessary to confine him back to these places, where, on July 13, Count Osterman had stopped him, with a much smaller force than that of the enemy. Count Kowhoweezen was ordered on this service. He replaced the corps of Osterman, and his division was, the whole of the 14th, continually engaged.

The enemy did not gain a single foot of ground of the Russian troops. Lieutenant-general Kowhoweezen repulsed all their attacks, and did not leave the spot till night, when he received orders from the commander-in-chief to take the position ordained to him for a general battle. Meanwhile General Doctorow passed the Dwina, and arrived at the same place. The whole rear-guard came

under the command of Major-general Count Von Pahlen. They were drawn up at ten wersts distance from the head position, and the enemy was reported to be bearing towards them. In the interim, the commander-in-chief received a letter, by a courier, from Prince Bagratiou, who informed him, that having been advised of the approach of the first army, and finding Mogileu already in the possession of the enemy's troops, he had, for the preservation of his men, altered the direction of his march to Pisch, and had taken the road to Moteslaw and Smolensk—that his van-guard had, on the preceding day, a brisk engagement, in which Lieutenant-general Rajewsky had defeated the van-guard of Marshal Davoust's army, and forced it to retreat a distance of twelve wersts.

This intelligence changed the commander-in-chief's first plan, and determined him, instead of giving battle in the vicinity of Witepsk, to march towards Smolensk, and so much the more, as Marshal Davoust could take his march thither with his whole force, and by the same road. He took this bold determination at the very moment when the rear-guard was engaged in the hottest fight—he manœuvred in the face of the enemy, and drew himself back in three columns. The commander-in-chief attributed the good effect of this undertaking chiefly to the admirable disposition of Count Von Pahlen, who, by covering the army, had on this occasion shewn proofs of every thing that could be produced by skill and the art of war. The borders of the small river Lutchept were defended with such obstinacy, that the enemy lost a number of men in killed. General Von Pahlen likewise understood how to render the smallest defile of utility, and an ambush laid in a suitable place in the vicinity round Gaponowschtschesna, had, on the march of the 17th, cut up seven French squadrons.

Count Wittgenstein remained on the banks of the Dwina, at the advanced work of Pokaseuze, to observe the enemy stationed opposite to him on the other bank, and having thrown bridges across the river in the course of the night, he sent his cavalry out several times on expeditions, and which, in the course of eight days, took eight officers and about 1,000 men prisoners, from the corps of the general of brigade, St. Genie, and almost entirely destroyed the 7th and 11th regiments of French Yagers; the 8th Hulus; and the 10th regiment of Foot Yagers; both Poles, were nearly cut up. On the 17th of July, Count Wittgenstein received information from his detachments from Drissa, that Marshal Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, after having passed the Drissa with his corps, was on his march to Sebesch from Dunaburgh. He was informed that Marshal Macdonald had crossed the river at Jacobstadt, and was shaping his march for Lusye; and according to the statement of a

French officer of the general staff, whom they had taken prisoner, those troops at the churches were destined to cut the count off from the road of Pschkow. In this station he resolved to attack the enemy nearest to him, in the church of the village Klastiga, and discovered the corps of Oudinot stationed before the village Jackubow; at the distance of five wersts, and which was already approaching to meet him from Klastiga. He attacked it with impetuosity, and after an obstinate and bloody engagement, which lasted without intermission for three days, from morning early till late at night, he obtained the victory over the corps of Marshal Oudinot, which consisted of three divisions of the flower of the French infantry, which was totally beaten and thrown into the greatest confusion; it retired in disorder, and only escaped by means of the woody places, and by crossing over the small rivulets, the bridges of which they set on fire and destroyed, and at the same time laying hindrance in their way at almost every step, to stop the rapidity with which they were pursued. The commander of divisions of Le Grand and Verdier were both wounded. The loss of the Russians was great. Count Wittgenstein was wounded in the cheek, near the temple, by a bullet.

In the battle of Smolensk, August 16, the French, according to their own official details, did wonders. This place was set on fire, and the French were employed three days in quenching the fire. "Of twelve divisions," said the French bulletins, "which composed the grand Russian army, two divisions had been broken and defeated in the combats of Ostrovno; two met with the same fate in the battle of Mohilow, and six in the battle of Smolensk. Only two divisions of the guards remained entire." They afterwards reported that these two remaining divisions had suffered by the battle of Valentina. In this battle the French acknowledged to have lost 600 killed, and 2,600 wounded.

Sir Robert Wilson, who was present at the battles of Smolensk and Valentina, asserted, that on the 17th Bonaparte attacked Smolensk with his whole force, first on the eastern, then on the southern, and in the evening on the western face; but that he was repulsed in all his attacks, and merely succeeded in firing the town. On the 18th the Russians took a position on the right of the Nieper, waiting an attack; but the French merely sent across into the suburb the Spanish and Portuguese brigade, which were driven back just as they had set fire to the suburb. On the 19th the Russians retired on the Moscow road, when the French attacked their rear-guard. The attacks on different parts lasted the whole day, when the Russians effected the retreat of their whole army without the loss of a gun. The loss of the Russians on the 17th, was about 6,000 and

BOOK X. two generals; of the French above 12,000; and on the 18th, each army was supposed to have lost 3,000 men.

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It was mentioned in the dispatches from Sir Robert Wilson, that the conduct of General Barclay de Tolly in the battle of Smolensk, had incurred much animadversion; and that this was the cause of that general's having been superseded in the chief command of the Russian army by General Kutusoff. It was stated, that thrice had the Russian army repulsed the enemy at Smolensk, but that being prepared to renew the attack a fourth time, the Russian general had ordered a retreat, and left the French masters of the town.

On the 1st and 2d of September, the French head-quarters were at Ghjat. The Ghjat river empties itself into the Wolga, and is navigable to the Caspian sea. The city of Ghjat contains a population of 8 or 10,000. Many of the houses are built of stone and brick, and it has several parish-churches. The Russians set fire to this city as well as to the other places which they abandoned, but the French entered in time to extinguish it.

September 5, the French army was in motion, and in the afternoon, they perceived the Russians formed with their right upon the Moskwa, the left upon the heights on the left bank of the Kologha. At 1,200 toises in advance of the left, the Russians had begun to fortify a fine height, between two woods, where they had placed 9 or 10,000 men. The French emperor, having reconnoitred it, resolved to carry this position. Two hours afterwards the attack commenced, and the redoubt was carried, with the cannon.

The village of Borodino was attacked and carried by the French. The following is a correct account of this battle:

The Russian army, having experienced commanders, continued its retreat upon the village of Borodino, between Mosjaisk and Irisk, on the high Moscow road. It was here reinforced by 18,000 effective men, under General Miloradowitch, and 21,000 militia, chiefly armed with pikes, under General Markow. The total number of the Russian army, exclusive of militia, amounted to 105,000 effective men; the French army amounted to 130,000, reinforcements having been drawn to it from the military posts occupied by the enemy.

Bonaparte, contrary to all expectation, as he had omitted the favorable moment for attacking the Russians on their march from Smolensk, to repass the Dnieper, presented his army in order of battle Sept. 4. It is possible that the appointment of Prince Kutusoff had baffled his hopes of peace; and that he felt himself now obliged to effect that by force, which he was in hopes to have obtained by the influence of fear on the

Russian cabinet. Certain it is, that he himself regretted his former neglect of opportunity, and that he said, "I have lost one of the most brilliant occasions of my life."

Prince Bagration's army sustained the Russian left; but it was very much advanced in front of the centre and right. A battery of seven guns on a hill covered the advance of Prince Bagration's army, which we shall call the second army.

The action began about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, and was furiously fought on both sides until near dusk, when the enemy possessed himself of the hill and battery, and obliged the second army to retire and take up its position in *alignement* with the first army, keeping some hills in its front, on which batteries were erected. On the morning of the 6th, the French, with all their force, again fell upon Prince Bagration; after a desperate resistance broke in upon him; obliged his retreat in some disorder; and the reserves of the first army were under the necessity of moving to the left and front, to cover his works and oppose the enemy; which service was effectually executed, and the second army being rallied again, advanced into battle, and in its turn supported the troops that had covered it. The Russian line was, however, obliged to throw back its left a little, so as to form an angle with a part of the centre and right. At the salient point of this angle was a battery, which, if taken and kept by the enemy, would have commanded the whole Russian position, and obliged a retreat. Bonaparte, finding that the Russians remained steady, notwithstanding his tremendous artillery cross-fire, resolved to have this work carried. Various attempts were made during the day, by cavalry and infantry, but they were always repulsed. Towards nine o'clock in the morning, General Bonami had, however, lodged himself in the battery, in front of the Russian left; but General Gormouloff seizing the command of a column, (for he was a staff-officer), rushed upon the battery, re-carried it, put every man in it to the bayonet, except General Bonami, who fairly escaped with twenty wounds, one of which struck into his breast. Towards dusk, the enemy's force retired, abandoning the battery, which he had again carried about four o'clock in the afternoon, and which battery had been taken and retaken three times during the day. He gradually withdrew back upon some works in his rear, out of cannon-shot, and from thence fell back about two wersts and an half, with his main body; giving orders for his heavy guns, &c. to retire upon Mosjaisk. The Russian army remained upon the field until the next evening, when Prince Kutusoff fell back three wersts with his main body, and left General Platoff, with his Cassacks, to occupy the ground in front of Borodino.

Thus terminated, September 7. the memorable

battle of Borodino; and so far it resembled the battle of Preuss Eylau, but not in its consequences; for Eylau preserved Königsberg, whereas Borodino accelerated the loss of Moscow.

The Russians had 25,000 killed and wounded (one half killed). The loss of the French was greater.

Two days after this battle, Prince Kutusoff retired a short distance on the Moscow road; he then endeavoured to find a position more tenable near Moscow; but not being able to find one, he retired, after a council of war, to a strong position, leaving the enemy to enter the city of Moscow, which they did on the 14th. The Russians, however, had set fire to several parts of Moscow, before they had quitted it.

In the possession of Moscow, Bonaparte hoped to secure for his army good winter-quarters, and abundance of supplies. For the attainment of the first object, enough of the town had been rescued from the flames; for though the buildings in Moscow consist chiefly of small wooden houses, there are whole streets of stone and brick palaces, roofed with iron, and the walls of these edifices are so prodigiously thick, that the conflagration could scarcely spread through them. The phrase used in the French Bulletin "Moscow is no more," was perhaps employed to produce a strong impression on the minds of the Russian people, and to alienate their affections from their government, as the alleged cause of such destruction.

But though a sufficient number of buildings remained to afford barracks for the French army, it was difficult to imagine how this army was to be subsisted through a long winter in this rigorous climate. The statement in the 20th Bulletin, that "every house was provided for eight months with necessaries of every description," was false. The season for laying in a stock of provisions had not arrived when the French entered Moscow. It is only about the middle of October, just before the snow begins to fall, that the winter supplies are collected. At other seasons of the year, the general stock of provisions in the town is calculated only for a short period of consumption. It was equally false that the French found large supplies of wines, brandy, &c. in the cellars. The middle and inferior classes at Moscow are altogether without any supplies whatever of these articles. They are obliged to be contented with humble *kvass*, for their beverage. In the cellars of the richer and higher orders alone were such supplies to be dis-

covered, but in no proportion to the quantity stated in the bulletin. BOOK X.

The necessity for collecting stores for the winter is occasioned by the cessation of all intercourse between Moscow and the smaller towns, villages, and estates, during that severe season. Except the great and leading roads of the empire, every highway and footpath is lost in the fallen snow. It is difficult to conceive how the French army could have obtained the means of subsistence for the winter, surrounded, as it must have been, by impassable and trackless snow, and by a hostile population. CHAP. II.
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Bonaparte asserted, that he found in Moscow 60,000 stand of arms, and 150 pieces of cannon. There is no arsenal at Moscow; and the prodigious extent of the town renders it perfectly indefensible. It is surrounded by no fortified lines, and so numerous a park of artillery was not requisite for the defence of the Kremlin.

A circumstance which at this time escaped general observation was, the probable diminution of the numbers of the French, by the effects of climate alone, at this season of the year. There are three rivers, which partly surround and flow through the city of Moscow, and the fogs and exhalations from them, just previously to the falling of the snow, are extremely injurious to the health even of the inhabitants seasoned to the climate.

While the numbers of the French army were thus diminishing, to those of the Russian troops a constant augmentation was made. The destruction of the greater part of Moscow, instead of dispiriting the Russian nobility, exasperated and animated them to the greatest exertions and sacrifices. Already had they placed one-tenth of their vassals at the disposal of the government: and it was calculated, that, by this mode of supply, upwards of 400,000 men might be raised. In Russia there are forty-two provincial or departmental governments: and it was supposed, that even the smallest would be able to raise nearly 10,000 recruits.

In penetrating to Moscow, it appeared that Bonaparte calculated on a certain spirit of disaffection to the government, which had generally been known to exist in that part of the empire; but he seemed to have committed the gross error of concluding, that, because the Muscovite nobility were dissatisfied with the government, he should find them ready to join a Corsican invader. He was deceived and disappointed.

CHAPTER III.

Reported Death of Bonaparte.—Conspiracy against the French Government.—Treaty of Peace between Russia and the Porte; and between Great Britain and Russia.—The Emperor Alexander's Address to his People.—Mittau recovered from the French.—Zeal of the Russians.—Critical Situation of Bonaparte.—His Proposals for Peace.—Defeat of Murat, and Flight of the French from Moscow.—Polotzk recovered by the Russians.—Their Successes, and Retreat of Bonaparte.—Various Actions.—Destruction of the French Reur.—Emperor Alexander's Proclamations.—Escape of Bonaparte.

BOOK X.

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ALL the conflicts between the French and Russians during the advance of the former from Witepsk to Moscow might, with greater propriety, be termed skirmishes than battles. In the interim, a report prevailed in France, that Bonaparte was mortally wounded in one of these actions. It was stated in the minor Paris papers, but not in the official journal, (the *Moniteur*) "that having greatly exposed his person in the late engagements, Bonaparte had been dreadfully wounded, and was either dead or not expected to survive." This rumour gained some credit on the English coast, and particularly in Holland; but Providence preserved the Corsican's life, to establish the fame of the Conqueror of Massena and Marmont!

The French generals, Mallet, Guillet, and Lahorie, who were probably the reporters of Bonaparte's death, seized this opportunity of conspiring against the French government, but they were soon arrested; and the *Moniteur* laboured to convince the Parisians that Bonaparte was in good health.

Mallet, a general of brigade, a staunch jacobin, was employed in the army of Italy, under Bonaparte, before the latter went to Egypt; and about the year 1808, when the French General Miollis was appointed military commander of Rome, Mallet was his *Chef de l'Etat Major*, but in consequence of some violent expressions made use of by him, concerning the manner the pope was treated, he was sent to Paris as a prisoner, and was obliged to retire on half-pay.

Guillet was likewise a general of brigade, and formerly employed under Hoche in the Vendée; he had been in the army ever since; and being likewise of the jacobinical school, he got himself into trouble with his friend Mallet, for having, at a public table, in company with the Senators Tracey, Garat, and Cabanes, and the deputy attorney-general of the council of prizes in Paris, Florent Guyot (formerly a member of the convention, and a great jacobin), made use of strong expressions against Bonaparte. It was even reported in Paris, at that time, that there were sufficient grounds

to try them. The senators were only reprimanded for their intemperate conduct; but the generals Mallet, Guillet, and Florent Guyot, were sent to the Temple, and afterwards to the Chateau de Vincennes; the last remained in confinement, but the two first were restored to their rank.

Lahorie was a general of brigade, and one of General Moreau's great favourites, having formerly belonged to his staff. When this general was arrested in 1804, Lahorie, in company with Fresuieres, Moreau's secretary, fled to Germany, having been accused of being implicated in the conspiracy of Pichegru, Georges, &c. He returned to France about 1809, but was not restored to his rank. All these men were the friends of Fouché, who was at that time in Paris.

A treaty of peace was at this time concluded between Russia and the Sublime Porte, by which the latter relinquished all provinces, fortresses, downs, &c. lying on the left bank of the Pruth; and his imperial majesty restored to the Ottoman Porte the territory of Moldavia, on the right bank of the Pruth, and the Greater and Lesser Wallachia. A treaty of peace was also signed between Great Britain and Austria, on the 1st of August.

Notwithstanding the entrance of the French into Moscow, the Emperor Alexander (owing in a great measure to Lord Wellington's success) was determined to carry on the war with additional vigour, as appears by his imperial majesty's animating address to his people:—

"It is with a heavy heart we are compelled to inform every son of the country, that the enemy entered Moscow on the 3d (14th) of September. The glory of the Russian empire, however, is not thereby tarnished. On the contrary, every individual is inspired with resolute courage, firmness, and hope, that all the evils meditated against us by our enemies will eventually fall upon their own heads. The enemy has not become master of Moscow by overcoming, or weakening, our forces; the commander-in-chief, by the advice of a council of war, has found it expedient to retire at a moment of necessity, in order, by the best

and most effectual means to turn the transient triumph of the enemy to his inevitable ruin. However painful it may be to Russians, to hear that the original capital of the empire is in the hands of the enemy of their country, yet it is consolatory to reflect, that he is possessed merely of bare walls, containing within their circuit neither inhabitants nor provisions. The haughty conqueror imagined that on his entrance into Moscow he would become the arbiter of the whole Russian empire, when he might prescribe to it such a peace as he should think proper; but he is deceived in his expectations: he will neither have acquired the power of dictating, nor the means of subsistence. The assembled, and daily increasing, forces of the districts of Moscow, will not neglect to block up every avenue, and to destroy such parties as may be detached for the purpose of collecting provisions; until the enemy shall perceive that his hopes of astonishing the world, by the capture of Moscow, were vain, and he be compelled to open a passage for himself by force.

"His situation is as follows:—He entered Russia with 300,000 men, the principal part consisting of natives of different kingdoms, serving and obeying him, not from free-will—not in the defence of their respective countries—but solely from terror. The half of this multifarious army has been destroyed, partly by our brave troops, partly by desertion, and partly by hunger and sickness: with the remainder he is come to Moscow. His audacious irruption, not only into the very heart of Russia, but into its ancient capital, will, without doubt, gratify his ambition, and give him cause of boasting; but the character of that measure must be determined by its result.

"He has not entered a country where every step he takes inspires all with terror, and bends both the troops and the inhabitants to his feet. Russia is unaccustomed to subjection, and will not suffer her laws, religion, freedom, and property to be trampled upon: she will defend them to the last drop of her blood. Hitherto the general zeal against the enemy clearly evinces how powerfully our empire is guarded by the undaunted spirit of its sons. Thus no one despairs, nor is this a time to despair, when every class of the empire is inspired with courage and firmness; when the enemy, with the remainder of his daily decreasing forces, at a distance from home, in the midst of a numerous people, is surrounded by our armies, one of which stands before him, and the other three are endeavouring to cut off his retreat, and to prevent him from receiving any fresh reinforcements—when Spain has not only thrown off his yoke, but also threatens to invade his territories—when the greatest part of Europe (exhausted and enslaved by him) serving him involuntarily, is anxiously and impatiently awaiting the moment when she shall tear herself from his heavy and

insupportable chains—when his own country sees no end to the torrents of its blood shed for his ambition.

"In the present disastrous state of human affairs, will not that country acquire eternal fame, which, after encountering all the inevitable desolations of war, shall at last, by its patience and intrepidity, succeed in procuring an equitable and permanent peace, not only for itself, but also for other powers; nay, even for those who are unwillingly fighting against us? It is gratifying and natural for a generous nation to render good for evil.

"Almighty God! turn thy merciful eye to thy supplicating Russian church. Vouchsafe courage and patience to thy people struggling in a just cause, so that they may thereby overcome the enemy; and in saving themselves, may also defend the freedom of kings and nations."

A powerful Russian force assembled to the westward, of which the Moldavian army formed a part. Count Wittgenstein had several brilliant affairs with the enemy on the Dwina, and a corps from Riga, under General Essen, took possession of Mittau, Sept. 30, the French every where retreating before it. Such was the zeal of all ranks of the Russians, manifested by contributions and personal voluntary service, that their army was soon reinforced.

General Winzingerode stood in the road to Moscow, near Twer, with a corps of about 30,000 men; and Prince Kutusoff's army to the southward of Moscow. It was the intention of the Russian generals to close Bonaparte in, so that he could receive neither supplies nor troops, and be consequently forced to cut his way out of Moscow.

Prince Kutusoff, (a resolute and courageous man) in the course of ten days took 5,000 prisoners. Such was the critical situation of Bonaparte, that he sent a message to this prince, offering peace, by Count Lauriston.

Lauriston was received by Prince Kutusoff in the midst of all his generals. He opened the conference by saying, that he had been sent to demand an armistice, and to beg the prince to transmit to his majesty a letter from Bonaparte, which would contain proposals for peace, in order to cause the cessation of that horrible effusion of blood, which had been shed with so much desperation and barbarity.

The prince replied, that he was not authorised to receive any proposal either for peace or armistice; and that unquestionably he would not receive any letter addressed to his majesty; that, besides, it was his duty to declare, that the Russian army was in possession of too many advantages to throw them away by an armistice, of which it had no need.

Lauriston observed, that the war must one day

BOOK X. come to a termination, for it could not last for ever, especially in the barbarous manner in which it was conducted.

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Prince Kutusoff replied, that barbarism had been introduced into hostilities by the French revolutionists, and followed up to the greatest extent by Bonaparte himself. It was true, that the war could not be eternal; but peace could never be talked of till the French were beyond the Vistula. That Russia had not provoked the war; for the emperor, by falling with all his forces on the magazines and troops in Poland, might have annihilated all the preparations of Bonaparte on the other side of the Vistula, before he was in readiness to commence it; but his majesty wished neither to disturb the existing tranquillity, nor to be the aggressor, and to the last hoped to preserve peace; that Bonaparte had entered Russia even without a declaration of war, and devastated a great part of the empire; that he had nothing to do but to get out of Moscow how he could, since he came thither without being invited; so it became the duty of Russians to do him as much mischief as possible: that when he proclaimed the campaign terminated at Moscow, the Russians viewed it as only commencing; if he did not know this already, he should soon be taught it by experience.

"Since then," said Lauriston, "there is no hope of peace, it will doubtless be necessary to march; but in departing it will again be necessary to shed the blood of men who are always brave, *since your armies are marching on all sides.*"

"I again repeat to you," replied the prince, "you of course will adopt such measures as you can, in order to get off—and we, to prevent you. For the rest, the time will come, perhaps, when we may arrange matters for your departure, should that be the only subject of discussion."

Lauriston still uttered complaints with regard to the bitterness and fury which had been excited in the people, in order to banish all hope of accommodation, by attributing to the French the conflagration and ruin of Moscow, while the inhabitants themselves were the authors of that calamity.

The prince replied, "that it was the first time he had ever heard of complaints being made against the enthusiasm and devotion to their country, of a whole people who defended their homes against an enemy by whom they were attacked, and who, by so doing, had excited that animosity and fury now complained of, but which, on the contrary, could not be too highly appreciated and extolled. With regard to the burning of Moscow," said the prince, "I am too old, I have had too much experience in war, and possessed too much of the confidence of the Russian people, not to be daily and hourly informed of

what was passing in Moscow; I myself ordered the destruction of some magazines; but from the arrival of the French at Moscow, the Russians destroyed nothing but the stores of the cartwrights, when you adopted the resolution of seizing them, by distributing the carriages at your pleasure: the inhabitants caused very few conflagrations. You proceeded systematically in the destruction of that capital, fixing the particular days, and marking out the quarters which were to be set on fire at fixed periods. I have had an exact account of the whole; it has been followed with precision; and one proof that it was not the inhabitants who ruined Moscow is, that you destroyed with cannon-shot the houses, and other edifices, built with too much solidity, hurling balls against them amidst the flames. Undoubtedly we shall endeavour to revenge ourselves. Our conference is closed."

Lauriston had no reason to be satisfied with the issue of this conference. The French had been long accustomed to arrange matters of this sort in a *tête-à-tête*, or by an amicable interview; but here more than thirty persons were witnesses, on the one hand, of the dignity of the Russian marshal, and on the other, of the cringing meanness of a low fellow commissioned by a brigand.

On the 18th of October, a brilliant affair took place between the advanced-guard of the French and Russian armies near Moscow, in which the former, under Murat, were defeated with great loss. Marshal Kutusoff having learnt that the corps of Victor had quitted Smolensko, to reinforce the grand army, resolved to attack the advanced-guard, being 45,000 strong, in order to defeat Murat before the junction of Victor, and before Napoleon could support him with the main body of his army. Thirty-eight pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Russians, as well as a standard of honor belonging to the 1st regiment of cuirassiers. They made 1,500 prisoners, amongst whom was a general; 2,000 men were left on the field of battle. The loss of the Russians was inconsiderable. Moscow was now re-occupied by General Winzingerode's corps. The French in their flight left several thousand sick, in the most miserable state.

In the mean time, Count Steinheil drove the enemy from the village of Bolonia, and pursued him towards Polotzk. When Count Wittgenstein (who had the day before, after a desperate engagement, defeated the French, under Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, at the village of Guravitchne) received this intelligence, he attacked the enemy, and drove him out of his strong entrenchments. The French took refuge in the town of Polotzk, which is surrounded by a double palisade, where they maintained themselves nearly the whole night, keeping up a constant fire of musketry on all sides from behind the palisades, as well as out of the

houses. Count Wittgenstein gave orders for his ordnance to fire upon them with round and grape, and at last directed his advanced-guard to storm the place in two divisions; the first under the command of Major-generals Platoff and Diebitch, and the other under the command of Colonel Riediger, of the Grodno regiment of hussars. Lieutenant-general Cazanove, as soon as he perceived that his troops were close before Polotzk, threw himself also upon the enemy, and was the first who marched with them into the town. In this manner, at three in the morning of October the 8th, the place was carried.

The loss of the enemy was great, all the places of action being covered with dead bodies; but their loss would have been greater had Lieutenant-general Count Steinheil been able to follow them to Polotzk; but, to his great mortification, he was stopped by the intervention of superior force, five wersts from the town. The loss of the Russians was also considerable.

After Count Wittgenstein's entrance into Polotzk, the French suffered much by the fortunate operations of Count Steinheil's corps. Victor was forced, with his corps, to separate from the grand army. They left Smolensko by forced marches, and joined the weak remains of St. Cyr's army, which was commanded by General Le Grand, St. Cyr having gone to Wilna, on account of a wound which he had received in the foot.

When Bonaparte left Moscow, he ordered Murat to attack General Benningsen, but he was driven back. Bonaparte then attacked Kutusoff in person, with great desperation, near Maloyaroslavitz, October 24, and was again repulsed. This little town was taken and re-taken eight different times; at last the French were obliged to retreat. Bonaparte then intended to fight a general battle; and if he was conqueror, to march by way of Kaluga to Poland, and there remain in winter-quarters, as near Galicia as possible; but he found the Russians so fortified, that it was impossible. He had, therefore, nothing left but to concentrate his whole force, and return by way of Smolensko, which was entirely laid waste. The bad roads and the dreadful wants the French were in, gave Kutusoff time to come up with them near Viasma, when he gave them battle, and defeated them. Before the battle, Bonaparte gave the command to Murat, and went himself with 6,000 men to Smolensko, on his way home; but he was met by Gen. Oertel's detachment, which obliged him to return; he then tried to retreat by the road which goes from Smolensko towards the sea; there he was met by Wittgenstein's advanced-guard, was beaten, and obliged to fall back on the grand army.

At this time he had in front of him Tormasow's, Tchitchagoff's, and Wittgenstein's armies, and in his rear Prince Kutusoff with 150,000 men.

The Russians took daily 3 or 4,000 prisoners; Wittgenstein made in one day 6,000, and took twenty-three pieces of cannon; Platoff thirty pieces of cannon, and 3,700 prisoners.

As soon as General Kutusoff was apprised of Bonaparte's retreat, he broke up with his whole army, and followed the enemy.

The Russian advanced-guard, under Platoff, overtook the French army on the 1st of November, near Kolotak, not far from Borodino, and took from them two colours and twenty-four pieces of cannon.

On the 2d of November, Gen. Miloradowitsch, supported by Platoff, attacked several French corps near Viasma, commanded by the Vice King of Italy, Davoust, and Ney; these corps were completely defeated, and lost one colour, five cannon, and 2,000 prisoners, amongst whom was General Pettien. The whole road to Mojaisk was covered with ammunition-waggons and dead horses. The French army retreated daily upwards of fifty wersts.

On the 7th, General Miloradowitsch entered Dorogobush. The enemy attempted some resistance, but was driven from his advantageous position by the Russian chasseurs, with the loss of 300 men taken prisoners, exclusive of the sick and wounded.

On the 9th, Count Orloff Denizoff successfully pursued several French foraging detachments, and took 126 prisoners and twenty-two waggons. The loss of the enemy in killed amounted to 200 men.

Colonel Adrianoff attacked a detachment of the enemy near Dubovtchina, put them to flight, and took a standard and 175 men, also five tumbrils of ammunition.

The enemy halted some time at the convent of Baldin; but on perceiving the approach of the Russian cavalry, fled with precipitation, after exploding thirty-eight tumbrils of ammunition, and throwing one cannon into the ditch of the convent.

Count Orloff obtained considerable advantages near Guichkowo, killing 200 of the enemy, and making 180 prisoners, of whom the greater part were French guards. He, in addition, captured thirty provision-waggons, which the enemy had collected on the road.

On the 10th, several of Count Orloff's detachments overtook the enemy near the ferry of Solovino, attacked with impetuosity, and captured eight ammunition-waggons loaded with cartridges, a forge, &c. and made 155 prisoners. The same day other parties under the count's command sent in 102 prisoners.

On being informed that the enemy, to the amount of 9,000 men, were marching in three divisions on the road from Jelinia to Smolensko, General Count Orloff, having formed a junction

with three corps of partisans, resolved to attack one of the said divisions posted in the village of Lewkowo. The enemy perceiving his intention, promptly occupied a height in its environs. Having been dislodged from thence by his artillery, they fell back upon the village, and were instantly surrounded by his cavalry, and compelled to lay down their arms, after a feeble resistance. This was the first instance during the war, of a whole corps laying down its arms. It consisted of 2,000 men, and sixty officers, under the orders of General Augereau.

Some detachments of cavalry were sent by the enemy to support General Augereau, but General Count Orloff overthrew them, and pursued them with great slaughter.

The enemy lost in his retreat from Dorogobush, to the river Ougeat, three cannon and forty men; and General Jourkosky, who pursued the enemy with his light cavalry as far as the ferry of Tolowieuro, made 940 prisoners, took eighteen cannon, and sixty ammunition-waggons.

Since the battle of Borodino, of the 7th of September, the Russian grand army took from the enemy 209 pieces of cannon; General Tormazoff, eight; and Count Wittgenstein, twenty-nine, making a total of 246 pieces of cannon. Besides which, several guns had been thrown into the rivers, or buried, or bogged in the woods. Both parties lost several generals; the most serious loss on the part of the Russians was the fall of Prince Bagration.

On the 9th of November, Count Orloff Denizoff, being advanced on the roads towards Smolensko and Krasnoi, received intelligence of the march of a French corps from Smolensko, in the direction of Kalouga, composed of fresh troops intended for the different regiments of guards; this force was under the command of General Barrage D'Hillier, having with him General Charpentier and Brigadier-general Augereau, brother to the marshal of that name. They were distributed in the three villages of Yasvin, Lakoff, and Dolgomust. A disposition of attack was immediately made by three partizan corps, commanded by Captain Seslavin, Colonel Davidoff, and Captain Phigner. The result was, that the corps under Charpentier was nearly cut to pieces, that Barrage D'Hillier having patiently heard a cannonade for several hours in the quarters of Augereau's division, made good his retreat to Smolensko, and that Augereau's corps, of 3,000 men, after losing nearly one-third of their number, laid down their arms, and capitulated to Captain Phigner, who had not 1,500 men, and who conducted this affair with infinite address and gallantry. In this corps were two squadrons of cavalry, well mounted. The prisoners amounted to one general, sixty staff and other officers, and 2,000 rank and file. The officers, who capitulated, stated the object of their

march by that route was to open another communication in the direction of Kalouga; they were not aware of the retreat of their army.

At the same time Major-general Platoff, having pursued Beauharnois's corps, came up with it at the river Bone, near the estate called Yandsoff, and without regarding the advantages of his position, attacked the enemy; on this occasion, besides numbers of killed and wounded, he took thirty pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners.

Adjutant-general Orloff Denizoff attacked the enemy on their march to Krasnoi, killed 500 and took 400 on the 12th.

On the 14th General Count Wittgenstein was attacked by Marshal Victor, who had orders to drive him to the other side of the Dwina. The enemy was repulsed with the loss of from 2 to 3,000 men, and was pursued the next morning in his retreat towards Senno, when 600 prisoners were taken.

Nothing material occurred at this post till the 18th, when Count Wittgenstein was joined by Colonel Chernichef, aid-de-camp to his imperial majesty, who had been detached by Admiral Tchichagoff, with a small corps of light cavalry, to discover and ascertain General Count Wittgenstein's position. In the course of this expedition, the colonel had the singular good fortune to rescue Major-general Baron Winzingerode and his aid-de-camp, Captain Narishkin, between Wilna and Minsk; they were proceeding towards the frontier, under an escort of gens d'armes, and had been marched from Verrea, where they were presented to Bonaparte, with the French guards under the charge of Junot. Colonel Chernichef also took three couriers, one coming from, and the other two going to Paris. From these sources of intelligence it was ascertained that Bonaparte was at Smolensko on the 13th. During this expedition Colonel Chernichef marched 700 wersts in five days, and swam across several rivers.

The divisions of the French army, under Marshals Davoust and Ney, were totally defeated by Field-marshal Prince Kutusoff, who in actions from the 10th to the 20th of November, at Viasma and other places, took near 200 cannon, and 20,000 prisoners. Marshal Ney was wounded. Bonaparte was with Marshal Davoust's corps in the night of the 15th, and early on the 16th left the field of battle with full speed. Every precaution was provided by the Emperor Alexander to prevent the escape of the enemy.

Whilst the French were flying upon the Smolensko road, Kutusoff, with the main army, pursued them on a parallel line, endeavouring to get a head of them, and thereby, in the military phrase, to turn them. In the mean time, he dispatched Platoff to follow them in the rear on the high road by which they were flying, and, in this manner, at once to destroy and to delay them.

Both of these purposes had the desired success. The French were so delayed by the roads, the frost, and the Cossacks, that Kutusoff was enabled to reach Krasnoi before they had left Smolensko, and thus was nearly forty miles ahead of them on the road by which they were compelled to pass. He thus fully succeeded in turning the enemy,—and Platoff and the Cossacks equally succeeded in destroying their rear whilst they retarded it. One of the successes of Kutusoff, was singular enough. A large detachment from the French conscripts was marching from Kalouga, for the purpose of reinforcing the French army, which they believed to be in that quarter. This body fell in with the advance of Kutusoff, who was coming up by the same road, and one of the divisions, under General Augereau, was compelled to lay down its arms. The main and principal success, however, was at Krasnoi, whither Kutusoff pushed forwards with all possible speed, in the hopes, and with the purpose, of reaching it before the French, and thereby turning them in their advance, and taking a station across their road. Kutusoff so far effected this purpose as to approach within a few miles of Krasnoi on the 16th of November. As his cavalry and light troops could move with more speed than the main army, and as not a moment was to be lost, Kutusoff sent them forward with General Orgeroff, himself following them with all possible speed. General Orgeroff reached his ground in time, and was immediately engaged with some part of the French coming up from Smolensko. On the following morning, the 16th, General Orgeroff was joined by the Prince Gallitzin. About the middle of this day, Marshal Davoust was seen coming up, and a battle immediately began. The whole army of Davoust was defeated with great loss and confusion. On the following day (the 17th,) Davoust was followed by Ney, who, upon reaching Krasnoi, found the enemy stationed across the road. The Russian success here was evidently more complete than on the former day, and for this reason, that the Russians had now assembled their whole army instead of their advanced detachments upon this point; and therefore had taken up such a station, and in such force, as completely to intercept Ney, and to prevent him from the possibility of breaking through.

This was the most brilliant and successful exploit performed by the Russians during the campaign. It was the complete destruction of the French rear; 12,000 men laid down their arms, and the slaughter and spoil were immense.

The Emperor Alexander seized every opportunity of animating his forces; and when fortune began to smile on their exertions, he issued the following proclamation:—

“Russians! At length the enemy of our coun-

try—the foe of its independence and freedom—has experienced a portion of that terrible vengeance which his ambitious and unprincipled aggression had aroused. From the period of his march from Wilna, his army, great in numbers, assured in valour and discipline, and elated at the remembrance of victories gained in other regions—threatened no less than the entire subjugation of the Russians. The system which we had thought fit to adopt strengthened that confidence. The sanguinary battles fought on his route, and which gave him temporary possession of Smolensk, flattered him with all the illusions of victory. He reached Moscow, and he believed himself invincible and invulnerable. He now exulted in the idea of reaping the fruit of his toils—of obtaining for his soldiers comfortable winter-quarters, and of sending out from thence, next spring, fresh forces to ravage and burn our cities, make captives of our countrymen—overthrow our laws and holy religion—and subject every thing to his lawless will. Vain, presumptuous hope!—insolent degrading menace! A population of forty millions, attached to their king and country, and devoted to their religion and laws—the least brave man of whom is superior to his unwilling confederates and victims—cannot be conquered by any heterogeneous force which he could muster, even of treble its late amount.

“Scarcely had he reached Moscow, and attempted to repose amidst its burning ruins, when he found himself encircled by the bayonets of our troops: he then, too late, discovered that the possession of Moscow was not the conquest of the kingdom—that his temerity had led him into a snare—and that he must choose between retreat or annihilation. He preferred the former; and behold the consequences.”

[Here follow the official accounts of the defeat of Victor's advanced-guard under Murat, near Moscow, by Marshal Kutusoff; of the defeat of General St. Cyr, by Marshal Wittgenstein, and the storming of Polotsk; of the re-occupation of Moscow by Winzingerode's corps, &c.]

“Russians! The Almighty has heard our wishes, and crowned your efforts with success. Every where the enemy is in motion: his disorderly movements betray his apprehensions: gladly would he compound for safety; but policy and justice alike demand the terrible infliction. The history of his daring must not be told without the terrible catastrophe by which it was attended. A hundred thousand men sacrificed to his frantic presumption attest your valour and devotion to your country, and must deter him from a repetition of his impracticable design. Much, however, yet remains to be done, and that is in your power. Let the line of his retreat be rendered memorable by your honest indignation: destroy every thing which can be of service to him, and our com-

BOOK X. manders have orders to remunerate you. Render
 CHAP. III. your bridges, your roads, impassable. In fine,
 1812. adopt and execute the suggestions of a brave, wise,
 and patriotic heart, and shew yourselves deserving
 the thanks of your country, and your sovereign.

"Should the remains of the enemy's force escape to our imperial frontiers, and attempt to winter there, they must prepare themselves to encounter all the rigours of the clime and season, and the valorous attacks of our troops: thus harassed, exhausted, and defeated, he shall for ever be rendered incapable of renewing his presumptuous attempt.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER."

On the 15th of November he issued another proclamation, which began by stating, that no endeavours on his part could avert war. That Napoleon having collected an immense force of Austrians, &c. entered his territory with fire and sword, carrying destruction wherever he went. That cruelties heretofore unheard of, proved that he had the invasion of Russia long in contemplation. That the happiness of Russia awakened his cupidity, and inclined him to destroy her. That he hoped by flattery to seduce the Russian people, and like an overwhelming storm, penetrated into her provinces. That Europe supposed her lost; but though on all sides pressed, nothing could terrify Russians. That after repeated defeats, he sought safety in flight. That dejected, he fled from Moscow, leaving every thing behind him. That thousands of his troops daily fell sacrifices. That the enemy's strength was reduced to the lowest condition. That all classes of the state had given the most unequivocal proofs of their patriotism; and concluded by stating, that if the enemy did not meet with his utter destruction, it would lead him properly to estimate the Russian power and strength.

During this war, Bonaparte was said to have been killed no less than *eighteen* times, and the wags of the day asserted his life to have *double* the virtue of a cat's. His escape was deemed impossible; but, to the astonishment of all, he evaded the armies in pursuit of him, and returned safe to Paris. The French army was compelled to leave Smolensko because that town was found totally untenable, and because it was too far removed from that part of the country, which being still in the French possession, could in any way supply the magazines of the army. When the Emperor Napoleon left Moscow, he doubtless calculated upon making at least a short halt at Smolensko. It was necessary to assign some reason for this indispensable alteration in his plan. He therefore assigned a false one—that of the Austrians having changed the line of their operation.—The true one was, that Victor had not been able to clear the country, having been defeated or repelled

in every attempt to push back General Wittgenstein.

The French bulletin made very light of the loss of men till the army reached and left Smolensko. Bonaparte had five corps with him at Moscow. These were under the commands of Davoust, Ney, Beauharnois, Poniatowski, and Junot. Besides, there were a strong corps of guards and reserve, amounting to about 45,000. The army at Moscow, therefore, was originally 140,000, which, at the time of departure, was reduced to 85,000, of these about 60,000 reached Smolensko, with the total loss of their horses and artillery. This was the first loss of the French army.

Bonaparte, with the advance of the French army, left Smolensko on the 15th, reached Krasnoi on the 16th, and left it on the following morning. This advance consisted of three corps—those of Beauharnois, Poniatowski, and Junot. Davoust followed, and had to cut his way through, which, according to the Russian reports, he did with infinite loss. Marshal Ney, with the rear-guard, was the last; and even the French bulletin acknowledged that he was intercepted by nearly the whole army of the enemy. The bulletin, however, asserted that he effected his escape by a manœuvre; but the Russians gave a much better, and a more credible account. As the French bulletin acknowledged his corps to have been intercepted by the whole army of the enemy, it must be believed, that his loss very nearly amounted to what it was stated to be in the Russian reports. The French bulletin acknowledged a ruined army and a fugitive emperor, and therefore the Russian narratives, which so represented him, were confirmed in the best possible manner, by the confession of the enemy.

Upon leaving Smolensko, Bonaparte had summoned all his corps on this side the Dwina and the Dnieper to his aid. These corps were three, those of Victor, Oudinot, and Dombrowski. Here, therefore, were about 40,000 more, to be added to the army which moved from Smolensko. Dombrowski moved up from Mohilow, by the Minsk road, and was met by the advance of Admiral Tchichigoff's army, under General Lambert, and defeated and pushed back. General Lambert marched forwards after this advantage, but was met in his turn by Oudinot, who marched down upon him on the other flank. The French bulletin asserted that Lambert was defeated; and certainly he was repelled by dint of the numerical superiority of Oudinot. The French army was thus enabled to cross the river Beresina. Half of them crossed it without interruption, but the other half were gallantly attacked by the armies of Tchichigoff and Wittgenstein; and the result was, that a complete French division (not a corps) of 2,000 men, were taken prisoners.

This is alleged, in the French bulletin, to have been occasioned by their having lost their way in the darkness of the night; but the real cause was, that the enemy intercepted them.

After having thus effected the passage of the river Beresina, the French army, instead of continuing their route upon Minsk, turned their right towards Wilna. Upon reaching this point, the Emperor Napoleon called a council of war, in which he transferred the command of the army to Murat, and immediately afterwards took his seat (like a courier) in a sledge, and, under an assumed name, fled for Paris. The manner of

his arrival, indeed, was very different from what his ambitious hopes had probably anticipated, and from what the auspices of his incipient fortune seemed to promise. He who left his own kingdom, at the head of nearly 300,000 men, in all the pompous equipage and magnificent apparel of war; he who, like the heroes of old, seemed to lead victory itself as one of his household gods, was now presenting a tremendous example of the vicissitudes of human affairs;—his army was totally ruined within the short space of eight days, and he himself, a fugitive in a single car, reached his own metropolis in disguise!

BOOK X.

CHAP. III.

1812.

CHAPTER IV.

An Exchange of Prisoners rendered impracticable.—French Officers breaking Parole.—Detection of a Plan for their Escape.—Riotous Conduct of French Prisoners.—Unkind Treatment of English Prisoners.—Mysterious Death of Captain Wright.—Meeting of the New Imperial Parliament.

AN exchange of prisoners between Great Britain and France, was earnestly desired by the former country; but the sacrifices demanded by the latter, were so unprecedented in their nature as to render an adjustment impracticable. A great number of French officers, who had been prisoners, at this time took an unfair and dishonorable advantage of the confidence placed in their honor by the government of Great Britain, in order to effect their escape.

An extensive plan for liberating French prisoners on their parole was very fortunately detected. A system was established of British subjects going to five or six depôts of French prisoners, from time to time, to offer to effect the escape of such as could raise certain sums of money to defray the expences and rewards payable in England, whereby many officers were enabled to break their parole, and got safe to France, where they had been received by public officers at the ports, who paid the sums agreed upon for their sea passage. The discovery was made by the apprehension of eight officers, who left Andover the 1st of September, and were compelled by stormy weather to re-land near Christchurch, on the 12th, after having embarked from that neighbourhood in a Weymouth smuggling-boat. They had reached the coast, between Christchurch and Lymington, by the skill of their guides, without interruption; but unable to conceal themselves effectually on their re-landing, notice was given of the suspicious appearance of the parties.

On the 17th of September the French prison-

ers at Dartmoor depôt worked themselves up to the highest pitch of rage, at having a pound and a half of biscuit and not bread per day. The use of biscuit it should be observed, was to be discontinued as soon as the bake-house had been rebuilt; but the Frenchmen were absolutely deaf to remonstrances. A detachment of the Cheshire militia, and of the south Gloucester regiment, were drawn up on the walls surrounding the prison; and, although they had loaded their pieces with ball, the prisoners appeared undaunted, and insulted them in the grossest terms. A sentinel on duty had his bayonet wrenched off his piece, yet nobly reserved his fire: an officer, however, followed the Frenchman, struck him over the shoulder with his sword, and brought off the bayonet. The Frenchmen even bared their breasts to the troops, and seemed regardless of danger. The number of prisoners was about 7,500; and so menacing was their conduct, that an express was sent off to Plymouth-dock, at 11 o'clock at night, soliciting immediate assistance. Three pieces of artillery consequently arrived early the next morning at the principal gate, the bars of which, of immense size, had been previously broken by stones hurled against them by the insurgents: they were placed in such directions as completely to command the whole of the circle, which had the desired effect, and order was restored. It should be noticed, that the allowance of biscuit, at which these men so indignantly spurned, was precisely the same as that which was served out to the English sailors and marines.

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On the other hand, the treatment of English prisoners in France was truly severe. Public indignation was justly excited by the mysterious death of Captain Wright (of the navy) of which the following is a recent account:

Captain Wright was closely imprisoned in one of those dungeons, which in the language of tyranny is called a *secret*; and which includes the idea of every thing most terrible to the imagination. He saw no human being but one individual, a turnkey, who visited him thrice a day. His *secret* was situated in a small detached square, within which was only confined an old Jesuit, about eighty years of age, a man of quality and learning. Captain Wright had his throat cut with a razor, between twelve and half-past twelve at night. About seven in the morning, the turnkey awoke all the temple with his cries, repeating over and over, "the English captain has killed himself." The gaoler came to the spot, and allowed the prisoners to see the deceased. M. D'Henoul, an advocate, who was imprisoned in the temple at the same time, entered Captain Wright's apartment in his turn, as did also 128 of his fellow-prisoners. The captain was extended on his bed, covered with blood, and the fatal razor was lying on the floor. A *Moniteur* of the preceding day was lying as it were very appropriately on the night-table. It contained the details of a signal victory gained by the French. "You see," said the turnkeys, who, doubtless, were well-instructed by Savary, a creature of Bonaparte's, "our victory has driven the English captain to despair." No one said a word, and no one, not even the turnkeys themselves, believed the story. It was well known, that the reading of newspapers was strictly forbidden to Captain Wright, and that he had no razor, as the barber of the temple shaved him twice a week, accompanied and superintended by one of the gaolers.

Full of horror at the shocking spectacle he had seen, the advocate went into the Jesuit's apartment, and told him, that being near the spot, and awake at midnight, (for there is little sound sleep in state prisons) he distinctly heard the door of the wicket open and then shut. He also heard some men walking in the court, as well as the opening and shutting of the door which led to the tower. M. D'Henoul confessed he was very much alarmed, as it was usually about this hour the gaolers came to *extraire* (that was their term when they removed a prisoner) some unfortunate being, in order to carry him before a secret military

commission, and thence to a fusillade. It seems many prisoners had perished in this manner during the night. His alarm, however, subsided when he found the men he had heard were not coming his way. Curiosity induced him to put his head out of the grated window of his apartment. The assassins returned slowly at about half-past twelve, but the night being very dark, he could not count them. The wicket was opened and shut again. The Jesuit also heard the gate of his square opened; and three or four men, as he thought, came groping on their hands and feet, and opened and shut the door of the captain's chamber.

A report of the pretended suicide was drawn up and sent to London, with a *Moniteur* as false as the document.

It is asserted, that the assassins of Captain Wright were those very miscreants who were hired to strangle the unfortunate Pichegru.

Soon after the meeting of the new imperial parliament, (November 24,) thanks were unanimously voted to the Marquis of Wellington, in both houses, for his victory at Salamanca. In the house of lords, Earl Bathurst took a review of the proceedings of this illustrious general, from the commencement of the campaign up to the victory in question. In the house of commons, Lord Castlereagh asserted, "that, as a proof of the effect of the splendid victory at Salamanca, on the eve of the battle of Borodino, a battle as destructive as that of Eylau or of Aspern—a battle in which 80,000 men sacrificed themselves to the liberties of their country—on the eve of that battle, Prince Kutusoff animated his troops, by telling them what the English had done on the plains of Salamanca."

It was certainly gratifying to the English nation to think that a British lieutenant-general, not of old standing, had, in the course of four years, defeated and foiled seven of the most celebrated marshals of the French empire, (Junot, Soult, Ney, Mortier, Victor, Massena, and Marmont) most of them chosen successively for the very purpose of mending the fortune of their baffled predecessors, by overthrowing or circumventing him.

Lord Castlereagh also brought in a bill, pursuant to a message from the prince-regent, for further provision for Lord Wellington.

Great Britain having determined to give Russia her cordial support during her patriotic struggle with France, 50,000 stand of arms was this year sent to the Emperor Alexander, and Lords Cathcart and Walpole acted as plenipotentiaries.

CHAPTER V.

Separation of the Prussians from the French Army.—Address to the French People by Louis XVIII.—Treaty between England and Sweden.—Character and Biographical Sketch of the Crown Prince, Bernadotte.—Continental Confederacy.

AN event most fortunate for the interests of England, Russia, and Europe, occurred at the close of the Year. General d'York, the Prussian general, being pressed by the troops of General Wittgenstein, concluded with that general an armistice of neutrality, in which he conditioned, that on the one side the Prussian troops should not be attacked by the Russians, and on the other, that if the King of Prussia should refuse his ratification of the armistice and its terms, the Prussian army should not act against the Russians for two months.

As soon as this intelligence reached the King of Prussia, his majesty appeared to disavow it, by ordering the arrest of General d'York, and that he should be replaced by another general. The letter, however, from General d'York to the Duke of Tarentum, (as follows) was bold and decisive:—

"Tauroggen, Dec. 30.

"Monseigneur. After many painful marches it was not possible for me to continue them without being attacked on my flanks and rear; it was this that retarded my junction with your excellency, and left me to choose between the alternative of losing the greater part of my troops and all the *materiel*, which alone insures my subsistence, or saving the whole. I have thought it my duty to conclude a convention, by which the assembling of Prussian troops is to take in Eastern Prussia, which by the retreat of the French army is in the power of the Russian troops.

"The Prussian troops will form a neutral corps, and will not commit hostilities against either party. Subsequent events, the consequence of negotiations which are to take place between the belligerent powers, will decide their future fate.

"I hasten to inform your excellency of a proceeding to which I have been forced by weighty circumstances.

"Whatever may be the judgment that the world may pass on my conduct, I shall be very indifferent to it. Duty towards my troops, and the most mature deliberation dictated it; the most pure motives, whatever appearances may be, guided me in making this declaration. To you, Monseigneur, I acquit myself of obligation towards you, and beg of you to accept the assurance of the most profound respect, with which I am, &c.

(Signed)

"D'YORK."

The defection of General d'York was followed in the same spirit by another of the same kind, only under circumstances still more distressing to the Duke of Tarentum (Marshal Macdonald). General Massenbach, who had with him nearly 5,000 Prussians, was with the marshal at Tilsit, when General d'York concluded his armistice. The intelligence was immediately sent to General Massenbach, who (no doubt from previous concert) instantly quitted the French army with his division, and, repassing the Niemen, proceeded to join himself to the army and to the purpose of General d'York. This decided the fate of the Prussian army, and threw the French armies into the greatest possible distress.

This fortunate event produced its full effect in France; for a meeting of the senate was instantly called, and a *senatus consultum* passed for the additional levy of 350,000 men. This decree was accompanied in the French papers by a long explanation of the motives under which it had been passed, and in the language of which, the general feeling of the government, senate, and people of France, was sufficiently legible. Napoleon himself was panic-struck, this having mortified him still more severely than his previous defeat.

As Bonaparte had not only lost his army, but, what was of more consequence to him, his popularity among the French people, early in 1813, the following well-written address to the people of France was auspiciously issued by Louis XVIII.

"The moment has at length arrived, when Divine Providence appears ready to break in pieces the instrument of its wrath. The usurper of the throne of St. Louis, the devastator of Europe, experiences reverses in his turn. Shall they have no other effect but that of aggravating the calamities of France? And will she not dare to overturn an odious power, no longer protected by the illusions of victory? What prejudices, or what fears, can now prevent her from throwing herself into the arms of her king; and from recognizing, in the establishment of his legitimate authority, the only pledge of union, peace, and happiness, which his promises have so often guaranteed to his oppressed subjects?

"Being neither able, nor inclined to obtain, but by their efforts, that throne which his rights and their affection can alone confirm, what wishes should be adverse to those which he has invaria-

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BOOK X. bly entertained? What doubt can be started with regard to his paternal intentions?

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"The king has said in his preceding declarations, and he reiterates the assurance, that the administrative and judicial bodies shall be maintained in the plenitude of their powers; that he will preserve their places to those who at present hold them, and who shall take the oath of fidelity to him; that the tribunals, depositaries of the laws, shall prohibit all prosecutions bearing relation to those unhappy times of which his return will have for ever sealed the oblivion: that, in fine, the code polluted by the name of Napoleon, but which, for the most part, contains only the ancient ordinances and customs of the realm, shall remain in force with the exception of enactments contrary to the doctrines of religion, which, as well as the liberty of the people, has long been subjected to the caprice of the tyrant.

"The senate, in which are seated some men, so justly distinguished for their talents, and whom so many services may render illustrious in the eyes of France, and of posterity,—that corps, whose utility and importance can never be duly appreciated till after the restoration,—can it fail to perceive the glorious destiny which summons it to become the first instrument of that great benefaction which will prove the most solid, as well as the most honorable guarantee of its existence and its prerogatives?

"On the subject of property, the king, who has already announced his intention to employ the most proper means for conciliating the interests of all, perceives, in the numerous settlements which have taken place between the old and the new landholders, the means of rendering those cares almost superfluous. He engages, however, to interdict all proceedings by the tribunals, contrary to such settlements,—to encourage voluntary arrangements, and, on the part of himself and family, to set the example of all those sacrifices which may contribute to the repose of France, and the sincere union of all Frenchmen.

"The king has guaranteed to the army the maintenance of the ranks, employments, pay, and appointments, which it at present enjoys. He promises also to the generals, officers, and soldiers, who shall signalize themselves in support of his cause, rewards more substantial, distinctions more honorable, than any they can receive from an usurper—always ready to disown or even to dread their services. The king binds himself anew to abolish that pernicious conscription, which destroys the happiness of families and the hope of the country.

"Such always have been, such still are, the intentions of the king. His re-establishment on the throne of his ancestors will be for France only the happy transition from the calamities of a

war which tyranny perpetuates, to the blessings of a solid peace, for which foreign powers can never find any security but in the word of the legitimate sovereign. "L."

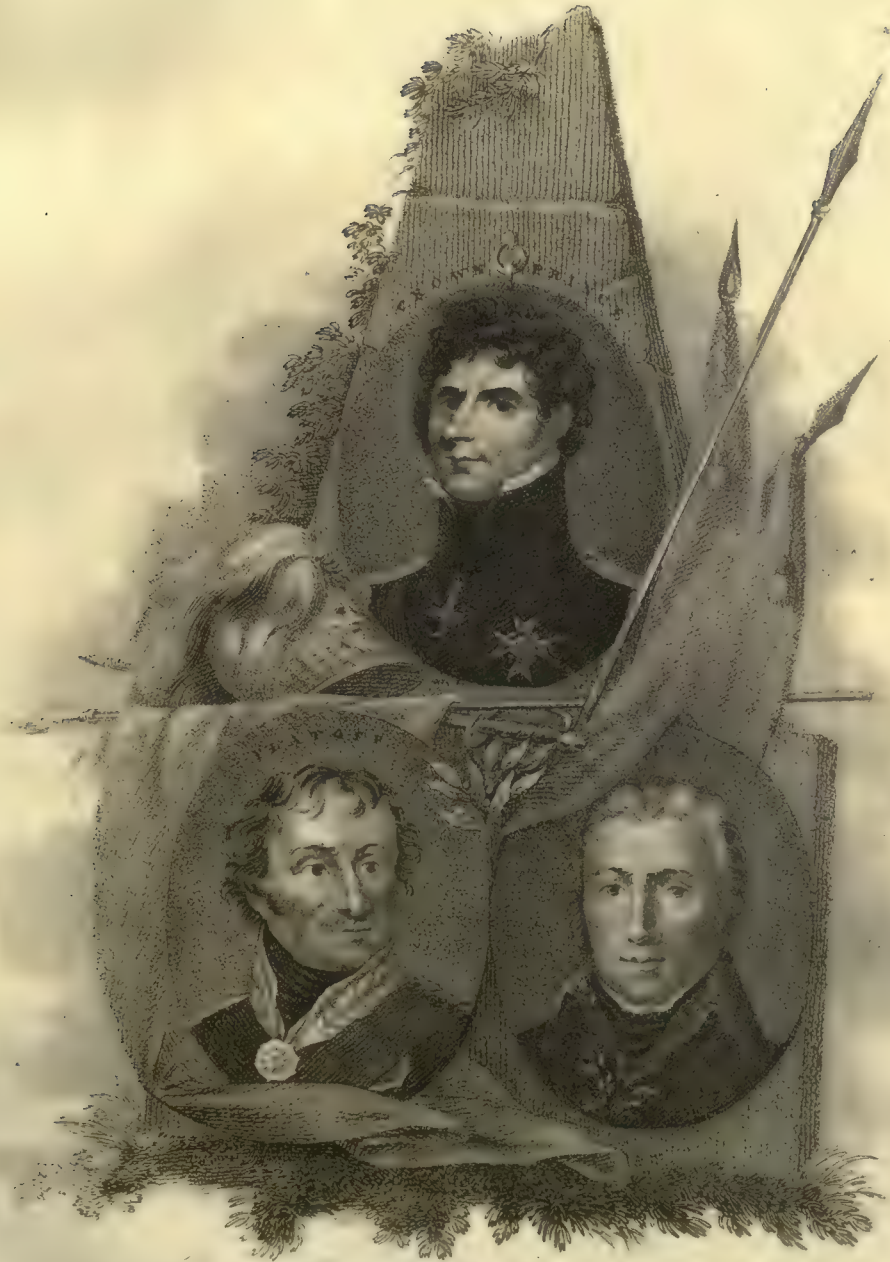
"Hartwell, Feb. 1, 1813."

A quadruple alliance between Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and England, was sought for by the British court, and General Hope, an experienced officer, was very properly chosen as a negociator, the military energy of the person employed being an earnest of the kind of aid intended by England.

A treaty was concluded between England and Sweden, but such was the peculiar situation of the crown-prince (Bernadotte) it did not justify much reasonable expectations. This Crown-prince of Sweden had two very powerful restraints to check his indignant feelings at the haughty tone of Bonaparte. He must have remembered the man to whom he was indebted for his throne; and still more, his military companions. He could not, moreover, forget that the last prince was deposed because he pushed the efforts of the country beyond its powers, and endeavoured to oppose the French armies with the single resources of Sweden. The deposed King of Sweden had exhibited no signs of madness but of extravagance; and so sensible were his people of the existence of such extravagance, and of its evil effects, that though the Swedes are characteristically the most loyal people in Europe, they quietly suffered, under this persuasion, the deposition of their prince, and replaced him, without much external violence, with his decrepid uncle as a sovereign, and with a foreign general as his designated successor. Bonaparte, who always carried his personal temper into his state transactions, had indeed treated Bernadotte with singular haughtiness, and thus diminished, as it were, his prior debt of gratitude; and having been accustomed to command Bernadotte as his French marshal, and to receive an unlimited obedience, he felt his present conduct in the nature of a military sedition.

This celebrated man, whose name will often occur in our succeeding chapters, was born on the 26th of January, 1763, at Pau, the capital of Bearn, the birth-place of the Great Henry. His father, who was a gentleman of moderate fortune, followed the profession of the law, and took care early to inspire in his son just and elevated sentiments.

Bearn, a province of France, situated to the north of the Pyrenees, has always furnished excellent soldiers. The inhabitants are well made, robust, active, courageous, sober, and lively. Agreeably to the manners of the country Bernadotte was early inured to fatigue and hardship. In winter as well as in summer he was accustomed



General [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

to run about bare-headed and bare-footed with the children of the lower classes, and his favorite aliment was bread with some fruits. At the age of fifteen he eloped from his father's house, and enlisted in the regiment of *royal marines*, in which corps he served in the East Indies during the American war, under the orders of M. de Bussy, and with the squadron of Bailly de Suffrein. He was made a corporal a year after his enlistment, and was appointed serjeant on his return to France, in 1783. Some time after this he was made adjutant-under-officer. His regiment was then garrisoned at Marseilles, and soon after his arrival at that place the French revolution broke out, which opened, at once, a career for Bernadotte, and many others like him, wherein they might signalize their talents, and reap the reward of them. An anecdote is related of him, which shews that he could assume a requisite dignity of station. When he was serving with Bonaparte in Italy, Napoleon invited Bernadotte to dine with him, and requested him to come early. Bernadotte did so, but when he arrived, Duroc, who was then captain aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, informed Bernadotte that "General Bonaparte was busy finishing his post, and begged him to wait awhile."—Bernadotte replied, "Tell the general-in-chief that it does not suit General Bernadotte to wait in the anti-room in the army, since at Paris the directors themselves never exposed me to a similar mortification." Duroc was going to reply, when Bonaparte suddenly made his appearance, saluted Bernadotte in a smiling manner, apologised for not having come immediately, and proposed to take a walk in the garden whilst waiting for dinner. As they were going along, Bonaparte said, "I am sorry, general, that instead of sending in your name, you did not come straight into my closet. You need not doubt the pleasure I should have felt. The officer told me that two generals requested to speak to me, without giving me their names, but as soon as I heard your voice, which I know very well, I was anxious to repair the mistake. I am sorry you could suppose I had the intention to use *étiquette* with you, whom I

consider as the right arm of the army." To this Bernadotte replied, "I am, my general, of a country where the men have as warm heads as good hearts; I have only to congratulate myself on your kindness towards me, and it was on that account I could not help expressing surprise on hearing Duroc tell me to wait."

There is another anecdote, which should be recorded, relative to the Duke d'Enghein, which did much honor to Bernadotte:—In the year 1799, the duke came secretly to Paris; Bonaparte was then in Egypt; the government was without force, and the Bourbon party hoped to regain its power. The Crown-Prince of Sweden, then General Bernadotte, was minister of war. The duke confided to him, through a common friend, his being at Paris, and offered him the post of Constable of France, if he would restore the Bourbons. "I cannot serve their cause," he replied, "but as the descendent of a hero, as a man who has placed confidence in me, no harm shall happen to him. Let the duke depart instantly—for his secret may in three days be no longer mine." The duke departed without molestation, and retired to the territory of Baden, from whence he was treacherously seized, and basely assassinated by Bonaparte, as related in Book VI. Chapter V.

The King of Prussia at length acceded, by the universal voice of his people, to the continental confederacy against Napoleon; and Denmark, on whose fidelity the French emperor depended to the last, joined in the alliance. Thus the Russian cause became strong, by their union with the Prussians, the Swedes, and the Danes. The alliance with the Swedes was particularly advantageous on account of the number of their effective troops. The accession of Austria to the allied cause, was fondly anticipated; but the Emperor of Austria, being an affectionate father, was, in consequence of the marriage of his daughter (his only child) with the Emperor of France, deterred at present from becoming his avowed enemy.

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CHAPTER VI.

Position of the hostile Armies in Spain, at the Commencement of the Year.—Lord Wellington's admonitory Letter to the Officers of Battalions.—Plan of the New Campaign.—Observations.—The Enemy repulsed at Bejáz.—His Escape from Alcoy.—Skirmishes.—Marshal Suchet defeated by Lieutenant-general Sir John Murray.—Lord Wellington enters Salamanca.—Splendid Victory of Vittoria.—Advance of Lord Wellington towards the Pyrenees.

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FOR about four months, Lord Wellington's head-quarters were at Frenada. During his lordship's absence the enemy had not made any essential alteration in the position of the armies.

In consequence of some irregularities and offences, of which the allied army had been guilty during their late retreat, Lord Wellington addressed the following admonitory letter to the commanding officers of battalions:—

“Sir. I have ordered the army into cantonments, in which I hope that circumstances will enable me to keep them for some time, during which the troops will receive their clothing, necessaries, &c. which are already in progress, by different lines of communication, to the several divisions and brigades.

“But besides these objects, I must draw your attention, in a very particular manner, to the state of discipline of the troops. The discipline of every army, after a long and active campaign, becomes in some degree relaxed, and requires the utmost attention on the part of the general, and other officers, to bring it back to the state in which it ought to be for service; but I am concerned to have to observe, that the army under my command has fallen off, in this respect, in the late campaign, to a greater degree than any army with which I have ever served, or of which I have ever read. Yet this army has met with no disaster; it has suffered no privations, which but trifling attention on the part of the officers could not have prevented, and for which there existed no reason whatever in the nature of the service; nor has it suffered any hardships, excepting those resulting from the necessity of being exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, at a moment when they were most severe.

“It must be obvious, however, to every officer, that from the moment the troops commenced their retreat from the neighbourhood of Burgos on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, the officers lost all command over their men. Irregularities and outrages of all descriptions were committed with impunity; and losses have been sustained which ought never to have occurred.

“Yet the necessity for retreat existing, none was ever made in which the troops made such short marches; none on which they made such

long and repeated halts; and none on which the retreating armies were so little pressed on their rear by the enemy. We must look, therefore, for the existing evils, and for the situation in which we now find the army, to some cause besides those resulting from the operations in which we have been engaged.

“I have no hesitation in attributing these evils to the habitual inattentions of the officers of the regiments to their duty, as prescribed by the standing regulations of the service, and by the orders of this army.

“I am far from questioning the zeal, still less the gallantry and spirit of the officers of the army; and I am quite certain, that as their minds can be convinced of the necessity of minute and constant attention to understand, recollect, and carry into execution the orders which have been issued for the performance of their duty, and that the strict performance of this duty is necessary to enable the army to serve the country as it ought to be served, they will in future give their attention to these points.

“Unfortunately, the inexperience of the officers of the army has induced many to conceive, that the period during which an army is on service is one of relaxation from all rule, instead of being, as it is, the period during which of all others, every rule for the regulation and controul of the conduct of the soldier, for the inspection and care of his arms, ammunition, accoutrements, necessaries, and field-equipments, and his horse and horse-appointments, for the receipt and issue and care of his provisions, and the regulation of all that belongs to his food, and the forage for his horse, must be most strictly attended to by the officer of his company or troop, if it is intended that an army, a British army in particular, shall be brought into the field of battle, in a state of efficiency to meet the enemy on the day of trial.

“These are the points, then, to which I most earnestly intreat you to turn your attention, and the attention of the officers of the regiments under your command, Portuguese as well as English, during the period in which it may be in my power to leave the troops in their cantonments. The commanding officers of regiments must enforce the orders of the army, regarding the constant inspection and superintendence of the offi-

cers over the conduct of the men of their companies in their cantonments; and they must endeavour to inspire the non-commissioned officers with a sense of their situation and authority, and the non-commissioned officers must be forced to do their duty, by being constantly under the view and superintendence of the officers. By these means, the frequent and discreditable recourse to the authority of the provost, and to punishments by the sentence of courts-martial, will be prevented; and the soldiers will not dare to commit the offences and outrages, of which there are too many complaints, when they know that their officers and their non-commissioned officers have their eyes and attention turned towards them.

"The commanding officers of regiments must likewise enforce the orders of the army, regarding the constant, real inspection of the soldiers' arms, ammunition, accoutrements, and necessaries: in order to prevent, at all times, the shameful waste of ammunition, and the sale of that article, and of the soldiers' necessaries. With this view both should be inspected daily.

"In regard to the food of the soldier, I have frequently observed and lamented in the late campaign, the facility and celerity with which the French soldiers cooked, in comparison with those of our army.

"The cause of this disadvantage is the same with that of every other description,—the want of attention of the officers to the orders of the army, and to the conduct of their men; and their consequent want of authority over their conduct. Certain men of each company should be appointed to cut and bring in wood, others to fetch water, and others to get the meat, &c. to be cooked; and it would soon be found, if this practice were daily enforced, and a particular hour for seeing the dinners, and for the men dining, named as it ought to be equally as for the parade, that cooking would no longer require the inconvenient length of time which it has lately been found to take, and that the soldiers would not be exposed to the privation of their food at the moment at which the army may be engaged in operations with the enemy.

"You will of course give your attention to the field exercise and discipline of the troops. It is very desirable that the soldiers should not lose the habits of marching; and the division should march ten or twelve miles twice in each week, if the weather should permit, and the roads in the neighbourhood of the cantonments of the divisions should be dry. But I repeat, that the great object of the attention of the general and field-officers must be, to get the captains and subalterns of the regiments to understand and to perform the duties required from them, as the only mode by which the discipline and efficiency of the army

can be restored, and maintained during the next campaign.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"WELLINGTON."

"Freynada, Nov. 28, 1812.

"To —, or the officer commanding the —."

The three armies of Portugal, the centre and the south, were united in Castile, under King Joseph, whose head-quarters were at this time in Madrid. The army of Portugal was under the command of General Reille, who lately came from the army of the north, and had his head-quarters in Valladolid. The army of the centre was under the orders of Conde D'Erlon, who was formerly employed in the army of the south, and commanded for a short time the army of Portugal, after the allies retired from the Tormes. His head-quarters were in the vicinity of Madrid, and the army of the south was under Marshal Soult's orders, whose head-quarters were in Toledo. The army of the south was lately drawn towards the neighbourhood of the Tejo, having moved towards the place of Toledo the divisions of that army which were in the province of Avila, and having them replaced in Avila by the first division of the army of Portugal.

With respect to the north of Spain, General Mina was actively employed against the enemy in Navarre, and he, as well as General Longa, caused him great loss. The latter destroyed 600 men, and took two pieces of artillery, in an action with the enemy on the 30th of Nov. 1812.

About the latter end of December, the reinforcements which the English expected from Sicily had arrived, and Lieutenant-general Lord William Bentinck was expected.

The allied English and Portuguese armies occupied the same cantonments in which they were in the beginning of December. The Spanish troops were likewise all in cantonments.

In the campaign of the year 1812, the Marquis of Wellington was in the same quarters in which he was cantoned at the commencement of the year 1813, with this slight difference, that he was on the other side Ciudad Rodrigo. The campaign of 1812 began with the siege of that strong place. It is unnecessary to recal to the memory of our readers with what astonishing rapidity that fortress was taken. Upon the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, the next step was the siege of Badajoz, and this fortress, though of thrice the strength of Ciudad Rodrigo, was taken nearly with the same rapidity. When the enemy heard of the sieges of these places, the respective armies to whose military protection they were assigned, collected their forces with all possible speed, and advanced to their relief; but before they had scarcely put themselves in march, they heard of

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the fall of the forts to the raising of the siege of which they were proceeding. Marmont was thus disappointed with respect to Ciudad Rodrigo, and Soult, an officer most distinguished for his alacrity and skill of all the French generals, was foiled in the same way with respect to Badajoz. Some intercepted dispatches of the latter were read in the British parliament, in which the French marshal, in the report of this affair to the minister of war at Paris, imputed the success to the incredible rapidity of Lord Wellington's movements, which had defied all previous reckoning and calculation, and therefore disappointed all his precautions. And in the last affair, that of Badajoz, the merit was the most considerably enhanced by the military reputation of the commander of Badajoz, General Philippon, who exerted all the resources of art and experience in the defence of that fortress.

It is unnecessary to proceed in this retrospect of the past campaign,—as the battle of Salamanca, the siege of Burgos, the occupation of Madrid, the relief of the cities of Cadiz, Seville, and Grenada, and the general deliverance of the southern provinces, must remain mementoes of glory to the British commander-in-chief.

Such, therefore, were the auspices under which the new campaign was to be opened. All the strongest posts on the frontier of the country to be defended were in the hands of the English. The possession of Ciudad Rodrigo secured the advance of the British army to any point, and along any line, either to the north, into Leon, or into the south, into Estremadura or Andalusia. The possession of Badajoz equally secured the offensive or defensive lines, either northerly towards Madrid, easterly into the Alentejo, or westerly towards Valencia. In a word, the Marquis of Wellington was now so happily situated at the very outset of this campaign, that he was in the centre of a circle, as it were, upon any single way of which he might move, either backwards or forwards. The best and most active part of the last campaign, was consumed in the necessary but tedious siege of the frontier towns. The new campaign began after all this work had been done, and there was nothing to delay or intercept the allied armies upon any course in which they might think proper to move.

His lordship's head-quarters were, Jan. 1813, as already mentioned, at Freynada, a town in Spain, a few miles in advance of the Portuguese frontier. From this town there are high roads to Burgos, to Toro, to Madrid, and, of course, to all the towns on the Tagus, the Guadiana, and the Guadalquivir. His lordship might have directed his course immediately for Madrid, and put himself in the situation in which he had been the preceding August, or he might have proceeded to the south, to occupy the four provinces of

Andalusia, which the enemy had abandoned; Seville, Cordova, Leon, and Grenada. These provinces, which were the richest and most fertile of the Spanish monarchy, had hitherto constituted the military command of Soult; but the battle of Salamanca, and the occupation of Madrid, occasioned, very fortunately, their evacuation by the French. His lordship very wisely retained his ground, in order to act as circumstances might render most prudent.

After the enemy had retired across the Tormes, and their troops had taken up their cantonments, those on the Upper Tormes collected again on the 19th of February from Piedrahita, Congosto, El Barco, and Avila; and, on the morning of the 20th, a body of about 1,500 infantry, and 100 cavalry, under the command of the general of division, Foy, endeavoured to surprise and attacked Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill's post at Bejar, consisting of the 50th regiment, and 6th Portuguese caçadores, which troops were under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Harrison, of the 50th. The surprise did not succeed, and the enemy were repulsed with loss, and were pursued for some distance by the 6th caçadores, under Major Mitchell.

On the 26th of February his lordship took the command of the division of the Mediterranean army, serving on the coast of Spain.

On the 3d of March, when reconnoitring the position of Alcoy, it became necessary to drive in the advanced posts. The enemy lost in the action, one officer killed, and about twenty men killed and wounded.

The possession of Alcoy appeared of importance; and having had a very accurate view of the position, Lord Wellington thought it possible, in carrying the place, to cut off the corps stationed there. With this intention, on the 6th, his lordship directed the march of a part of the army on Alcoy, and attacked that post on the morning of the 7th; but by the unfortunate delay of the column which was destined to cut off his retreat, the enemy effected his escape: had this column arrived a quarter of an hour before, not a man could have got off. The advanced-guard of the column destined to attack the enemy in front, drove him about six or seven miles, when the soldiers were so much fatigued, that his lordship pressed them no further. The country over which the enemy retired was extremely favorable for him, and certainly might have been much better defended. He was on this account enabled to dispose of his killed and wounded, and his loss was not ascertained. That on the part of the allied army was inconsiderable.

In consequence of Alcoy being occupied by a strong division of the allied army, Marshal Suchet quitted Valencia, and assumed the command, in person, of the troops on the right bank of the

Xucar. He drew to this division of his army nearly all the disposable force which he had in the neighbourhood of Valencia.

Finding that the enemy was concentrating his force, Lord Wellington assembled the allied army at Castella on the 20th. In consequence of this concentration of the allied army, Marshal Suchet reinforced his right, and had a strong force at Onteniente, Mogente, and Fuente del Higuera. Some trifling skirmishes took place with the enemy. General Whittingham forced him to retire beyond the Puerto de Albayda, with a very considerable loss. The Spanish troops behaved with great gallantry and order. General Whittingham, who conducted this affair with great judgment, was slightly wounded, as were an officer and seven men.

In a reconnoitring party on the same day, conducted by Major-general Donkin, Captain Jacks, and the foreign troops of light cavalry, Captain Waldron, and the grenadiers of the 2d, 27th, and Lieutenant M'Dougall, of the adjutant-general's department, had an opportunity of making a spirited attack on an enemy's post, which was carried in the presence of a battalion drawn up as spectators. No loss was sustained on this occasion; but some of the enemy were killed, and a few taken prisoners.

On the 13th of April, the allied army, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir John Murray, Bart. defeated the enemy, commanded by Marshal Suchet in person. The following was Sir John Murray's account of this battle:—

"It appears that the French general had, for the purpose of attacking this army, for some time been employed in collecting his whole disposable force. His arrangements were completed on the 10th, and in the morning of the 11th he attacked and dislodged, with some loss, a Spanish corps, posted by General Elio, at Yecla, which threatened his right, whilst it supported our left flank. In the evening he advanced in considerable force to Villena, and I am sorry to say, that he captured, on the morning of the 12th, a Spanish garrison, which had been thrown into the castle by the Spanish general, for its defence. On the 12th, about noon, Marshal Suchet began his attack on the advance of this army, posted at Biar, under the command of Colonel Adam. Colonel Adam's orders were to fall back upon Castalla, but to dispute the passage with the enemy; which he did with the utmost gallantry and skill, for five hours, though attacked by a force infinitely superior to that which he commanded. The enemy's advance occupied the pass that evening, and Col. Adam took up the ground in our position which had been allotted to him. On the 13th at noon, the enemy's columns of attack were formed; composed of three divisions of infantry, a corps of cavalry, of about 1,600 men, and a formidable train of ar-

tillery. The position of the allied army was extensive. The left was posted on a strong range of hills, occupied by Major-general Whittingham's division of Spanish troops, and the advance of the allied army under Colonel Adam. This range of hills terminates at Castalla, which, and the ground to the right, was occupied by Major-general Mackenzie's division, and the 58th regiment, from that of Lieutenant-general Clinton. The remainder of the position was covered by a strong ravine, behind which Lieutenant-general Clinton was stationed, supported by three battalions of General Roche's division, as a column of reserve. A few batteries had been constructed in this part of the line, and in front of the castle of Castalla. The enemy necessarily advanced on the left of the position. The first movement he made, was to pass a strong body of cavalry along the line threatening our right, which was refused. Of this movement no notice was taken: the ground to which he was pointing is unfavorable to cavalry, and as this movement was foreseen, the necessary precautions had been taken. When this body of cavalry had passed nearly the half of our line of infantry, Marshal Suchet advanced his columns to the foot of the hills; and certainly his troops, with a degree of gallantry that entitles them to the highest praise, stormed the whole line, which is not less than two miles and a half in extent. But, gallantly as the attack was made, the defence of the heights was no less brilliant: at every point the enemy was repulsed—at many with the bayonet. He suffered a very severe loss; our gallant troops pursued him for some distance, and drove him, after a severe struggle, with precipitation, on his battalions of reserve upon the plain. The cavalry, which had slowly advanced along our right, gradually fell back to the infantry. At present his superiority in that arm enabled him to venture this movement, which otherwise he should have severely repented.

"Having united his shattered battalions with those which he kept in reserve, Marshal Suchet took up a position in the valley; but which it would not have been creditable to allow him to retain. I therefore decided on quitting mine, still, however, retaining the heights, and formed the allied army in his front, covering my right flank with the cavalry, whilst the left rested on the hills. The army advanced in two lines to attack him, a considerable distance; but, unfortunately, Marshal Suchet did not choose to risk a second action, with the defile in his rear. The line of the allies was scarcely formed when he began his retreat; and we could effect nothing more than driving the French into the pass with defeat, which they had exultingly passed in the morning. The action terminated at dusk, with a distant but heavy cannonade. I am sorry to say, that I have no trophies to boast of. The enemy took no guns

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to the heights, and he retired too expeditiously to enable me to reach him. Those which he used in the latter part of the day, were posted in the gorge of the defile, and it would have cost us the lives of many brave men to take them.

"In the dusk, the allied army returned to its position at Castalla, after the enemy had retired to Biar. From thence he continued his retreat at midnight to Villena, which he quitted again this morning in great haste, directing his march upon Fuente de la Higuera and Onteniente. But although I have taken no cannon from the enemy, in point of numbers his army is very considerably crippled; and the defeat of a French army, which boasted it had never known a check, cannot fail, I should hope, in producing a most favorable effect in this part of the Peninsula. As I before mentioned, Marshal Suchet commanded in person. The Generals Harispe, Habert, and Robert, commanded their respective divisions. I hear, from all quarters, that General Harispe is killed; and I believe, from every account that I can collect, that the loss of the enemy amounts fully to 3,000 men, and he admits 2,500. Upwards of 800 have already been buried in front of only one part of our line; and we know that he has carried off with him an immense number of wounded. We had no opportunity of making prisoners, except such as were wounded, the numbers of which had not yet reached me.

"This action has not cost us the lives of many of our comrades. Deeply must be felt the loss, however trifling, of such brave and gallant soldiers, but we know it is inevitable; and I can with truth affirm, there was not an officer or soldier engaged who did not court the glorious termination of an honorable life, in the discharge of his duty to his king and to his country. The gallant and judicious conduct of those that were engaged, deprived much more than one half the army of sharing in the perils and glory of the day; but the steady countenance with which the divisions of Generals Clinton and Mackenzie remained for some hours under a cannonade, and the eagerness and alacrity with which the lines of attack were formed, sufficiently proved to me what I had to depend on from them, had Marshal Suchet awaited the attack.

"I cannot sufficiently praise the judicious arrangements which Col. Adam, who commanded the advance, made, and the ability with which he executed his orders on the 12th instant. The advance consists only of the second battalion of the 27th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Reeves; the 1st Italian regiment, commanded by Lieut.-colonel Burke; the Calabrian free corps, commanded by Major Carey; one rifle company of the 3d and 8th battalions King's German Legion, commanded by Captains Leuder and Brauns of those corps; and a troop of foreign hussars,

under the orders of Captain Jacks, of the 20th dragoons, with four mountain guns, in charge of Captain Arabin, royal artillery. The enemy attacked this corps with from 5 to 6,000 men, and for five hours (and then only in consequence of order) succeeded in possessing himself of the pass. The conduct of all engaged in this brilliant affair merits, and has met with, my highest approbation. Colonel Adam was wounded very early in the attack, but continued, and still continues, in charge of his division. On the 13th, the attack of the enemy on Colonel Adam's division was very severe, but the enemy was defeated at every point, and a most gallant charge of the 2d and 27th, led by Colonel Adam and Lieutenant-colonel Reeves, decided the fate of the day, at that part of the field of battle.

"The skill, judgment, and gallantry displayed by Major-general Whittingham and his division of the Spanish army, rivals, though it cannot surpass, the conduct of Colonel Adam and the advance. At every point the enemy was repulsed—at many, at the point of the bayonet. At one point, in particular, where a French grenadier battalion had gained the summit of the hill, but was charged and driven from the heights by a corps under the command of Col. Casans. Major-general Whittingham highly applauds the conduct of Col. Casans, Col. Romero, Col. Campbell, Col. Casteras, and Lieut.-col. Ochoa, who commanded at various points of the hills. To the chief of his staff, Colonel Serrano, he likewise expresses himself to be equally obliged on this, as well as many other occasions; and he acknowledges, with gratitude, the services of Colonel Catinelli, of the staff of the Italian levy, who was attached to him during the day.

"It now only remains for me to acknowledge the cordial co-operation and support I have met with from the several general officers and brigadiers, as well as from the various officers in charge of departments attached to this army. To Major-general Donkin, quarter-master-general, I am particularly indebted, for the zeal and ability with which he conducts the duties of his extensive department, and the gallantry he displays on every occasion. Major Kenah, who is at the head of the adjutant-general's department, affords me every satisfaction. Lieutenant-colonel Holcombe, and, under his orders, Major Williamson, conduct the artillery branch of the service in a manner highly creditable. The different brigades of guns, under Captains Lacy, Thomson, and Gilmour, (and Garcia, of the Sicilian army) and Lieutenant Patton, of the flying artillery, were extremely useful, and most gallantly served; and the Portuguese artillery supported the reputation their countrymen have acquired.

"The army is now in march. I proceed to Alcoy, in the hope, but not the sanguine hope,

that I may be enabled to force the Albayda Pass, and reach the entrenched position of the enemy of San Felipe, before he can arrive there. I consider this movement as promising greater advantages than a direct pursuit, as the road which he has chosen being very favorable for cavalry, in which arm he is so much superior, I should probably be delayed too long to strike any blow of importance."

On the 14th of May, the plan of operations was varied, and a great force of English infantry, cavalry, and artillery, passed the Douro by a magnificent bridge of boats, placed at Torremarano: the object was to attack the enemy's left flank, and oblige him to abandon the Douro. Silveira arrived on the 13th, with his division of 5,000 men, at Sierra de Gata, and had his head-quarters at Trivegos. The following was the plan of operations laid down by Lord Wellington for the ensuing campaign:—The combined army was to be divided into three columns, of which the right, supposing the front, at the outset, to extend from north to south along the confines of Portugal and Spain, was to advance along the line of the Tagus to Toledo, where it was proposed that it should form a junction with the army of Alicant, under Sir John Murray. This column to consist of the second division of the grand army, under Sir Rowland Hill.

The second, or centre column, consisting of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and light divisions, to be under the immediate command of the Marquis of Wellington, who would advance by way of Salamanca. The immediate object of this corps, which comprised the main strength of the army, was to drive the enemy from his positions on the right bank of the Douro, if he should attempt to maintain them.

The third column, forming the left, consisting of the first, third, and fifth divisions, under the command of Sir Thomas Graham, was to march at first directly northward within the Portuguese frontier, through the province of Trallos Montes to Braganza, whence it was to enter Spain, turning the French corps on the Douro, and hastening their retreat, if they should not have retired previously. Sir Thomas Graham would then take the line of Benevente to Burgos. The siege of that fortress would be formed in further prosecution of the plan, when Lord Wellington, with such further part of the army as it might be found necessary to carry so far northward, should have arrived on the Ebro; on the course of which river, and in the strong places behind it, the principal resistance of the enemy was expected.

A considerable part of the British force was to be left in Madrid, where the central depôt was to be established; the principal depôts were, however, to remain as usual, at Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida.

On the 26th Lord Wellington entered Salamanca (the scene of his late victory) at full gallop, at the head of a regiment of hussars. Villat had retreated in part, but Lord Wellington came up with his rear. The town was not in the least injured by the French while they were the occupiers.

The victory of Vittoria, June 21, which was obtained by the allied army, was considered as one of the most complete and decisive that had ever been recorded. The following was Lord Wellington's account of this splendid achievement, which occasioned every possible demonstration of enthusiasm and exultation among his countrymen.

"The enemy's army, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having Marshal Jourdan as the major-general of the army, took up a position, on the night of the 19th, in front of Vittoria, the left of which rested upon the heights which end at Puebla de Arlanzon, and extended from thence across the valley of Zadora, in front of the village of Arunez. They occupied, with the right of the centre, a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and the right of their army was stationed near Vittoria, and was destined to defend the passage of the river Zadora, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve, in rear of their left, in the village of Gomecha.

"The nature of the country through which the army had passed since it had reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended our columns, and we halted on the 20th, in order to close them up, and moved the left to Margina, where it was most likely it would be necessary: I reconnoitred the enemy's position on that day, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it.

"We accordingly attacked the enemy on the 21st, and the allied army, under my command, gained a complete victory; having driven them from all their positions, having taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, and all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c. and a considerable number of prisoners.

"The operations of the day commenced by Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested, which heights they had not occupied in great strength. He detached on this service one brigade of the Spanish division, under General Murille; the other brigade being employed in keeping the communication between his main body, on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy, however, soon discovered the importance of the heights, and reinforced their troops there to such an extent, as that Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill was obliged to detach, first,

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the 71st regiment, and the light infantry battalion of Major-general Walker's brigade, under the command of the Honorable Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan, and successively other troops to the same point; and the allies not only gained, but maintained possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to retake them. The contest here, however, was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Murillo was wounded, but remained in the field; and the Honorable Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan died of a wound which he received.

"Under cover of the possession of these heights, Sir Rowland Hill successively passed the Zadora, at La Puebla and the defile formed by the heights and the river Zadora, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Sabijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, which the enemy made repeated attempts to regain.

"The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between our different columns moving to the attack from their stations on the river Bayas at as early an hour as I had expected, and it was late before I knew that the column composed of the third and seventh divisions, under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at the station appointed for them.

"The fourth and light divisions, however, passed the Zadora immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had possession of Sabijana de Alava, the former at the bridge of Nanclaus, and the latter at the bridge of Tres Puentes, and almost as soon as these had crossed, the column under the Earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendonza, and the third division, under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, crossed at the bridge higher up, followed by the seventh division, under the Earl of Dalhousie.

"These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Sabijana de Alava to attack the left; the enemy, however, having weakened his line, to strengthen his detachment in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley, as soon as he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria.

"Our troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground.

"In the mean time, Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the first and fifth divisions, and Generals Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and Generals Bock's and Anson's brigades of cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to Margina, moved forward from thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had besides with him the Spanish

division under Colonel Longa, and General Giron, who had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been re-called, and had arrived on the 20th at Orduna, marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support Lieutenant-general Sir T. Graham, if his support had been required.

"The enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Major. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly occupied, as têtes-de-pont of the bridges over the Zadora at these places. Brigadier-general Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa, with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major-general Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the fifth division of infantry, under the command of Major-general Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops.

"Lieutenant-general Sir T. Graham reports, that in the execution of this service, the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably. The fourth and eighth caçadores particularly distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Minor.

"As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Major was most gallantly stormed and carried by Brigadier-general Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon.

"The lieutenant-general then proceeded to attack the village of Abochuco, with the first division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dubourdieu's brigade and Captain Ramsey's troop of horse-artillery; and, under cover of this fire, Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge: this attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry.

"During the operation at Abochuco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Major, which were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the fifth division, under the command of Major-general Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on the left of the Zadora, two divisions of reserve, and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark.

"The movement of the troops under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pamplona; but they were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole therefore of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions, occupied by the enemy in their retreat from their first position on Arunez and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had, were taken close to Vittoria. I have reason to believe that the enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only.

"The army under Joseph Bonaparte consisted of the whole of the armies of the south and of the centre, and of four divisions, and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the north. General Foix's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilboa; and General Clausel, who commands the army of the north, was near Logrono, with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by General Topin, and General Vandermasen's division of the army of the north.

"The sixth division of the allied army, under Major-general the Honorable Edward Pakenham, was likewise absent, having been detained at Medina del Pomar for three days, to cover the march of our magazines and stores.

"I cannot extol too highly the good conduct of all the general-officers, officers, and soldiers of the army in this action. Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill speaks highly of the conduct of General Murillo, and the Spanish troops under his command; and of that of Lieutenant-general the Honorable W. Stewart, and the Comde d'Amarante, who commanded divisions of infantry under his directions. He likewise mentions the conduct of the Honorable Lieutenant-colonel O'Callagan, who maintained the village of Sabijana de Alava against all the efforts of the enemy to regain possession of it; and that of Lieutenant-colonel Brooke, of the adjutant-general's department; and Lieutenant-colonel the Honorable Alexander Abercromby, of the quarter-master-general's department.

"It was impossible for the movements of any troops to be conducted with more spirit and regularity than those of the respective divisions of Lieutenant-general the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Lowry Cole, and Major-general Charles Baron Alten. These troops advanced in echelons of regiments, in two, and occasionally three lines; and the Portuguese troops, in the third and fourth divisions, under the command of Brigadier-general Power and Colo-

nel Stubbs, led the march with a steadiness and gallantry never surpassed on any occasion.

"Major-general the Hon. C. Colville's brigade, of the third division, was seriously attacked, in its advance, by a very superior force, well formed; which it drove in, supported by General Inglis's brigade of the seventh division, commanded by Colonel Grant, of the 82d. These officers, and the troops under their command, distinguished themselves.

"Major-general Vandeleur's brigade of the light division was, during the advance upon Vittoria, detached to the support of the seventh division; and Lieutenant-general the Earl of Dalhousie has reported most favorably of its conduct.

"Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham particularly reports his sense of the assistance he received from Colonel Delancy, deputy-quarter-master-general, and from Lieutenant-colonel Bouverie, of the adjutant-general's department, and from the officers of his personal staff; and from the Honorable Lieutenant-colonel Upton, assistant-quarter-master-general, and Major Hope, assistant-adjutant, with the first division; and Major-general Oswald reports the same of Lieutenant-colonel Berkeley, of the adjutant-general's department, and Lieutenant-colonel Gomm, of the quarter-master-general's department.

"I am particularly indebted to Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, and Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, for the manner in which they have respectively conducted the service entrusted to them since the commencement of the operations, which have ended in the battle of the 21st, and for their conduct in that battle; as likewise to Marshal Sir William Beresford, for the friendly advice and assistance which I have received from him upon all occasions during the late operations.

"I must not omit to mention, likewise, the conduct of General Giron, who commands the Galician army, who made a forced march from Oroduna, and was actually on the ground in readiness to support Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham.

"The Quarter-master-general, Major-general George Murray, in the late operations, and in the battle of the 21st, gave me the greatest assistance. I am likewise indebted much to Lord Aylmer, the deputy-adjutant-general, and to the officers of the adjutant and quarter-master-general's departments respectively, and to Lieutenant-colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and the officers of my personal staff; and to Lieutenant-colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, and the officers of the royal engineers.

"Colonel his serene highness the hereditary Prince of Orange was in the field as my aide-de-camp, and conducted himself with his usual gallantry and intelligence.

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"Mareschal-del-campo Don Louis Wimpfen, and the Inspector-general Don Thomas O'Donnoju, and the officers of the staff of the Spanish army, have invariably rendered me every assistance in their power in the course of these operations; and I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction at their conduct, as likewise with that of Mareschal-del-campo Don Miguel de Alava, and of Brigadier-general Don Joseph O'Lawlor, who have been so long and so usefully employed with me.

"The artillery was most judiciously placed by Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, and was well served, and the army is particularly indebted to that corps.

"The nature of the ground did not allow of the cavalry being generally engaged; but the general officers, commanding the several brigades, kept the troops under their command respectively close to the infantry to support them, and they were most active in the pursuit of the enemy after they had been driven through Vittoria."

The forward movements of Lord Wellington equally astonished his friends and enemies; in fact, his lordship, astonished his most sanguine partizans. It was anticipated by every one of them, in the first place, that the French would have made a stand upon the Douro; and that having possessed themselves, and strongly garrisoned the towns of Toro, Zamora, Tordesillas, and Valladolid, they would not have abandoned such strong ground without some struggle. It became a matter, therefore, of some interest, to inquire by what means the Marquis had at length effected, without difficulty, what it was the vain labour of the greatest part of the last campaign to attempt.

The first consideration is, What was the situation of the French upon the opening of the campaign? It was briefly as follows: The French corps were all assembled and concentrated upon the line of the Douro, between Zamora and Valladolid; that is to say, they possessed all the strong points on the northern bank of that river. This bank, according to the report of the engineers, is rough and precipitous, and commands all the lower ground of the opposite bank. It was generally considered, therefore, that it was the purpose of the French to make their stand upon this high ground; and it certainly would have been a point of very great difficulty to have forced it. The marquis, therefore, with a very prudent dexterity, endeavoured to elude the necessity of this laborious and perilous effort; and with these intentions, instead of crossing the river directly opposite to the enemy, he marched higher

up towards its mouth, and crossed it in Portugal. By these means he at once surprised the enemy, and compelled them to withdraw. The marquis presented himself on a road where no one expected him, and therefore found no opposition to his advance. On the contrary, as he was upon the rear of the enemy, they were compelled hastily to abandon all the positions which they had been so long in fortifying. This was the first advantage.

The next consideration is, what was the subsequent line of operation adopted, and evidently intended, by the Marquis Wellington. Having thus passed the Douro, and eluded the necessity of forcing the strong ground on the northern bank of that river, the marquis pursued the same course of operation with respect to the next river upon his road of advance. He crossed the Ebro as he had crossed the Douro. Instead of forcing a passage, he eluded, by the exertion of his masterly skill, the necessity of forcing it, and effected the passage over it with as much ease, and as little opposition, as if he had passed the Tagus in Portugal. It was by these means, therefore, which appeared very simple after the thing was done, but which no one would have thought of, till they had been instructed in the event—it was by these means that the Marquis Wellington effected an operation which must be considered as one of the most splendid in the whole history of the war, and which will not sink in comparison with the best-imagined and best-executed manœuvre of modern times.

The Marquis of Wellington received, for this victory, the unanimous thanks of both houses of parliament; and the glorious results of it were thus, in a short but emphatic compass, recorded in the *Corunna papers*, dated July 4:—

Valencia is evacuated!—Pamplona besieged!—Barcelona invested!—Tarragona taken!—Wellington marching to cut off Suchet!—and the British flag unfurled in France!!!

Field-marshal Wellington's head-quarters were, before this battle, at Orcayen, not far to the south-east of Pamplona, in which place a garrison of 1,200 men was closely besieged. The hero was proceeding to Jaca, in order to intercept Suchet, and thus clear the Peninsula of the only remaining force in the country, which retained any thing like the appearance or consistency of an army. Jaca is the capital of a district in Arragon, and about forty-five miles from the renowned city of Saragossa, in a direction almost due north; so that the allied army marched from Pamplona across the country, almost parallel with the Pyrenees.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Russia.—Description of Bonaparte's Person advertised.—The Emperor Alexander arrives at Wilna.—Battle of Posen.—The Russians enter Berlin.—Their Advance towards Hamburgh.—Insurrection against the French.—The Russians enter Hamburgh.—The King of Prussia enters into a Treaty with the Emperor Alexander.

THE separation of 30,000 Prussians from the French army, in consequence of the treaty of D'York with the Russians, (mentioned in chap. 5,) rendered the latter formidable enemies to Bonaparte at the commencement of the year.

It has been intimated in our third chapter, that the Emperor Alexander endeavoured to prevent the escape of the enemy, and great expectations were entertained by the Russians of taking Bonaparte prisoner, as appears by the following orders and description of his person:

"It is hereby commanded, to all the generals of corps, all the chiefs of Cossack regiments, and also, all the partisans who act round the remains of the French grand army, under the orders of the Emperor Napoleon in person, to redouble their activity and attention in the execution of their duty, that nothing may escape of the ruins of that army. After the immense losses which it has sustained for more than six weeks, during which our light troops have taken from one to six thousand men a day; after having seen a great part of their cavalry destroyed; and, above all, after the glorious day of the 6th (18th) of this month, when General Benningsen completely defeated the King of Naples, with a loss of a part of his artillery, and such ruin to his cavalry, that it has since never dared to shew itself before us; it would be a shame to our army and our light troops, if a single man of the enemy was ever to return to France, and not pay with his life or his captivity, the guilty insolence of having dared to follow, into the heart of the Russian provinces, that black aggressor who makes a sport of the blood of his people. The reinforcements of cavalry that have lately come up, amount to 20,000 men, among whom are twenty-six regiments of Cossacks of the Don, who every day take a number of pieces of cannon from the rear of the enemy, which weakened, harassed, and worn down, is now reduced to the most deplorable situation, and employs all its efforts to evade our vigilance and escape our attacks. With these decided advantages, we repeat, that no Frenchman should ever see his country again; but we lay it more than all upon the responsibility of the commanders and chiefs of the Cossack regiments, and on all our detached parties, so to watch round the French army, that the Emperor Napoleon may not personally escape. For this purpose, we add

his description to this order of the day. This description is equally to be acted upon by all the chiefs of districts, all authorities, civil or military, all post-masters, &c. If this order is strictly executed, artillery, ammunition, equipage, every thing must fall into our hands. We shall also recover, as we have already done in part, the consecrated spoils which this sacrilegious profaner, renewing the Vandalism of the revolution, has plundered from our temples.

"Description of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

"The figure short and compact,—the hair black, flat, and short,—the beard black and strong, shaved up towards the ear,—the eyebrows strongly arched, but contracted towards the nose,—the nose aqueline, with perpetual marks of snuff,—the countenance gloomy and violent,—the chin extremely projecting,—always in a little uniform without ornaments,—generally wrapped in a little grey surtout, to avoid being remarked,—and continually attended by a Mameluke."

After the disastrous retreat of Bonaparte, the Russians captured 41 generals, 1,298 officers, 167,510 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and 1,131 pieces of cannon.

The fate of Wilna was happily decided by the hasty flight of the trembling invaders. On the 1st of January, (new style,) the Russian guards entered the city, under the command of his imperial highness the czarewitch and grand duke, and universal joy prevailed. The presence of the Emperor Alexander increased this satisfaction. His imperial majesty was met seventy wersts from Wilna, at the village of Michalischek, by the field-post inspector, Doliwa Dobrowolskij, and at the last station from hence, at the village Jaswa, by Colonel Tschernosubow, with a regiment of Cossacks, amid the joyful acclamations of a great concourse of people, who had arrived from every quarter, and who accompanied him to this city. At the same station, the Jewish congregation of Wilna had likewise the happiness of welcoming his majesty, with bread and salt, amid the shouts of "Long live the great monarch, Alexander the First."

On entering the city, his majesty was received by Major-general Strawkow, and Lieutenant-

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general Oertel; and at the palace of the general field-marshal, by the whole of the general officers. In the evening the city was illuminated. Early in the morning of his majesty's birth-day, he was pleased to attend the parade of the guards, and after returning to the palace, he received the congratulations of the military and civil officers. When his majesty went to the church to hear the holy liturgy, the town-corps of the city, with their colours, stood before the palace; and when the colours saluted, a joyful hurrah ensued. The dinner-table for his majesty was, on this solemn day, laid at the house of the field-marshal-general, with whom it pleased his majesty to spend the evening. Whilst the cannon were firing during dinner-time, joyful exclamations and hurrahs intermingled with the thunder of the artillery throughout the city. The inhabitants embraced each other, as in the holy Easter feast, and loudly expressed their heartfelt joy. In the evening, this general solemnity was concluded with several illuminations. In the theatre, before the close of the piece, a transparent picture of his majesty was placed in view, before which, the happy people, singing solemn songs with great feeling, expressed their grateful thanks for the delivery of this part of the country.

His imperial majesty, on his arrival at Wilna, was pleased to appoint General Field-marshal Prince Golenistchew Kutusoff, of Smolensk, a knight of the first class, and grand cross of the military order of St. George the martyr and bringer of victory.

For the defence of his empire, his majesty had enjoined, by proclamation:

1. That there shall be a general levy throughout the empire of eight men in every 500.
2. That the governments of Pultowa, Chernigoff, Courland, Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, Bialystok, Tarnopol, and Georgia, be exempted.
3. That Siberia shall have a separate regulation.
4. That the land-owners and citizens who have furnished men to the militia, shall be exempted from this levy.
5. That the levy shall be commenced in each government within two weeks, and ended within four, from the publication of this order.

After the arrival of the Russian forces at Konigsberg, the fortress of Pillage was summoned by them in such a manner, January 28, as to prevent all communication from the outside. The enemy endeavoured to send off a considerable quantity of ammunition from thence to Dantzic, but was prevented by the Russian detachments. A convoy of provisions, which was going to Dantzic, was likewise taken, together with its escort, consisting of one company.

On the 29th, Adjutant-general Massiltschikow, with his detachment, took possession of Ostro-

linska; and Count Michael Worenzow took Bromberg, with its valuable magazines.

On the 2d of February, a detachment of Cossacks, which preceded the columns of the grand army, and marched before the van-guard, entered Plozk, and immediately passed the Visula, in further pursuit of the enemy.

A considerable magazine was found at Plozk, in which, among other things, were 500 korez of oats, 6,000 centners of flour, 800 barrels of salt, &c. &c. A party detached by Adjutant-general Baron Winzingerode had taken possession of Kowaki, and there found a small magazine established by the enemy.

After a sanguinary battle on the 18th, near Posen, in which the French were defeated, 19,000 Russians entered Berlin on the 20th. The procession began about 10 in the morning. His royal highness Prince Henry of Prussia rode by the side of his excellency the general of cavalry, Count Wittgenstein, attended by a great number of Russian and Prussian generals, a regiment of dragoons, two regiments of infantry, and several batteries of artillery, of twelve pieces each, in the whole, forty-eight pieces of artillery, with ninety-six powder-waggon, martial music playing the whole time, and the spectators waving their hats and handkerchiefs, with a continual hurrah in honor of the Emperor Alexander, which was answered by the Russians with shouts of "Long live Frederick William!" In the afternoon Prince Henry of Prussia gave a grand dinner to Prince Wittgenstein, Prince Repnin, general and military governor of this capital, and a great number of other Russian generals and officers. His excellency afterwards went to the opera; and at night the whole city was voluntarily illuminated.

The next day his excellency Count Wittgenstein caused the following acknowledgment to be inserted in the public gazettes of this city:—

"By the enthusiasm with which the inhabitants of Berlin have received the imperial Russian troops; by the affection and high respect which they have on this occasion expressed for his majesty the emperor, my master; by the esteem and gratitude with which they have treated the troops, whom they consider as their deliverers from an insupportable yoke, I feel myself required to express the warmest thankfulness, in the name of my sovereign, to the inhabitants of the capital of the Prussian monarchy for these sentiments. I shall not fail to state them to his majesty the emperor, and I doubt not that they will make the same impression upon him as they have made upon myself.

"Count WITTGENSTEIN, general of cavalry."

All the Hanse Towns, all Prussia, and indeed the whole of the north of Germany, were in a

state of insurrection against the French. In Hamburg the French attempted to carry off the specie of the bank, but the populace rose and massacred most of the plunderers. The custom-houses were pulled down, the police-officers beaten, and their houses pillaged. French cockades and flags were torn down, and cries every where heard of "Down with Napoleon—Long life to the Emperor of Russia." The Austrians opposed no resistance to the Russians, but appeared, at this period, inclined to join them.

When the Russians entered Berlin a proclamation was issued by his majesty the Emperor of Russia, by which a full amnesty was assured to all the inhabitants of the late Polish, now Russian, provinces:—

"We, Alexander the First, by the Grace of God, Emperor and Autocrat of all Russia, &c. make known to every one,

"That whereas, in the course of the present war with the French, the main part of the inhabitants of the former Polish, but now Russian provinces and circles, have remained loyal to us; and for such cause have an equal claim on our favor and gratitude towards them, with all our other faithful subjects; but, there are others, who have by numerous ways drawn upon them our just anger. Some of these, on the enemy's entering the borders of our empire, either through dread of force and violence, or because they expected to save their property from destruction and rapine, accepted the offices and employments forced on them by the enemy; others, whose numbers are less, but whose crimes are much greater, as having taken the part of the foreign invader, even before his irruption into their country; and taken up arms with him, against us, and preferred being his shameless abettors rather than remaining our faithful subjects—these last should feel the sword of justice: but as we have already seen the wrath of God poured out on them, which has beaten them to the earth, as well as those who have implicitly surrendered; and as we are inclined to hear the voice of pity and compassion, which holds away in our breast, we make known our general and free pardon, consigning every thing past to eternal silence and oblivion, and likewise forbid in future all and every denunciation; in the perfect confidence, that those who have been unfaithful to us will feel the clemency of such procedure, and return back to their habitations within the space of two months from this day. But if any of them should remain in the service of our enemy after that period, without profiting by our clemency, and continue in the commission of the same crime after this pardon, Russia will consider them as confirmed rebels, and not receive them again into her bosom; but the whole of their estates shall

be confiscated. And although the prisoners of war who were taken with arms in their hands shall not be excluded from this general pardon, yet we cannot, without infringement of justice, follow the impulse of our heart, until their captivity shall be ended by the conclusion of the present war; but even these shall likewise in due time arrive at the enjoyment of the advantages granted by this our pardon, which we extend to all and every one. Therefore may every individual partake in the general joy on the breaking of the power, and total destruction of the enemy of all nations; and, with open hearts express their gratitude to the Supreme Being! We likewise hope, that this our fatherly forgiveness, to which we have been impelled solely by sentiments of clemency, will bring the misguided to due repentance; and, in general, prove to all the inhabitants of those provinces, that they, as being of a nation which has for centuries past spoken the same language as the Russians, and are also descended from the same stock, can never, or in any place, be so safe and happy as in being perfectly united and incorporated with the powerful and generous Russian empire.

"ALEXANDER."

After the grand French army, (including the division of Grenier, amounting to 20,000 men, which, in the beginning of January, had hastened from Italy to its support,) had been reduced, by several severe engagements with the Cossacks, to about 18,000 men, and quitted Berlin, to lay the basis of future operations, in a more solid manner, somewhere or other behind the Elbe, but where they themselves did not well know, General Morand, who kept possession of Swedish Pomerania with about 2,500 men, and who, according to his first instructions, was to have maintained himself there, at all events, put himself in march to follow the grand army, whose left wing he formed, under the name of the army of Pomerania. On his march he was joined by the custom-house officers established there, and who wished to avoid any unpleasant collision with the inhabitants, who had shown them proofs, on many occasions, that they did not consider it as very high crime to maltreat, or even kill, custom-house officers: the mounted custom-house officers formed the cavalry of Morand's corps; this cavalry was about fifty men strong. The artillery consisted of eighteen pieces.

The Russian colonel, Baron Von Tettenborn, marched with his corps in the direction of Hamburg; his van-guard was at Lunenburg, when Morand, on the 15th of March, entered into Molln. Some parties of Cossacks that had been detached in front, and who appeared opposite Molln, caused the army of Pomerania to halt, and induced General Morand to remain there for

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the day, and in the night to march to Bergedorf, where he was met by the eleventh military division, and the custom-house officers stationed in Hamburg. General Morand made a feint of marching from Bergedorf to Hamburg, but was prevented by the Danish troops; 3,000 men of whom, with a numerous artillery, were stationed on the borders to maintain their neutrality.

It now appeared to be General Morand's intention to take a position in Bergedorf and the Vierlanden, and for this purpose garrisoned Eschenburg, a place situated a German mile towards Lauenburg, with 500 men and eight pieces of artillery. From Eschenburg to Bergedorf it is one continued defile, where cavalry was totally useless, and from this defile to the Elbe is a morassy country, cut through with innumerable canals; and possibly General Morand had calculated on being able to keep this post; but the regiments of Cossacks, pushed forward by Lieutenant-colonel Beckendorff, commander of the van-guard, fell in with the enemy, when some volunteers immediately dismounted, and continuing skirmishing, kept the enemy employed till late in the night. The enemy was not sparing of his cannon-shot, and answered every hurrah of the Cossacks with a fire of grape-shot. Meanwhile a detachment of Cossacks were sent by a bye-road to Bergedorf, who had driven the enemy's picquets into the town, and put every thing in alarm. After three such attacks, General Morand deemed the whole position untenable, and at break of day he marched to the custom-house store, from whence all the baggage had, in the course of the night, been sent across the Elbe. Colonel Von Tettenborn immediately caused the enemy to be pursued from Bergedorf as far as Eschenburg; at a mile's distance from the custom-house store, the enemy made a stand on a cross-dam, and placed a battery of six guns against the only dam by which he could be approached. The brave Cossacks kept up a fire of musketry, but could make no impression on the enemy, by reason of his advantageous situation. Colonel Von Tettenborn, notwithstanding the apparent disadvantage of the position, then caused a piece of artillery to be brought up. This gun, notwithstanding the very brisk fire kept up by the enemy with such a superior force of artillery, produced indeed a decisive effect on the enemy, who retreated with the utmost expedition. The Cossacks pursued him with rapidity, and did not allow him time to carry off the artillery, which was already put on board some craft. The enemy's convoy escaped in small boats, leaving six pieces of cannon behind them, which the Cossacks immediately made themselves masters of.

The day after this fortunate expedition, March 18, Colonel Von Tettenborn entered Hamburg—the fifth good city of the great French empire;

but which had ceased to be a good city, even before the entrance of the Russian troops, and was merely denominated a city, without any additional title.

Before the Russians entered Hamburg, Count Von Wittgenstein sent the following addresses.

“To the inhabitants of the electorate of Hanover, the principality of Lauenburg, the freeimperial cities of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen, and the territory of Munster.—To the inhabitants of the duchies of Westphalia and Berg, the principality of East Friesland, the Mork, and the lordships of Lingen and Tecklenburg, &c.

“German friends! Ye know not what you were, and what you are become. Ye were Germans, but ye have been forced to become Frenchmen; or, ye were free and happy citizens, and ye now bear those chains to which the compassion of the whole world sees one of the most civilized people of Europe debased. But take courage! Strongly has the justice of God shewn itself on the banks of the Dnieper, the Dwina, and the Berezina; and heavy has the sword of his vengeance fallen on the head of your enemies, of the general enemies of liberty, of the laws of nations, and of the independence of your princes—the enemies of all social virtue.

“Heavily injured German friends! The hour of your redemption draws nigh; already does the van-guard of my corps, now entering your territory, bring you my salute from Berlin. Bound in the closest alliance with Prussia, England, and his other powerful allies, Alexander, the liberator, my victorious lord and emperor, sends me to you, to break your chains, to restore you to your languages, your ancient forms of government, so dear to you, and to restore you to yourselves.

Irritated and revengeful, that good fortune, which has been so much misused by your oppressor, has suddenly turned her back upon him. He has lost an army of half a million experienced warriors. He may still drive together some heaps of unhappy sacrifices to his ambition, but he will never again be able to raise a formidable army. With a powerful hand has Russia torn away the bandage from the eyes of the nations;—the magic, which enchained their senses, is dissolved; they have again begun to value themselves and their own strength: and even that nation itself, equally unfortunate as sensible, begins, with blushes, to feel that she, as a blind instrument of the wild and insatiable ambition of a foreigner, is carrying her own chains into countries which formerly received the arts and sciences from her. Brave men of Germany! learn to comprehend, that it is by your own selves that ye are kept in chains—that to be free ye do not stand in need even of our assistance, but only of your own energetic will. Receive the valiant Russians as your friends—as your allies. Join yourselves to them

and to the Prussians—your brethren—your relations—who come with them in the noblest and most sacred cause for which an alliance was ever formed. But ye, ye few unworthy Germans, the despicable instruments of expiring tyranny, tremble at the impending vengeance of God and man. Whilst I shall continue to treat every French warrior that falls into my hands, according to the most liberal laws of imprisonment in war; every German taken with arms in his hand against his native country shall, in the most distant provinces of Russia, bewail his ever having drawn his sword against the liberty of his fellow-citizens.

(Signed) "Count Von WITTGENSTEIN.
"Head-quarters at Berlin, March 16, 1813."

"To the inhabitants of the duchy of Brunswick Wolfenbittel; those parts of the Old Marche lying on the left bank of the Elbe and Magdeburg, the territories of Halle, Hildesheim, the city of Goslar, the lands of Halberstadt, Hokenstein, the territory of Quedlinburg, the counties of Mansfield, the Eichfeldes, of Treffurt, Muhlhausen, and Nordhausen.—To the inhabitants of the county of Stollberg, Wernigerode, the states of Hesse Cassel, of Rinteln, and Schaumburg, the territory of Katzenellenbogen, of Corvey, Gottingen and Grubenhagen, of Hohenstein and Elbingerode, the bishoprics of Osnaburg and Paderborn, of Minden, Ravensberg, and the county of Rietberg Kaunitz.

"German friends! Already have you too long obeyed a foreigner, never called to any throne,—who has no share in your interests—who has torn from you your rightful princes, that he might purchase a brainless vision for his horrid ambition, with the strength of your country, and the blood of your children. This insatiable ambition he fastened to the dreadful chain which he calls conscription, to draw away your sons and brothers, the hopeless flower of your country, to distant lands, where they dreadfully ended their lives in battles, in prisons, and in hospitals, venting imprecations on their cold-blooded tyrants and your weakness—lives which belonged to their native country, to their families—and which would have gladdened your days.

"Much-injured German friends! Your despair, the bitter tears of your mothers, wives, and brides, have become heavy in the scales of heaven. The victims of the most cruel tyranny, which have passed your impoverished habitations (now filled with misery,) and which could only raise horror and pity, have informed you of the severe vengeance which heavenly justice, whose patience was at length wearied out, has taken on the banks of the Dnieper. Receive by my advanced guards, now entering your countries, my salute, from Berlin—The hour of your deliverance has struck!

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"It is not the intent of the victorious emperor, my gracious lord, to conquer your country, but to gain your hearts, your thanks, and the gratitude of your succeeding generations. Bound in the closest alliance with Prussia, and his other powerful allies, Alexander, the liberator, sends me to you, to break your disgraceful fetters—to restore you your lawful princes, your native country, your language, laws, and customs—to free you from a foreign superior, who—history has yet no example of such an unnatural contempt of men—publicly and solemnly declares, 'that the first duty which he exacts from the regents he has given to the nations conquered by him, belongs to him; the second, to France; and only the third, to the people governed by them.'

"Brave and generous Germans! Will you suffer me alone to fulfil the honorable commission entrusted to me by my mighty emperor? Or has your slavery not yet so far debased you, but that you are still capable of feeling the emotions of revenge against your shameless oppressors, and will, in junction with me, reach the beautiful and appointed end in view?

"The magic deception is destroyed: the want of plan—of resolution—and incertitude in all their military movements—plainly shows you, that even the spirited French nation itself is gradually beginning to feel the dishonorable part to which the most cruel despotism has, hitherto unpunished, debased her. It must clearly appear to you, that you are kept in chains by means of yourselves, and that it merely depends on the return of the feeling your own value—that it requires only your own strong will, even without our assistance, to cease being the vassals of a foreign despot.

"You, prefects, and other public officers of the state! will ye assist the virtuous efforts of your fellow-citizens in reclaiming their most sacred rights, or will ye sink yourselves to be the assistants of a now expiring tyranny? In the latter case, do not reckon on my protection against the just vengeance of the people. I, myself, will some time place you and your assistants before the tribunal of the nation you have so greatly injured.

"Given at the head-quarters at Berlin, the 16th March, 1813.

(Signed) "The Count Von WITTGENSTEIN."

The following were Baron Von Tettenborn's proclamations to the inhabitants of Hamburg.

"Hamburgers! You dissolved the authorities established under the French government, even before the Russian troops had entered your territory, and restored the old magistracy.—This manly and respectable deed, with which you commenced the work of your liberation, and which has set you as an example for all Germany,

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tenders you worthy of the countenance of my monarch and the esteem of the Russian nation. You did not lead us into a new French, but into an old German city, and it was only by such a way that we could salute you as brethren.—Your joy on our entering your city has deeply affected every one among us; but still, ye German men and brethren! your joy will not be complete until you join your hands with ours in the great work of releasing Germany. Therefore, to arms! Whoever felt the ignominy of suffering oppression—to arms, for your country and justice! The great work of liberation is not yet completed, and until then no one should think of enjoying rest or pleasure.

"The most honorable employment now is to draw the sword, and drive, far away from the German territory, those foreigners who have already been pursued above 1,200 miles by the victorious Russian armies. Shame and disgrace fall on every one, who, in these eventful times, when the struggle is for the greatest blessings of the human race, can sit with his arms folded. Therefore, again, to arms! to arms! Under the protection of our august monarch, you will assemble under our own colours; and I am happy that it has fallen to my lot, to be the first to lead you against your enemies, and be a witness of your valour.

(Signed) "The imperial Russian colonel and commandant of a corps of Count Von Wittgenstein,

"Baron Von TETTENBORN,
"Hamburgh, the 7th (19th) March, 1813."

Proclamation.

"Having been informed, that much French property, (i. e. property of the French state or government,) still remains in this city, and is secreted for the benefit of the enemies of the country; and having also already received the intelligence of several places where such is kept or secreted; I hereby require all inhabitants of the city of Hamburgh, or its territory, to give me immediate information of all such French property, whether consisting in goods or money, concealed under whatsoever form it may be. Whosoever shall omit giving such intelligence, within the space of twenty-four hours from this day, shall, even though not the possessor, but merely having a knowledge of such transactions, be punished as a traitor to his country.

"Given at Hamburgh, the 7th (19th) of March, 1813.

(Signed) "The imperial Russian colonel and commandant of a corps d'armée under the Count of Wittgenstein,
"Baron Von TETTENBORN."

The Russians entered Hamburgh amidst the

joyful acclamations of the citizens, and in consequence of this happy event, the ancient government was restored.—Satisfaction smiled on every countenance. The Cossacks could not move from their posts, but every hand was ready to help them to alight, every arm to embrace them, and when their bodies could not be reached, their clothes were eagerly grasped. Mothers lifted up their children to take them by the hand, and on all sides loud *vivas* resounded to welcome them.

The King of Prussia, who was immediately visited by the Emperor Alexander, concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with his imperial majesty. In consequence of this treaty, Count Von Wittgenstein issued the following order.

"It has pleased his royal majesty the King of Prussia to join all his troops under the command of Lieutenant-general Von York to my corps.

"The command of so greatly distinguished warriors is in every respect flattering and honorable to me, and a security for the success of the good cause in which I bear my sword.

"Our nations have been friends for more than fifty years; a dark interval of a few months, brought about by imperious circumstances, has only more animated the friendly sentiments of both our great sovereigns towards each other, and drawn still closer the ties existing between their people. There is but one, one only, great interest which connects us. It is the strife of liberty, of virtue, against the enemy of the independence of all nations. What you, valiant Prussians, have done against us, through the real feeling of duty, though contrary to your better knowledge, is proved by the history of the last campaign, by our own testimony. You will be unconquerable, now that you can join this sense of duty to the high conviction that you fight for the independence of your native country, and your king, and for your own honor.

"Noble Prussian Warriors, let us, in fraternal love and unity, proceed onward to the attainment of the greatest end for which armies were ever united. Ours is the very singular happiness of serving two princes, who have drawn the sword for the happiness and independence of their nations, and for the salvation of Europe;—two nations but by name, no trifling interests of common life will part us in our sacred combat: Without jealousy—without any personal concern intervening—we will jointly conquer the laurels with which, after our work is completed, the gratitude of liberated nations will form our wreaths.

(Signed) "Count Von WITTGENSTEIN.
"Head-quarters, at Berlin, March 18, 1813."

Baron Von Tettenborn gave notice, that all persons who should allow themselves to keep up a connection with the French, and also such Ger-

mans who should hereafter supply the French with any kind of articles in those states of Germany still occupied by the French, should be considered as traitors to their native country, and be brought before a court-martial.

The King of Prussia now declared General D'York free from all blame respecting the convention which he concluded with the Russian General Diebitsch, and addressed his subjects and army in the following manner:

"It is unnecessary to render an account to my good people of Germany of the motives for the war which is now commencing: they are evident to impartial Europe.

"We bent under the superior power of France. That peace which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings; it, on the contrary, hurt us more than war itself. The heart of our country was impoverished; the principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy; agriculture was neglected, as well as the industry of our cities, which had risen to a very high degree; liberty of trade being interrupted, naturally closed all the sources of ease and prosperity.

"By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, I hoped to obtain an alleviation for my people; and, at last, to convince the French emperor, that it was his own interest to leave Prussia independent: but my intentions—my exertions to obtain so desirable an object, proved fruitless. Nothing but haughtiness and treachery was the result!

"We discovered, though late, that the Emperor's conventions were more ruinous to us than his open wars. The moment is now arrived, in which no illusion respecting our condition can remain. Brandenburgians! Prussians! Silesians! Pomeranians! Lithuanians! you know what you have suffered during the last seven years; you know what a miserable fate awaits you if we do not honorably finish the contest which is now commencing. Remember former times! Remember the illustrious elector, the great Frederick! Remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended,—the liberty of conscience, honor, independence, trade, industry, and knowledge. Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians; think of the Spaniards and Portuguese. Small nations have even gone to battle for similar benefits against a more powerful enemy, and obtained victory. Remember the Swiss and the Netherlands.

"Great sacrifices are required from all ranks; because our plan is great, and the number and means of our enemy not less so. You will make them sooner for your country, your king, than for a foreign regent, who by so many examples has proved he would take your last sons and last strength for designs to which you are strangers. Confidence in God, constancy, courage, and the

powerful assistance of our allies, will favour our just cause with glorious victory. But, however great the sacrifices that may be required from individuals, they will not outweigh the sacred interests for which they are given—for which we must combat and must conquer, or cease to be Prussians or Germans.

"We are now engaged in the last decisive contest for our existence, our independence, and our property. There is no medium between an honorable peace or glorious ruin. Even this you would sustain for your honor, because a Prussian and German cannot live without it. But we dare confidently trust, God and our firm purpose will give our just cause victory, and with this an uninterrupted peace, and the return of happier times!

(Signed) "FREDERICK WILLIAM."

"To my army!—Often have you expressed your wishes to fight for the liberty and independence of your country. The moment for doing so is now arrived. He is no member of the nation by whom this is not felt. Youth and men voluntarily fly to arms! What in them is free-will, is to you who belong to the standing army, a call. From you, ordained to defend the native country, she is entitled to demand what is offered by others.

"See! what numbers forsake every thing they hold most dear, to venture their lives with you in their country's cause. You will, therefore, doubly feel your sacred duty. May all of you, on the day of battle or in time of trouble, keep in mind moderation and due discipline. Let not individual ambition, either in the highest or lowest of the army be cherished. He that feels for his country does not think of self. May the envious meet contempt, when the general welfare only is concerned.

"Every thing else must now give way to this. Victory proceeds from God! Shew yourselves worthy of his high protection, by obedience and fulfilling your duties. Let courage, constancy, loyalty, and good discipline, be your renown. Follow the example of your forefathers, be worthy of them, and remember your posterity!

"A sure reward will fall on him who distinguishes himself;—deep disgrace and punishment on him that forgets his duty.

"Your king will always be with you, and with him the Crown-prince and the princes of his house. They will fight along with you—they and the whole nation will combat with you; and at our side a valiant people come to our assistance, and to the assistance of all Germany—a people that, by glorious deeds, has secured its independence.

"They relied on their sovereign—their leader—their cause—their own strength—and God was

BOOK X. with them: so will it be with you; for we also
 CHAP. VII. fight the great fight for the independence of our
 country!

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"Confidence in God, courage, and perseverance, be our word.

(Signed) "FREDERICK WILLIAM."

CHAPTER VIII.

Decrees of the French Senate.—Seat of the Campaign in Germany.—German Declaration.—King of Prussia's Edict.—Addresses to the Inhabitants of Saxony by Blucher and Wittgenstein.—Meeting of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia.—Threatened Reprisals against the French.—Napoleon quits Paris to take the Command of the French Army.

THOUGH Bonaparte affected indifference to the coalition which was now forming against him, and amused the Parisians with the hope of soon overcoming his enemies, yet, as before-mentioned, he called a *senatus consultum* for the purpose of speedily augmenting the French army. The following was the report of Count Defermont to the senate, on the plan for calling out an additional force, in consequence of the war with Russia:

"My lord and senators.—You have just heard the communications which his majesty has ordered to be made to you: existing circumstances render an augmentation of our military force indispensable; it is the object of the *senatus consultum* which we are charged to present to you.

"If we must regret the defection of an ally, it is better to see him openly in the enemy's ranks than be exposed to his daily treacheries. The disposable force of Prussia is not such, but that the empire may make her repent having re-entered into a contest with her; but you know, gentlemen, that if we wish for peace, it must be obtained by successes that will guarantee its durability; and to obtain that object, it is much better immediately to employ great means than gradually exhaust ourselves in feeble efforts.

"The first title of the projet puts 180,000 men at the disposal of the minister at war, to be added to the active armies. Ninety thousand men taken of the conscription of 1814, whose levy has been authorised, will only find a change in their destination.

"Ninety thousand men are to be levied agreeably to the dispositions of titles two and three of the projet.

"The defections of Prussia may augment the forces of our enemies with about 80 or 100,000 men, and it is, therefore, both right and advisable to increase the army of the empire in the same proportion.

"Title three creates four regiments of horse-guards of honor, in the whole to complete 10,000 men.

"The departments have demanded the formation

of companies of body-guards. This institution, necessary to the throne, can only be progressively realised.

"The officers can only be taken from the first ranks in the army, and their presence with the corps they command is now necessary. If they were taken from less elevated ranks, they would fail of the intended end, and be contrary to the nature of the institution, because there would not be placed at their head those who are to be especially responsible for the safety of the emperor and his family: men who are clothed with the first dignities in the army and in the state.

"The body-guard is otherwise not needful for the present moment; the gens d'armes, the troops of the garrisons, and 5 or 6,000 men of the imperial guard, both of horse and foot, which are now at Paris, and which are composed of old soldiers, not so able to go to war, and young people, commanded by officers d'elite, guarantee the maintenance of good order in the capital.

"It is nevertheless useful to proceed to the formation of these companies of body-guards, and to strengthen the army with men still in the flower of their age, whose profession is arms, and who are languishing out of employment.

"It is even necessary to open a career for young people, who are fitted for it by the education they have received, to become soldiers; but who, having attained their twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year, consider themselves as being then too old to run the chance of a slow promotion in the military career.

"It is with this view that we have conceived the dispositions of title two. The men called to compose the four regiments shall clothe, equip, and mount themselves at their own expense; but they have the certainty of obtaining the brevet of officers, after a campaign of twelve months, and they shall be capable of admission into the formation of the four companies of body-guards, if they shall be promoted thereto when the campaign is finished; they may even be employed in detachments of 3 or 400 men, to assist in the service of

the empress, or that of the King of Rome. These regiments shall receive the pay of horse chasseurs in the imperial guard. In fine, the members of the legion of honor, or their sons, if they have not a sufficient fortune to do it themselves, may be equipped and mounted at the charge of the legion.

"These united advantages will, no doubt, lead the children of the members of the electoral colleges, of the departments and circles, of the municipal councils, the sons of the most respectable people in the departments and communes, and, in short, of all those who are depositories of the public authority, to inscribe themselves in these regiments: and there will be no excuse left for those idle young people who complain of having no employment open for them, and who too often give cause for reprimanding their excesses.

"Title three makes a new call for 80,000 men of the first ban, as well for recruiting the army as for forming an army of reserve; but from which are excepted such men as were married before the publication of the *senatus consultum*.

"This call will give soldiers of the age of from twenty-one to twenty-six years, and consequently men in their full vigour, and capable of entering into the corps as soon as they shall have received the preliminary instructions.

"The cohorts formed by the first call on this ban, have already proved what expectations we may promise ourselves from the new call proposed.

"We do not dissemble how painful this appeal must be to the last classes; but what French citizen does not feel it preferable to make a present effort to avoid making greater ones in future; and from which the same results could not be expected?

"Exclusive of this, the calls, and their fixed times, should be determined by arrests of the council, and those executive measures shall be taken in the most proper manner, to prevent all injustice and difficulty.

"You well know, gentlemen, the spirit of foresight which always guides his majesty's designs: and thus, to prevent every kind of danger, and even of inquietude, he has deemed it necessary to organize an army of reserve, which, encamped on our frontiers, will at the same time watch for their defence, and maintain order among our allies.

"Title four renders disposable the 90,000 men of the conscription of 1814, who had been destined for the defence of our western and southern frontiers; they will form the army of reserve on the eastern frontiers, where they will fill this new destination.

"To the honor and courage of the national guard, the emperor confides the defence of the six great ports of the military marine: it is to the national guards that he confides the care of re-

pulsing any attack of our enemies on the coasts of the empire.

"You have not forgotten, gentlemen, with what ardour the inhabitants of our coasts marched against the expedition directed to the ports of Antwerp.

"But it is necessary to direct this zeal; and what happened in 1809 has shewn how important it is to organize the service of the national guard in such parts of the empire where it may be deemed necessary.

"Those departments which are especially called upon to occur in the defence of the ports, are designated in title four.

"The national guard shall be organized in the departments, if it shall be found needful; and the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs be completed in such manner, as to present a force of from 15 to 30,000 men in every circle, effective, present, and always disposable.

"It is from the bosom of the senate, gentlemen, that his majesty will select the generals whom he will charge to preside over the organization of these companies, and to take the command of them.

"In giving the citizens such chiefs to guide them in these sentiments of honor as have so many claims on the general esteem, it was his majesty's wish to encourage the confidence of the national guards; to render their obedience more easy, and to secure to them such regard and esteem as may be consistent with the duties of the service.

"Not more than from 1,500 to 3,000 men from each circle will be put into activity; and these will be placed at those points where their services may be deemed necessary, and will be relieved every three months, in order that they may not be too long detained from their occupations and business.

"The contingent of every circle shall be in readiness to march to such points as may be attacked, but will not be parted from their families, excepting in such cases, and then only for the time that the danger may exist.

"This contingent, reduced to the lowest number of 15,000 men for each circle, will give 90,000 men; to which, when we join 20,000 *gardes-côtes*, 60,000 of the marine-troops, 20,000 workmen employed in the great ports, the local national guard, about 40,000 men in the dépôts of the land army, who are within reach of the coasts, and lastly, 60,000 men of the *gens-d'armes*, distributed in the same *arrondissement*, the defence of our coasts will be found to be secured by upwards of 250,000 men, independent of the reserve of grenadiers and chasseurs, who are not entered in the first contingent, and which will besides amount to upwards of 120,000 men more.

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"It is, nevertheless, by means of this measure, which does not call out more than one thousandth part of the population of the six *arrondissements*, and merely for a temporary service, that the 90,000 men of the conscription of 1814 have been rendered disposable.

"The actual situation of Europe, the necessity our enemies are under of dividing their forces in Sicily, in Portugal, and in Canada, banishes every idea of our coasts being attacked; but, however improbable an attack may seem to be, it suffices that it is not impossible to induce his majesty, in his great wisdom, not to hesitate in adopting the measures which have been proposed to you.

"By giving your sanction, gentlemen, to them, you ensure the defence of our coasts and ports: and thus, the empire will have an army of 400,000 men on the Elbe, one of 200,000 in Spain, and 200,000 men, partly on the Rhine, partly in the 32d military division, and in Italy. And it is in the view of such forces, that our enemies conceive the ridiculous idea of dismembering the empire, and to allow our departments to be given as indemnities in their political calculations.

"This struggle is the last; Europe will make a definitive situation, and the events of the winter of 1813 will, at least, have been of advantage to France, by causing her to know her friends and her foes; the extent of her own means, the devotion of the people, and their attachment to the imperial dynasty."

This projet, after having been referred to a special commission, was adopted, and decreed by the senate, in the sittings of the 3d of April.

Count Boulay followed Count Defermont, and thus developed the motives of the second projet of the *senatus consultum*:—

"My lords and senators.—The ninety-second article of the constitution of the month of February, in the year eight, provides against the case of weighty circumstances compromising the safety of the state in any part of the empire, and authorises the suspension of the constitutional regulations in such part.

"It is for you, gentlemen, to whom the right has been confided by the *senatus consultum* of the month of Thermidor, in the year 10, to pronounce such a suspension, when the proposal for so doing is made to you by government.

"We come, according to its orders, to propose to you the momentary application of this measure, in the departments of the Upper Ems, the mouths of the Weser, and the mouths of the Elbe, composing the 32d military division. The circumstances in which those departments are at this day, will appear to you more than sufficient to determine you to the adoption of this measure.

"You will recollect, gentlemen, the motives of high policy which rendered necessary the union

of those countries with the empire. The orders in council issued by the British council in 1806 and 1807, had annihilated the treaty of Utrecht, destroyed the liberty of maritime commerce, and placed all the continental powers in a state of dependance on England. To her orders in council, his majesty replied by the decrees of Berlin and Milan; the object of which was to subject England to a general and absolute blockade, and to keep all her merchandizes within his borders, under sequestration. By wishing to carry off all maritime commerce, and sporting with the laws of nations, England forced him to adopt a system necessary not only to the empire, and to its allies, but likewise to all the continental powers.

"Nevertheless, and previous to his taking this resolution, his majesty made proposals to the British cabinet to recal their orders in council, to consent to a peace, and to the liberty of commerce: this proposal having been rejected, the union of the Hanseatic Towns was decreed. If we consider the interest of these departments, independently of those of the empire, what is the political existence which those interests should cause them to desire?

"To belong to Prussia?—but these people rejected the leaden yoke of the Prussian government; and that government, which could not even defend the centre of its own states, would it have been able to protect a distant frontier?

"To belong to England?—but they would then have become the theatre of all the wars of England with the continent: and they would at once have devoted themselves to the misfortune of supporting the evils of war and the uncertainty of conquest.

"To remain Hanseatic towns?—but they could no longer be independent cities, since England no longer respects the neutrality of any flag. The government of these cities was enabled to subsist so long as they were surrounded by states interested in their preservation, and because England not having yet acquired that superiority by sea which she so greatly abuses, it might be for the convenience of the Belligerent powers that there should be a neutral flag. But this being once broken, the cities could not seek protection but in the strength of a great state, which would, sooner or later, procure them the enjoyment of those advantages which their situation offers them. The union of these departments with France, was accompanied by proper measures for joining the Baltic to the Seine, to establish an easy and safe communication between the old and new subjects, and to blend all their interests by combinations equally useful to both. Thus, gentlemen, were the advantages of this union felt by all the enlightened people of those countries; and we soon saw a numerous deputation from the Hanseatic cities lay at the feet of

his majesty's throne the homage of their gratitude, their devotion, and their fidelity. All the benefits of our political system have been communicated to these new departments; our codes have been published there—our institutions have been there realised; equitable laws, by effacing whatever the feudal system there presented odious and contrary to the principles of civilization and of all good government, have there respected all the rights of property, and the advantages of this legislation have been generally acknowledged. Such, gentlemen, was the condition of these countries, when the misfortune which a rigorous and premature season occasioned to the grand army, reanimated among our enemies those hopes which our victories had disconcerted.

"All kinds of intrigues have been given ear to. A new coalition is formed in the north, and Prussia, believing that she may show her hatred with impunity, has set the world the example of an odious perfidy. The coalesced, in their transactions, have ceded Norway to Sweden, and promised our Hanseatic possessions to Denmark, as an indemnification. The Danish government has rejected an arrangement, which, by despoiling it of an important part of her states, offers her nothing in return but a chimerical hope, and the certainty of an eternal war with the empire. A wise and enlightened prince has not forgotten the outrages of England: he has felt the true interest, and remained faithful to us.

"Nevertheless, the enemy has approached our Hanseatic departments, and has there sown the seeds of trouble and revolt. Could he have blinded them to such a point as to persuade them that he could withdraw them from the obedience they owe to his majesty?

"How!—because a tempest, which prudence could not foresee, has dispersed a part of our victorious army, our enemies flatter themselves that they may, at their pleasure, dispose of our territories according to their ambition!—they believe that they can dictate the law to us, and draw us into a disgraceful peace. Without doubt, it would soon become necessary to burn our fleets, destroy our docks, and reduce our navy to thirty vessels, as they have dared to propose to us. Deprived of our colonies, and the advantages of a maritime commerce, we should furthermore renounce our continental power, and suffer our manufactures and our national industry to perish, and become, in every respect, the servile tributaries of England!—No, no; the nation is of the same sentiments with her sovereign: full of confidence in the firmness of his character, and the resources of his genius, she will never suffer the least attempt to be made against the dignity of his crown; she will deplore that it may require all his energy to repulse such vain pretensions: she has already made known her noble sentiments, and we shall

see her persevere in them with unshaken constancy.

"You, gentlemen, who are the principal organs of this generous people, you will shew yourselves its worthy interpreters, by sanctioning the measures proposed to you. What we are especially charged to present to you is, as we said at the commencement, in the cases provided for by our constitution. Since the enemy has defiled the territory of the Hanseatic departments, since he has excited there disorders and seditions, and that he has there raised culpable hopes, it is evident, that the empire of the constitutional and common law, the exercise of which pre-supposes a regular and peaceable state of affairs, should be there suspended, and make way for whatever extraordinary measures may be commanded by circumstances. This suspension is, however, only for three months: every thing leads us to believe that it will not require more than that time to bring those departments again under perfect submission; and we have no doubt that we shall see all the good citizens, all the enlightened people of those countries, concur of themselves to the success of the measures which his majesty will take to restore there the government of order and law."

This projet, after having been referred to a special commission, was also adopted and decreed by the senate.

At Magdeburgh the French pretended they would stop the progress of the Russians; and, in the vicinity of that fortress, Bonaparte meant again to try the fortune of war in a general battle. Magdeburgh is considered a sort of internal Gibraltar, requiring a vast army to form the siege, and a great length of time to reduce it. The Prussian governor surrendered it without making any defence, after the battle of Jena, being bribed, it was said, by Bonaparte; and he was convicted and disgraced for his crime, after the termination of the war. The French had ever since made it their grand dépôt, their place of arms and stores, and of assemblage for their forces, with a view to maintain their acquisitions, and to carry on their ulterior designs for the conquest of Russia and the entire subjugation of the North.

The Koningsberg paper, of the 15th of March, contained the following spirited declaration.

"We, the undersigned officers from the royal Bavarian, Saxon, Westphalian, and grand Ducal Frankfort services, who have joined the German legion, hold ourselves obliged, as men of honor, and with due respect, love, and confidence, publicly to lay before our princes and native country the motives which have induced us to take this step.

"We are Germans. This single word includes every thing. For a series of years past, we could only sigh for our country, without being able to save her. At length the moment is arrived, when

Germany can raise her depressed neck, when our hopes are more raised than ever of throwing off the slavish yoke of France. Victorious Russian armies pursue the enemy from river to river; the Prussian eagle strikes her mighty wings; numberless volunteers hasten to the Prussian standard; every where, even in those parts where the enemy still keeps his footing, a general spirit is rising, which promises to reconquer Germany's lost honor and liberty. Fathers, themselves, bring their sons, women their jewels, and even the poorest contribute the mite; and we, men of Germany, shall we remain unconcerned spectators, or even, perhaps, in a foreign service, assist in laying our native country again in chains? Never, never! Whosoever shall now fight against his brethren is, in our eyes, a traitor to his native country! Whosoever will not fight for her, neglects his most sacred duty! for we were German citizens before we were soldiers; we never could enter into a compact for shedding the blood of our brethren on our maternal soil, to quench the thirst of strangers with it; neither, truly, have our noble princes intended it; they have been obliged to submit to superior power; they have been forced to tear their own entrails! We are, therefore, convinced that our revered princes will, themselves, approve the step we have taken, although their tongues may yet be chained; we are assured, that we are acting beforehand with their secret wishes, as we arm ourselves for their independence; and should there be one amongst them who thinks otherwise, will posterity denominate him a German prince?

"We do not live in times that can be measured by a common scale; we live in times of bitter, general distress, which knows no other law than that of firmly joining for speedy assistance. That, and that only, is now the law. Let every true German search his bosom, and ask himself if it is otherwise?

"No personal necessity has brought us under the standards of the German legion; we are led to it only by the sense of honor, and the love of our native country. We will not fight with Frenchmen against Germans; but with Germans for Germans. Should there be German princes, soldiers, or citizens, capable of denying such motives, we would still calmly fulfil our most sacred duty, appeal to posterity, and from her expect the crown of renown due to the faithful sons of their country. Posterity will not ask in what service we were engaged, but for what cause we fought; whether for Germany and humanity, or for France and tyranny?

(Signed) "V. OELHAFEN, WALTSTAB, V. BOXBERG HILLENBRAND, V. GLAUHOFEN, V. BERCE, LEHMANN, V. THOMAS, V. HANN, V. HOHEN-EICHEN, B. V. WALDMANNSDORFE, NEIDHARD, SCHLEITER, TROTT, V. BEYER, SCHNEIDERS.
"Koningsberg, the 12th of March, 1813."

On the 27th of March, the following edict was issued by the King of Prussia:

"Having found cause to withdraw ourselves from the alliance with France, we likewise deem it necessary herewith to declare, that all restraints under which commerce, even in our states, has hitherto suffered in consequence of the so denominated continental system; and the ships and goods of all friendly and neutral nations shall be freely permitted to enter our harbours and territories without any exception or difference. All French goods, either produce or manufactures, are on the contrary herewith totally prohibited, not only for use, but likewise to pass through our territories, or those occupied by our armies.

"The so denominated continental impost is taken off, and exclusive of the consumption excise to be especially paid on foreign goods entered inward by sea, for home consumption, there shall be levied the heretofore established moderate impost and transit duty, as it was previous to the establishment of the continental impost in the year 1810, which duty shall be collected on the gross weight, but only continue so long as the increased expences arising from the war carrying on for the liberation of Germany shall render it necessary.

"We give to our privy-counsellor of state and chief of the inward customs department, M. Von Heydebreck, full and uncontroled power to make what further alterations he may see fit, in the whole of the forementioned impost, and to put them in a proper proportion; as likewise to reduce, or entirely take off, at his own judgment, the consumption excise on such articles where the collecting the full consumption excise, together with the impost duty, would fall too heavy on the home consumption.

"All our public officers, whom this matter concerns, have to pay due attention hereto.

"Given at Breslaw, the 20th of March, 1813.

(Signed) "FREDERIC WILLIAM,
"HARDENBERG."

The following were Marshal Blucher and Count Wittgenstein's addresses to the inhabitants of Saxony.

"Buntzlau, March 13, (23.)

"Saxons!—We Prussians enter your territory to offer you our fraternal hand. In the north of Europe the Lord of Hosts has held a dreadful court of justice, and the angel of death has cut off 300,000 of those strangers by the sword, famine, and cold, from that earth which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under the yoke. We march wherever the finger of the Lord directs us, to fight for the security of the ancient thrones and our national independence. With us comes a valiant people, who have boldly driven back foreign oppression, and, in the high feeling of its victories, have promised

liberty to the subjugated nations. We bring to you the morning purple of a new day. The time for shaking off a detestable yoke which, during the last six years, dreadfully crushed us down, has at length arrived. A new war unluckily commenced, and still more unhappily concluded, forced upon us the peace of Tilsit; but even of the severest titles of that treaty, not one was kept with us. Every following treaty increased the hard condition of the preceding one. For this reason we have thrown off the shameful yoke, and advance to the heart-cheering combat for our liberty.

"Saxons! Ye are a noble enlightened people! You know, that without independence, all the good things of this life are, to noble minds, of little value—that subjection is the greatest disgrace. You neither can nor will bear slavery any longer—you will no longer permit a cunning and deceitful system of policy to carry its ambitious and depraved views into effect, to demand the blood of your sons, dry up the spring of your commerce, depress your industry, destroy the liberty of your press, and turn your once happy country into the theatre of war. Already has the Vandalism of your oppressive foreigners wantonly and unmercifully destroyed your most beautiful monument of architecture, the bridge of Dresden. Rise—join us—raise the standard of insurrection against foreign oppressors; and be free!

"Your sovereign is in the power of foreigners, deprived of the freedom of determination, exploring the steps a treacherous policy forced him to take; we will no more attribute them to him, than cause you to suffer for them. We only take the provinces of your country under our care for your lord, which fortune, the superiority of our arms, and the valour of our troops, may place in our power. Supply the reasonable wants of our warriors, and, in return, expect from us the strictest discipline. Every application to me, the Prussian general, shall be opened to all oppressed persons. I will hear every complaint, examine every charge, and severely punish every violation of discipline. Every one, even the very meanest, may with confidence approach me. I will receive him with kindness.

"The friend of German independence will, by us, be considered as our brother; the weak-minded wanderer we will lead with tenderness into the right road; but the dishonorable, despicable tool of foreign tyranny, I will pursue with the utmost rigour as an enemy to our common country.

(Signed) "BLUCHER."

"Berlin, March 25.

"Brave Saxons! In what manner am I to address you? As your enemy? I am not such.—You are worthy Germans, and I am come, in the

name of my emperor, to release all Germans from their shameful yoke. I will, therefore, speak to you as your friends—hear me, for I mean well to you.

"It is probable that you are surprised at the sight of Russians and Prussians entering your country in arms; it is probable that you may be in dread, and uncertain what to do, your king having forsaken you and ordered you to remain quiet. But when a house is on fire, a neighbour must not stand to ask the owner's permission to quench it.

"Your king's house has long been on fire; he, himself, is in distress, and dare not speak so as his German heart would assuredly dictate to him. For do but consider; he a German king—he who so long has been forced to give your energies and blood to the French, could he order you to remain quiet at a moment when inactivity is a crime?

"The hour has struck that will never strike a second time; the hour of delivery from a foreign yoke!

"Up! up! and arm yourselves, were it even only with sickles, and scythes, and cudgels! Drive the strangers from your soil. You shall always find me and my Russians, with the valiant Prussians, wherever danger is most prominent.

(Signed) "Count VON WITTGENSTEIN."

When the Russian emperor and the King of Prussia first met, they embraced each other and wept, without being able to speak a word, and when the emperor joined the royal family, all shed tears of emotion. The monarch took the little princess, his god-daughter, in his arms, and said, "these shall be the last." In the city and suburbs of Breslau, Prussian troops were drawn up in ranks, and when the emperor expressed his surprise at it, the king told him, "These are the prisoners taken by my troops in this war; they have been well-treated the whole time." They were all equipped in the best manner.

On the 30th of March, the Russian general of cavalry, Count Wittgenstein, arrived at Beltzie, where he took up his head-quarters and issued the following proclamation:

"Saxons! I enter your country, either to make war upon, or to fight in conjunction with you, for your freedom and the restoration of your degraded honor. Choose! Your choice may place your crown in danger, and cause your children to blush for the conduct of their fathers!

"Look and see what passes around you!—See the noble Prussians, your neighbours. The whole nation has risen in mass; in their ranks the son of the ploughman is found by the side of the prince; all difference of rank is mingled together, and disappears at the great ideas of liberty, honor, king, and country. There is no

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other difference of talents and of zeal in the great and sacred cause. Liberty or death! is the word which Frederick William has given, and solemnly has his whole magnanimous people sworn to conquer or fall, worthy of such a prince.

"Saxons! Germans! Our pedigrees, our family registers, close with the year 1812. The deeds of our ancestors are cancelled by the humiliation of their descendants. The restoration of Germany can alone renovate the nobility of the race, and restore it to its original splendor.

"COUNT WITTOGENSTEIN.

"Head-quarters, March 31."

In consequence of the menaces held out by the French generals to awe the Hanoverians, the following address to them, dated April 5, threatening reprisals, was published at Boitzenburgh on the 6th.

"By the correspondence of Generals Morand and St. Cyr, I perceived that the most severe measures are intended to be used against the inhabitants of the Hanoverian dominions, who, having been liberated by the victorious arms of his majesty the Emperor of Russia, received in his name orders to consider themselves as the subjects of their lawful sovereign, and who, by the express order of the commander of the Russian troops, were obliged to take up arms to defend themselves and their dwelling-places.

"It was not in their power to refuse compliance with these orders. A punishment equally just as severe, would have been the unavoidable con-

sequence of their base desertion of their duty towards their sovereign; and it would undoubtedly be contrary to the laws of nations, adopted by all civilised people, should a single Hanoverian subject be considered a rebel and treated as such.—I will not allow myself to suppose, that you, gentlemen, will permit such an atrocious measure to take place; but I declare to you, that in all cases I am determined to use reprisals; and that all prisoners, without exception, which are now, or hereafter may be, in my power, shall be treated with the same severity as you may show towards the inhabitants of Hanover, and that they shall be answerable with their lives for the lives of the latter, who in taking up arms at the express command of the general of the Russians troops, only fulfilled their duty to their king and country.

(Signed) "BARON VON DORNBERG,
"Major-general in the service of Great
"Britain, and commander of a Rus-
"sian and Prussian corps."

On the 15th of April, the Emperor Napoleon quitted Paris to take the command of the French army. He put himself on his route with his usual celerity, and travelled without repose or intermission, with the speed and with the absence of all ceremony belonging to an ordinary courier. Rapidity was the great characteristic of this man, and whatever precipitancy could effect, might indeed be expected from him; but he had not now that immense overwhelming force by which his former great achievements were executed.

CHAPTER IX.

Operations and Strength of the Allied Army for commencing the Campaign in Germany.—The Principles of the War against the French avowed.—Defeat of General Morand at Luneburg.—Defeat of Beauharnois by the Russians.—Surrender of Czenslokaw.—Engagement near Ottensberg.—Surrender of Spandau and Thorn to the Russians.—Battle at Gross Gorschen.—Battle at Lutzen.—Defeat of the French before Hamburg.—Battles of Bautzen, Weissig, and Wurstchen.—Blucher's brilliant Affair near Haynau.—The French enter Hamburg.—An Armistice.—Hostilities notwithstanding continued.—Affair near Halberstadt.—Rupture of the Armistice.—Victory by the Crown-prince.—The Emperor of Austria's Manifesto.—Death of General Moreau.—Emperor Alexander's Letter to Madam Moreau.—Victories at Leipsic, &c. &c.

THE Russian force was divided into three large armies—one under Wittgenstein, a second under Tchitchagoff, and a third under Winzingerode; Kutusoff commanding the whole.

Wittgenstein's main force prepared to cross

the Elbe, in order to drive the French force towards the Maine. Part of Tchitchagoff's army was near Thorn, whilst another part was employed under Platow in the siege of Dantzic. Part of Winzingerode's army was near Custrin and Lans-

berg. Another part occupied the old town of Dresden, whilst another corps passed the Elbe at Schadau, to turn Davoust.

About 100,000 Russian reinforcements were on the Vistula.

The Prussian force was thus distributed:—General Blücher had moved from Silesia into Saxony.

General York was at Berlin with the main army. Detachments were sent to Hamburgh and Rostock, which were now occupied by Prussian corps. Another Prussian detachment invested Stettin.

A Swedish force was at Stralsund, and at the commencement of the campaign the Crown-prince of Sweden had the command of 50,000 men.

The Russian force with which the campaign opened, could not be less than 220,000 men. The Prussian 70,000. Swedish and Pomeranian 50,000. A grand total of 340,000 men.

To this must be added the force which Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, and the Hanse Towns furnished.

The principles of the war against the French were avowed in the following address to the Germans, published in the Berlin papers.

"While the victorious warriors of Russia, accompanied by those of his majesty the King of Prussia, his ally, appear in Germany, his majesty the Emperor of Russia, and his majesty the King of Prussia, announce to the princes and nations of Germany, the return of liberty and independence. They only come with an intention of aiding them to re-conquer those inalienable benefits of nations, and of affording powerful protection and lasting security to the regeneration of a valuable empire.

"These two armies, trusting in God, and full of courage, advance, hoping that every German, without distinction, will join them.

"The confederation of the Rhine, that deceitful fetter with which the general disturber bound Germany, after dismembering her, and even obscuring her ancient name, can no longer be tolerated, as it is the effect of foreign constraint and of foreign influence. It must be dissolved.

"Their majesties will only give protection while the German princes and nations are engaged in completing the grand work.

"Let France, who is beautiful and strong through herself, occupy herself, in future, in promoting her internal welfare! No foreign power intends disturbing it—no hostile power shall be sent against her rightful frontiers. But be it known to France, that the other powers are solicitous of conquering lasting tranquillity for their subjects, and that they will not lay down their arms until the foundation of the independence of every European state has been established and secured.

"In the name of their majesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia,

"Prince KUTUSOFF SMOLENSK,

"Field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the allied army.

"Head-quarters, Kalisch, 13, (25) March, 1813."

According to the dispositions made by his excellency Count Von Wittgenstein, the three flying corps, the first of which was under the command of General Von Dornberg, the second under General and Adjutant-general Von Tschernicheff, and the third under the command of General Von Tettenborn, were to precede the army, and to pass the Elbe between Hamburgh and Magdeburgh.

Whilst preparations were making for the passage, at Ferchland, Havelberg, Sandau, Werben, Lenzen, &c. the French army concentrated itself in the vicinity of Magdeburgh, and strengthened itself by a part of the troops which were in the vicinity of Dresden and Leipsic. Its left wing consisted of three considerable corps, which were encamped near Luberitz and Stendal, in the neighbourhood of Gardelegen, and the whole army was under the command of Marshals Davoust and Victor.

General Von Dornberg arrived first at Havelberg, and afterwards on the 26th of March crossed the Elbe at the village of Guitjebel, opposite to Werben, with his corps. On the 28th of March, the enemy, 4 or 5,000 strong, approached from Arneburg, and by their superiority of force, obliged that corps to quit the town of Werben, and recross the Elbe. The corps lost in this affair only one officer and eighteen dragoons, who by their own fault had remained too long at Werben. Meanwhile the corps of General Tschernicheff arrived at Havelberg from Genthin, and this general held a council of war with the other two generals, Von Dornberg and Von Benckendorff, concerning the future operations; in consequence of which General Von Tschernicheff first passed the Elbe with his corps at the Sandkrüge, and took possession of Seehausen and Lichterfeld, to secure the passage of the corps of Von Dornberg.

Scarcely were the needful dispositions made, when Major Count Von Puschkin, who was posted with a regiment of Cossacks at Lichterfeld, was attacked by three battalions of French infantry and 200 cavalry, with two pieces of artillery. This brave officer successfully kept the enemy employed, until a regiment of cavalry of the division of the Colonel Baron Von Pahlen came to his support. Both these regiments now, on their side, attacked the enemy, drove him back to Werben, and made two officers and sixty men prisoners. The vicinity of the enemy rendered it advisable that General Von Dornberg,

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on crossing the river a second time, should not pass at Saudkrug, but somewhat lower down, near Lentzen, which he accordingly did on the 31st of March. Upon this the following disposition was made: General Dornberg's infantry marched to Dannenberg, the cavalry, under General Von Benkendorff, to Luckow, and the corps of General Von Tschernicheff towards Wustrow.

The last-mentioned general had, to secure this motion, detached two regiments of Cossacks, under the command of Colonel Von Wiassoff, to Seehausen, with orders to follow the other corps by the way of Arendsee and Salzwedel, to oppose the enemy posted between Stendal and Gardelegen. Scarcely was this position taken, when Generals Von Dornberg and Tschernicheff were informed, that General Morand, with a corps of upwards of 3,000 infantry, 11 cannon, and 300 cavalry, was pressing forward by the way of Tottstadt to Luneburg, to punish the inhabitants of that town for having dared to take up arms, and with the assistance of fifty Cossacks, of the corps of General Von Tettenborn, drove away a squadron of French cavalry, which wished to take possession of the town. The commanding generals then resolved on hastening to Luneburg, to protect the brave inhabitants from the fate which threatened them.

In consequence of the troops having made a forced march of ten German (forty English) miles in twenty-four hours, the corps of Dornberg and Tschernicheff could not arrive at Breitenstein and Bienenbittel until the 2d of April, in the morning, twelve hours after the entry of the French into Luneburg. Here they were informed, that on this very forenoon several executions were to take place in Luneburg, and that a number of victims were again to attest the tyranny of the oppressors of Germany. They, therefore, determined to attack the city on the moment, and for which they made the following dispositions. The Colonel Baron Von Pahlen was ordered by General Von Tschernicheff to surround the town on the left bank of the Elmenau with two regiments of Cossacks, and commence the attack there, and draw the attention of the enemy from the point of the main attack, intended to be made on the right bank of the Elmenau. At the same time, General Tschernicheff caused the position of Bienenbittel to be strongly garrisoned, it being of the greatest importance to the enemy for surrounding the Russian corps. General Dornberg had likewise the foresight to detach a regiment of Cossacks to Dallenburg, to cover the roads to Dannenberg, Gartono, and Lukow, and guard the passage over the Notze with one company of infantry and a cannon. Scarcely had these two corps approached the town, on the right bank of the El-

menau, within the distance of two cannon-shot, and drawn themselves up in order, under cover of bushes and hedges; than Colonel Baron Von Pahlen, with great skill, commenced the attack on the other side with the expected success. The enemy went against him with two battalions of infantry and three pieces of artillery, with intent to cut him off from the road to Bienenbittel. Both parties encountered at this place, and charged each other briskly.

Generals Von Dornberg, Von Benkendorff, and Von Tschernicheff now caused on their side the cavalry to advance in such a manner, that Von Benkendorff led the right, and Tschernicheff the left wing. The enemy, who was in total ignorance of the strength of the Russian and Prussian corps, and imagined that he had only to deal with a few Cossacks, was hereby surprised: he, however, detached about a battalion of infantry, with two cannon, and 150 cavalry on this side. This cavalry was immediately attacked, and defeated by Colonel Von Bedraga, and the two cannon were likewise cut off from the town and taken. At the same time General Von Dornberg, at the head of the Prussian battalion of infantry, commanded by Major Von Borke, and cavalry, commanded by General Von Benkendorff, rushed on the enemy's battalion, drove it over the bridge, close under the town, on the right bank of the Elmenau. The Russian battalion of infantry, under the command of Major Von Essen, at the same time attacked them on the left bank of the Elmenau, and General Von Tschernicheff supported these movements with two pieces of artillery, and made an attack at the head of his cavalry. The Russian and Prussian infantry found the gates, the walls, and even the houses in the town, defended by the enemy's infantry. The situation of the place was favorable for making a vigorous resistance, and at this place one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements took place. Russians and Prussians emulating each other, covered themselves with glory; and our artillery, which was not more than 100 paces distant from that of the enemy, caused great devastation in the streets of the town.

The dispositions made by General Dornberg, during the engagement, did him much honor. General Tschernicheff, at the head of his hussars, broke into the town almost at the same time with the enemy's tirailleurs, and on this occasion the brave Major Count Von Puschkin was killed by a cartridge-ball.

At length the Prussians first succeeded, after the battle having continued with the greatest obstinacy at the entrance of the town for more than two hours, to possess themselves of another gate, and to make way for General Benkendorff's cavalry, and the rest of General Tschernicheff's

cavalry. This forced the enemy to quit the town, which he did in such haste, that one of his battalions, being cut off, was obliged to remain there. The corps was so weak in infantry, that this battalion could not be immediately subdued, almost all the troops being employed in the pursuit of the enemy. Meanwhile, Colonel Baron Von Pahlen profited of this moment with the greatest ability, drawing the regiments of Cossacks sent him by General Tettenborn to his assistance, and manœuvred conjointly with Generals Dornberg and Tschernicheff's cavalry in such a manner, that the enemy was closed in on all sides. They now despaired of success, but nevertheless formed themselves into three squares, determined on defending themselves to the last. A brisk fire of musketry then commenced, as the battalion which was there cut off, being discovered by the Russian Yagers, made a desperate attack with the bayonet; but this was the enemy's last effort, who being mowed down by the Russian and Prussian fire of grape-shot, saw there was no possibility of escape, and laid down their arms at all points. The result of this warm day was nine pieces of artillery, (four of which were taken by the corps of General Dornberg; four by that of General Tschernicheff; and one by General Tettenborn's Cossacks); two of the foresaid guns, and two pair of colours, were presented to General Tschernicheff by Colonel Von Pahlen, and he received a third pair of colours by the Finland regiment of dragoons, under the command of Colonel Von Kruse. Among the prisoners was the commander of the corps, and general of division, Morand himself, who was severely wounded; and besides him were the chief of his general staff, de Lourde, the Saxon Colonel Von Eberstein, Colonel Poisy, and all the officers of the general staff. In the whole, there were upwards of 100 officers, and 2,200 privates, prisoners.

In general the zeal and assiduity, combined with judgment, evinced by the generals in this first battle of the combined Russian and Prussian troops on the left bank of the Elbe, reflected the greatest honor on them. The valour of the superior officers, and the courage of the soldiers, was above all praise. Every individual proved, on this glorious day, what might be effected by patriotism and zeal for the good cause.

The first considerable battle on the German ground, where two weak battalions of infantry, and by reason of the many detachments made, only about 2,000 cavalry, have taken a town encompassed with walls and ditches, and which was defended with the greatest obstinacy, was certainly an auspicious commencement.

General Von Borstell, with his detached corps, had already advanced as far as Wabnitz, for the purpose of surrounding Magdeburg on the right bank of the Elbe; but on the 2d of April, being

attacked by a superior force, he, according to his previous instructions, retreated back to Nedlitz, but covered the roads to Burg and Gommern by Cossacks.

On the 5th of April the enemy obliged General Von Borstell to fall back to Gloina (on the road to Gortzke) and forced the Cossacks back past Leitskau, and towards Burg.

As General F. D'Auvray had received certain information that the Viceroy of Italy (Beauharnois), who commanded this expedition in person, and with a corps d'armée of four divisions, about 22 or 24,000 men strong, among which were 3,000 cavalry, and forty pieces of artillery, not only caused the country round Magdeburg, on the right bank of the Elbe, to be plundered, but likewise intended making an attempt on Berlin, he determined on attacking him with his whole strength, and driving him back. For this purpose, on the 4th of April, he concentrated the corps of Lieutenant-general d'York near Zerbst; that of Lieutenant-general Von Berg, at three German miles from thence, in the village of Leitskau, and fixed his head-quarters at Zerbst; he directed General Von Borstell, and likewise Lieutenant-general Von Bulow, who had so early as the 4th of April arrived at Ziezar, to push as far forward as the enemy would permit; but that they should on the 5th, when they would be informed by a cannonade of his having commenced an attack, fall on the enemy with the greatest impetuosity. On the 5th, in the morning, Lieutenant-general Von York's corps advanced to Leitskau, and that of Lieutenant-general Von Berg to Ladeburg. Lieutenant-general Von Borstell had advanced towards Mockern, and Lieutenant-general Von Bulow to Hohenzitz. At two o'clock in the afternoon, Lieutenant-general Von York was obliged to send a van-guard towards Gommern, and Lieutenant-general Von Berg to do the same to this place. The first van-guard came up with the enemy near Danigkow, and after a brisk cannonade forced him to quit that place with a considerable loss; whereupon F. d'Auvras caused the corps of Lieutenant-general Von York, and that of Lieutenant-general Von Berg to follow the van-guards, which were already engaged, and make a vigorous attack on the enemy. Generals Von Borstell and Von Bulow did the same on their side, the first advancing to Zehdenick, and the latter to Vehe-litz, which places were in the enemy's possession, but who was dislodged from thence by the valour of the Russian troops.

The resistance of the enemy, who had the advantage of the ground, was every where very obstinate; but he was nevertheless forced at all points to yield to the bravery of the Russians; and it was only by the darkness coming on that an end was put to the engagement, and they

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were prevented from following up this glorious victory. The Lithuanian regiment of dragoons and two squadrons of the body regiment of hussars cut an enemy's regiment of cavalry totally to pieces, or made prisoners, or dispersed it. The same fate attended a second regiment of the enemy's cavalry, by the Grodnow hussars.

The tirailleurs of the brave Pomeranian battalion of grenadiers took a field-piece, with horses, from the enemy, and in the whole, six powder-waggons were taken, twenty-seven officers, and 900 privates made prisoners. The general of division, Grenier, and General Grundler were wounded. The enemy's loss amounted to about 2,000 men in killed and wounded. On the other side, one officer was killed, seven wounded, and about 560 privates killed or wounded. The enemy did not take a single man to keep with them; one Cossack was made prisoner, but he made his escape, and even brought his horse along with him. On the 6th, towards noon, General D'Auvray again sent a detachment of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in search of the enemy, who had drawn off from all points in the course of the night; but this proved in vain, as on his retreat to Magdeburg he had quitted the defiles of Wahlitz and Alten Clus, and had cut off all the bridges.

Lieutenant-general Baron de Sacken having caused the fortress of Czenstokaw to be entirely surrounded, pointed out, immediately after his arrival before it, the places where batteries ought to be constructed. On the 21st of March, these batteries were finished, and provided with cannon. They opened their fire at the break of day, from eight pieces of the tenth battery. On the 22d, at midnight, three fresh batteries were erected, to play upon other points close to the fortress. These flying batteries played with such rapidity, that the enemy had scarcely time to level their guns against them upon one point before the fire was opened upon another. It was so well directed as to set on fire three magazines, viz. one of hay, another of straw, and a third of wood for fuel. Whilst the artillery was doing such execution, the 8th and 29th of chasseurs kept the garrison in so much awe, that not a man durst shew himself upon the walls of the town. The whole of this service was entrusted to Major-general Count de Lieven. Lieutenant-general de Sacken, on finding that the conflagration made such rapid strides in the fortress, ordered the batteries to cease firing, with an intent to preserve an image of the Holy Virgin, a monument of devotion which some centuries ago had been carried hither from the church of the east. On the 23d, the governor dispatched to Lieutenant-general de Sacken Meller, the commandant of the fortress, to request an armistice of twenty-four hours, to enable him to draw up

the articles of capitulation. This was granted. However, the conditions proving inadmissible, the general ordered the cannonade to recommence. Two hours after, the commandant returned with a promise to surrender the fortress, and a capitulation was signed.

On the 22d of April, an engagement took place in the vicinity of Ottersberg and Rothenburg, between the van-guard, under command of Lieutenant-colonel Von Benkendorff, and the enemy, in which the latter was defeated and put to flight, with the loss of 100 prisoners, his baggage, and several hundreds killed and wounded.

By the attack of the Russian cavalry, the enemy, who was 3,000 strong, was forced to confide his movements to the high-road, and the well-directed fire of the Russian artillery soon compelled him to make a speedy retreat.

Though the French generals arrogantly declared they would be at Berlin in fourteen days, success still attended the Russian and Prussian arms. Spandau surrendered, on condition not to bear arms against Prussia or her allies for a certain time, and the garrison of Thorn also made a capitulation with the Russian troops.

On the 30th of April, information was received at General Count Von Wittgenstein's headquarters, of the greater part of the army and the French guards having crossed the Saale, in the vicinity of Naumburg. It was at the same time reported, that the Emperor Napoleon had arrived at the army. His majesty the Emperor Alexander, and his majesty the King of Prussia, therefore went to their armies, to animate the courage of the troops by their personal presence. But the better to be enabled to judge of the enemy's strength, a reconnoissance was undertaken with General Von Winzingerode's corps, from Leipsic, on the road to Weissenfels. This confirmed the intelligence received of the enemy being there in considerable force. Upon this, a very severe engagement took place on the 1st of May, with the said corps, by which the allies were convinced, that the main force of the enemy was in the vicinity of Weissenfels and Lutzen. It was believed, that the viceroy's position was between Leipsic and Halle, and consequently the enemy's plan for the battle was clearly apparent. General Count Von Wittgenstein resolved on being before hand with him, to obstruct him in his dispositions by a bold attack, and to restrain his offensive operations. It was necessary in this attempt to make it their main object immediately to fall on such part of his force as was, on his side, considered to be the best troops; in order, after such a stroke, to give larger space for the operations of their flying corps, over whom the enemy had latterly acquired a superiority. Therefore it was requisite, if possible, to direct the attack immediately against his rear-most

troops. For this purpose, the main army broke up in the night between the 1st and 2d of May from Notha and Bornä, in two columns, and pushed forward as far as the defile of the Elster, in the vicinity of Pegau. General Von Winzingerode received orders to mask this operation, to leave his posts of cavalry standing, and to unite himself with the main army, by the way of Zwenkau.

At break of day all the troops passed the defile of the Elster, near Pegau, and drew up in order of battle on the left bank of the Elster, with their right wing to the village of Werben, and their left to that of Gruna. By reconnoitering, they discovered that the enemy's main body already extended beyond Weissenfels, to the villages of Gross-Gorschen, Klein Gorschen, Rahno, Starsiedel, and Lutzen. The enemy did not venture to attempt disturbing their march, nor to get before them into the plain, but took his position in the village between Gross-Gorschen and Starsiedel.

About 12 o'clock at noon, General Blücher received orders, as commanding the van-guard of the army, and supported by a part of the Russian artillery, to attack the enemy. The attack was made on the village of Gross-Gorschen, which was obstinately defended by the enemy. It was taken by storm. General York marched with his corps to the right of the village. The whole army wheeled to the right, and presently after the battle became general along the whole line of Blücher's corps. The enemy at the same time displayed a numerous artillery, chiefly of heavy calibre, and the fire of musketry in the villages was kept up with great vivacity for several hours. In this murderous battle the villages of Klein-Gorschen and Rahno, as likewise the villages of Gross-Gorschen, were early taken by storm, with unexampled bravery, and kept possession of for several hours. At length the enemy returned in considerable force, surrounded, and in part retook, these villages; but on the attack being renewed, was not able to retain possession of them. The Prussian guards moved forward, and after a most obstinate combat of an hour and an half, those villages were again retaken from the enemy, and retained. During this time, the corps of General Winzingerode, on the left wing, and the corps of General York, with a part of the Russian troops under General Berg, had taken a share in the battle. They stood opposed to the enemy, at the distance of 100 paces, and one of the most bloody battles became general.

Their reserves had drawn nearer to the field of battle, to be in readiness wherever needful, and thus was the battle continued till near seven o'clock in the evening. During its course the villages on the left wing were likewise several times taken and retaken by both parties. At

seven o'clock the enemy appeared with a new corps on their right wing before Gross and Klein-Gorschen, (probably with the viceroy's army) made a brisk attack on them, and endeavoured to tear from them the advantages they had gained. The infantry of a part of the Russian reserve was now brought forward to the right wing, to the support of General York's corps, which was briskly attacked, and the most desperate engagement (in which the Russian artillery, during the whole remaining time, greatly distinguished itself, as did the corps of York, Blücher, and Winzingerode, the whole day) was continued until the night came on. The enemy had likewise again attacked their centre and the villages with great briskness, but they maintained their position. In this situation night put an end to the battle. The enemy was to have been again attacked on the following morning, the 3d of May. He had meanwhile taken Leipzig during the battle. This obliged them to manoeuvre with him. It was not till afterwards that they were informed, that in consequence of the battle he had again been forced to quit it, and had by the same means lost Halle, and 15,000 men of his best troops: many of his cannon were dismounted, and a number of his powder-waggons blown up. The light detachments were again at liberty to harass him, and to prosecute the advantage gained. The allies consequently kept the field of battle, and the intended purpose was accomplished. Near 50,000 of their best troops had not yet been engaged; they had not lost a single cannon.

Such was the battle of the 2d of May, fought near the plain of Lutzen, where the liberty of Germany was once before conquered. With the courage of lions did both Russians and Prussians fight for it. The loss they sustained was about 10,000 men, but the most of them only slightly wounded.

The enemy made attempts, on the night of the 8th, to re-establish the arches of the main bridge at Dresden, but the Russian artillery was so well directed, that they failed here, but succeeded in passing between Kadiz and Pilsnitz on the 9th. The ground being very commanding on the left bank, and favouring their establishing batteries of heavy guns, they passed in boats, and covered themselves advantageously; the passage was very bravely resisted by General Miloradowitch's rear-guard; and the Russian artillery, after displaying the greatest coolness and courage, was only withdrawn from the impossibility of contending against the superior position and fire of the enemy. Bonaparte had entered Dresden in person.

During the cannonade the fire of musketry was nearly uninterruptedly kept up, and frequently the valour of the allied troops proved itself in attack with the bayonet. Seldom or ever was there a battle fought with such animosity or so

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murderous. The French, commanded by Napoleon in person, derived great advantage from their position on the heights near Lutzen, where they had thrown up strong entrenchments, which they defended with a heavy fire of artillery. But the valour of the allied troops drove them back from one position to another, nor were they to be deterred even when the superior defence of the enemy, in his last positions, rendered frequent attacks necessary. The result of this warm day was, that the Russian and Prussian troops kept possession of the field-of-battle during the whole night, and caused the enemy double or treble greater loss than their own.

Marshal Davoust had, on the 9th, drawn a part of his troops, which had till then been stationed along the Elbe, from Lutzenberg to the mouth of that river, and concentrated about 5,500 men on a line from Hamburg to the customs store-house; with this force, at one o'clock in the night of the 9th, he made an attack on the island of Wilhelmsburg, and on Ochienwarder. He had left about 1,500 men at Hamburg; the allies had, on their side, 1,100 men, infantry, at Wilhelmsburg, and 600 at Ochienwarder. The enemy, who took advantage of the ebb-tide for landing, crossed the river in a mass at several points, under a smart fire from all his batteries; he pushed the advanced posts of the allied army, and caused them to fall back, and gradually gained some ground. But no sooner had the advanced posts and the smaller detachments joined the reserves in their rear, than the enemy was attacked, and a brisk fire commenced at all points. A battalion of Mecklenburghers were now sent to the support of Wilhelmsberg, and a regiment of Hanoverians, with a battalion of Lubeckers, advanced from Berge-dorf and the custom stores, against Ochienwarder and the enemy's right flank.

The enemy could not long withstand this new and impetuous attack; he gradually gave way at all points, covering his retreat by burning some houses and mills. The allied troops pursued him closely, and made many prisoners. The enemy then re-embarked under the protection of his numerous batteries on the other shore. His loss amounted to about 300 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and on the other side to about 150, among whom were thirteen officers.

On the 20th, at noon, the enemy attacked the combined army in its position at Bantzen; but his efforts, although they were directed against single points, with a great superiority of force, were of no effect; and the united army remained in their position during the night from the 20th to the 21st. On that day, at four, *a. m.* the battle commenced on their left wing with great spirit; but the attack made by the enemy on this side, as it afterwards appeared, was merely a feint. General Miloradovitch, under whom General

Emanuel commanded the light troops, had the command of the left wing, under the Duke of Wurtemberg. Some while afterwards the battle commenced with still greater impetuosity towards the centre, where the artillery, in particular, had great effect, and all the enemy's attacks were repulsed. General Lauriston's corps now appeared, and endeavoured to turn their right wing, but was detained by General Barclay de Tolly, who was posted at Gottamilde to observe the enemy, till General Kleist's corps, and Klux and Roeder's brigades fell on the rear of the enemy, and by a close cartridge fire, caused great destruction, and forced him to retreat. But by detaching these brigades, General Blucher's position, at the heights of Kreckwitz, was weakened, and the moment was seized by the enemy to attack this corps with a great superiority, before it could receive any support. General Blucher, therefore, found himself obliged to fall back upon a position a small distance in his rear, in order to join General York, who formed his reserve.

Meanwhile, to counteract this disadvantage, the left wing moved considerably forward, and took some cannon and prisoners from the enemy. The intended purpose was thereby attained, and the enemy was deterred from pressing any further on the right wing. Night put an end to this battle, which had lasted two days, and cost the enemy much blood. The allied army took up a position in the greatest order, and ready for battle, near Weissenberg, at a small distance from the field-of-battle. They had lost neither artillery nor prisoners, except a few who were severely wounded. On the other hand, they had taken both artillery and prisoners from the enemy, and many of his cannon were dismounted. A battalion of Wurtembergers, who were to have stormed a battery at Kreckwitz, came over to the allied army, as likewise did a part of the Saxon troops. The enemy's loss was in proportion of three to one more than the allied armies, as the ground, the superiority of their artillery, and the valour of the troops, gave them the advantage over him in all his attacks. The reserves of the centre and the left wing, among which were the flower of the Russian troops and their artillery, were not engaged.

On the 18th, General Howaisky again took prisoners another company of the Dutch lancers of the guards, ninety-four men strong; and in a reconnaissance with General Miloradovitch in the afternoon they took 132 prisoners, and caused the enemy a loss of 100 men in killed and wounded.

It being understood, that Lauriston's corps, about 12,000 strong, was in motion against their right flank, by making a large circle by the Luckau and Hoyerswerda-road, and that it was followed at the distance of a day's march by Marshal Ney, with a force of 18,000 men, it was accordingly resolved to march against General Lau-

riston; engage and defeat him before supports could reach him. General Barclay de Tolly received directions for this purpose, and he accordingly, in the afternoon of the 19th, made a brisk movement forward to Königswartha, whilst General York marched through Weissig to join General Barclay's corps. The Russians fell in with the enemy at Königswartha, and after a severe battle forced the town with the bayonet, took ten cannons, and put the enemy totally to the rout. Meanwhile General York had fallen in with a strong detachment of the enemy not far from Weissig. The battle was here extremely obstinate, and it soon appeared, that the allied army had to do with three divisions of Marshal Ney's corps, being the very same that were supposed to be still at some leagues distance. The Prussian troops, though much inferior in numbers, sustained this glorious combat against such superior force until night, and kept possession of the field of battle. It was this courageous resistance only that rendered it possible to attain the proposed end, of driving General Lauriston's corps entirely out of the field.

As the enemy had retreated during the night, the corps of Generals Barclay and Von York again moved nearer to the army on the 20th. The result of this day, exclusive of the ten pieces of artillery taken, was 1,500 prisoners, besides a general of division and a general of brigade, and the total destruction of an enemy's column of 9,000 men.

In the battles of Bautzen and Lutzen, the French boasted that only half of their army was up; and that the victory was gained with half their forces. It appeared to be true, that all their forces were not assembled; but it was likewise true, that all the allied force was not in the field. The battle, therefore, was between a part of the allied force and a part of the French. The superiority of troops was evidently upon the side of the Russians; but the superiority of skill and manœuvres was evidently upon the side of the French. Bonaparte, indeed, effected by his skill the mere dint of this superiority, what he could not effect by the battle; he took such a position upon their flanks, as compelled them to quit the ground of the field of battle. The retreat, therefore, of the allies from the field of Lutzen was not because they were beaten, but because they were out-manceuvred. The effect of this retreat, however, was still the same, and was followed by all the disasters, in a degree at least, which are the necessary concomitants upon all retreats. The spirit of the allies was, at least, diminished by it; and the spirits of the French in the same proportion were raised.

This success, (success, at least, in the appearance of its results) had been followed by another of the same kind; and the battle of Bautzen accomplished that effect on the inhabitants of Ger-

many which the battle of Lutzen had begun. The battle of Lutzen shewed, that Bonaparte was not so thoroughly overwhelmed as the expectations of Germany had led every one to expect. The battle of Bautzen produced him still advancing nearer to the Oder.

As to the character of that battle, it was precisely of the same kind as that of Lutzen. It was a battle having every appearance of being a merely drawn one, except the single circumstance of the allies retreating from the ground. Upon ordinary occasions, under general circumstances, there would be no great evil in this, as nothing is more common in successful campaigns, than a mere change of ground. But here the mere circumstance of allowing the advance of Bonaparte, was in itself unhappily a very unfavorable and perilous feature. It added so much to his influence, and therein so much to his means of recruiting his armies.

As to the balance of the losses of the two armies, it was a very reasonable inference, that the French lost more than the Russians and Prussians. This may be concluded from one circumstance—the death of Marshal Duroc. Where, out of four or five marshals in the field, one is killed, it is a natural inference, that the battle must have been very bloody. Bonaparte, indeed, with his usual art, passed this event off as a mere disaster, not resulting from the formidable nature of the battle, but from a *chance* and *last* shot of the enemy. But he spoke in the same terms of the death of Marshal Bessieres, Duke of Istria, in his account of the battle of Lutzen. The inference, therefore, is, that the battle was very obstinate and severe, and that the French emperor himself had a very narrow escape.

Count Wittgenstein having resigned the command of the allied armies, which he held after Marshal Kutusoff's death, until definitive arrangements were made, General Barclay de Tolly was appointed to the same by his imperial majesty. Count Wittgenstein was now in command of the Russians, and a new dislocation was to take place: General Blucher was to command all the Prussians. General Milaradevitch gave up for the present (being indisposed) his command to Count Pablin.

The Prussian army, united with the corps of the Russian General Barclay de Tolly, had their bivouac near Haynau, on the 25th of May. On the 26th, they marched in two columns towards Leignitz. The first column was composed of the corps of Barclay de Tolly and D'York; the second, of the corps of General Blucher. The rear-guard halted on the other side of Haynau, in order to oppose the enemy, who usually pushed on from eleven o'clock in the morning till night.

As the enemy advanced, General Blucher ordered his column to retire through the plains of

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Haynau to Steudentz and Golsdorff, leaving twenty-one squadrons of cavalry, with twenty-two pieces of flying artillery, under the command of General Von Ziethen, in the enemy's rear. General Von Ziethen observed the strength of the enemy from the windmill of Baudinandsdorff, which was ordered to be fired, as a signal for the Prussian cavalry to attack, and for the rear-guard to halt and oppose the enemy.

At eleven o'clock the enemy appeared from Haynau, and began to cannonade against the Prussian rear-guard, under the command of Colonel Mulins, which took a position on the heights of Haynau. It was only a reconnoissance of Marshal Ney. About five o'clock in the evening, the enemy defiled from Haynau, and attacked the rear-guard, which retired, according to the preconceived dispositions.

General Von Ziethen, seeing a French division following their rear-guard, resolved to strike a great blow, and, trusting to the gallantry of the troops, gave orders to suffer the enemy to pass on, and to attack him in rear; but their cavalry had already quitted their ambuscade, and advanced against the right flank of the enemy. The windmill was fired, and the whole of the rear-guard made front against the French, who formed themselves in squares.

Dispositions had been made for the horse-artillery to throw the enemy into disorder, at which time the cavalry were to have attacked them; but the impatience of the latter allowed no time for the artillery to produce the desired effect. After one discharge of cannon, the cavalry rushed in upon the enemy's squares, which were successively destroyed. His firing ceased, and a battery of twelve guns, with 1,500 prisoners, fell into the hands of the allied army. When the dust which had concealed him cleared away, we saw the remainder of General Maison's division retreating on Haynau. The battle lasted only half an hour, and not a single man of the infantry was engaged, it having marched towards Leignitz. The brigade of General Von Ziethen alone remained on the heights behind Golsdorff.

On the 28th of May there was a very severe engagement at Ochsenwarder; the Hanseatic legion, Prussians, and English riflemen, made a strong resistance; but owing to a blunder of Captain Muller, who took the French, who were commanded in English, to be English, 1,500 men took possession of Ochsenwarder. Early on the 29th, General Tettenborn informed the senate, that he had no longer the proper means of defence, and left it entirely with the senate what measures they deemed proper to adopt; and he left Hamburg with his Cossacks, at three *a. m.* May 30, at twelve o'clock, the Danes, 5,000 strong, and with a park of artillery, entered Hamburg, with the French General Bruyere at their

head, who took possession of the town in the name of the ruler of France; and at seven *p. m.* 1,500 French, chiefly *gens-d'armes* and *donaniers*, entered Hamburg.

A deputation was sent to the crown-prince at Stralsund, from Hamburg, requesting him to proceed with his whole force to the city, a measure that would ensure it the most effectual protection. The crown-prince replied, that he had the most sincere respect for the city of Hamburg, and hoped that its rights and independence would be ultimately established; but that the whole force and attention of the allies should be directed to one great point and principle—the opposing the main French army under Bonaparte; that if that opposition were successful, the liberties and security of Germany would be the certain result; but that if that were not successful, it was in vain to attempt to render any particular point or city of Germany safe; that, undoubtedly, the Swedish army could protect Hamburg from the force brought against it, but that nothing would please Bonaparte so much as to see the Swedish army so employed, and the allies dividing their force to protect this territory or that city, for he well knew that by such diversion the main force opposed to him would be weakened, and more easily subdued; that then these detached parts of the allied force would give him no serious disturbance or obstacle: and thus the force of the allies, which might have been effectual had they been united, would be broken to pieces and beaten in detail. The Swedish army, he added, was destined to act in one body in another part of Germany, and he trusted its employment there would in the end prove of more real advantage to Hamburg, then had he complied with the wishes of the deputation.

An armistice was concluded at this time between the French and part of the allied armies, preparatory to a congress to be held at Prague for a general peace, at which ministers from every power interested in the war were to attend. Thus Bonaparte endeavoured to convince the French public that he would spare no pains to obtain an honorable peace.

Notwithstanding this armistice, hostilities still prevailed in some parts: General Czernicheff had a brilliant affair with the enemy near Halberstadt. He passed the Elbe at Ferchland on the night of May the 16th, and proceeded in the direction of Burgstall; here he learnt, from various letters which had been intercepted by his parties, that a large convoy of artillery, escorted by about 2,000 men, were to pass the night of the 17th at Halberstadt. His horses having been sufficiently rested, and being in the best possible condition, he resolved on going the fifteen miles (German), which was the distance to Halberstadt, without halting. To his great surprise, he succeeded in

Performing the whole of this distance, without stopping, in thirty hours. On his arrival at Hadmersleben, he learnt that a second convoy was at Hesse, on the Brunswick road, three miles and a half from Halberstadt, where it was intended to arrive in the morning to join the first, in the view of proceeding with greater safety on its march to the grand army. This last convoy was escorted by 4,000 infantry, 500 cavalry, and many pieces of artillery. Notwithstanding the fatigue of his men and horses, after so harassing a march, he resolved to continue his route, and to make an immediate attack upon the enemy at Halberstadt, before the arrival of the reinforcement; in order to take advantage of the fault he had committed, in placing his guns and the convoy outside of the town, although at a very short distance from the walls. After reconnoitring at four o'clock in the morning, General Czernicheff ascertained that the enemy had placed his guns in a square, the middle of which was filled with ammunition-waggons and other carriages, and was lined with infantry, the flanks being covered by 250 horse. The whole formed a sort of fortress, almost impenetrable to cavalry. One of his first cares having been to cut off the enemy from the town, a single gate which the enemy had neglected to close, afforded him the means of getting possession of the town, where the brave Colonel Trecoff charged the rear of the troops which were marching out to join the square, and pursued them very nearly up to the guns. On the other side, Colonel Wlassaw, whom he had sent forward with two regiments, in hopes of surprising the enemy, made two very fine charges against the square; but the enemy having notice of their march, and being upon their guard, he could not make any impression. The enemy now opened a heavy cannonade from fourteen guns, to which the general could only oppose two; by the fire of which, however, five of the enemy's ammunition-waggons were blown up. One of his met with the same fate, and four horses were killed.

At this moment, a regiment of Cossacks, which he had detached upon the road by which the enemy's reinforcements were advancing, brought him intelligence that they were within two miles of him; this determined him to make a general and decisive effort against the square with all his troops. With this view he ordered all the scattered Cossacks to seize the same moment at which the attack would be made by the regular cavalry. After exhorting his soldiers to do their duty, he ordered all his people to charge at the same moment. This brilliant attack against a formidable square, defended by fourteen pieces of cannon, surpassed his expectations, and covered with glory the hussars of Isoum, commanded by Colonel Tieman, and two regiments of Riga dra-

goons; the Cossacks also seconded admirably the efforts of these 400 horse. In an instant the batteries were carried, and the brave men were in the middle of the square: there the carnage was horrible, as the enemy defended himself obstinately, even firing upon them from under the carriages. More than 700 were killed, and the rest taken, for not an individual escaped out of all this corps. Scarcely was the slaughter terminated, when the enemy's column began to appear, pressing upon the Cossacks. General Czernicheff was then obliged to support them, in order to gain time to send off the captured guns and prisoners. From want of time he could carry off only the fourteen guns and twelve ammunition-waggons; he blew up the rest in the very presence of the enemy. He destroyed or distributed to the inhabitants all the stores which were in the town, and at seven in the evening he retired with his booty to Coehstedt.

Halberstadt, the scene of this battle, is a town about 100 English miles south-east of Hamburg, and upon the high road between that city and Brunswick, and about 300 miles from the positions of the two main armies of the allies and the French: the intelligence of the armistice had therefore not reached that part of the country at this period.

Immediately on the signature of the armistice, the allied armies moved their head-quarters to Reichenbach. The greatest harmony prevailed among the allied sovereigns, and both armies were in a complete state of equipment; each individual corps having continually gained advantages over the enemy during the retreat, in every action which had been fought, though they had been obliged to yield to numerical superiority. The terms of the armistice were considered highly favorable to the allies, who would very shortly receive large reinforcements; and the evacuation of Breslau by the French, evinced that it had not been dictated by Bonaparte in the same spirit which appeared in former instruments of this kind.

Barclay de Tolly was commander-in-chief at Reichenbach. Wittgenstein and Blücher remained in the post of Schweidnitz.

Austria having recalled her troops from the French army, and augmented her force in Bohemia, plenipotentiaries were appointed by Russia, Prussia, and France, to state to Austria their different bases of a treaty of peace. These plenipotentiaries arrived at Prague, July 12, and the armistice, at the request of Austria, was extended to August 10.

The Emperor of Austria, who, as intimated in a former chapter, was unwilling to consider his son-in-law as an enemy, now insisted on the evacuation of the Prussian fortresses by the French, the removal of the French troops to the

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Rhine, the abandonment of the Rhenish confederation, and generally the evacuation of all those parts of Germany seized by the enemy. This projet was transmitted to Bonaparte, with an intimation that the Emperor of Austria would expect a reply before the 10th of August. No reply was returned, and the armistice was denounced on the 10th. Austria declared war against France on the 11th, the following having been the manifesto of the Emperor of Austria on this occasion :—

“ The Austrian monarchy has been compelled by its situation, by its various connections with the other powers, and its importance in the confederacy of European states, to engage in most of those wars which have ravaged Europe for upwards of twenty years. Throughout the progress of these arduous struggles, the same political principle has invariably directed his imperial majesty. A lover of peace from a sense of duty, from his own natural feelings, and from attachment to his people; free from all ambitious thoughts of conquest and aggrandizement; his majesty has only taken up arms when called by the urgent necessity of self-preservation, by an anxiety for the fate of contiguous states inseparable from his own, or by the danger of beholding the entire social system of Europe a prey to a lawless and absolute power. To promote justice and order have been the object of his majesty's life and reign; for these alone have Austria contended. If in these frequently unsuccessful contests deep wounds have been inflicted on the monarchy, still his majesty had the consolation to reflect, that the fate of his empire had not been hazarded upon needless and violent enterprizes; that all his decisions were justifiable before God, his people, his contemporaries, and posterity.

“ Notwithstanding the most ample preparations, the war in 1809 would have brought the state to ruin, had not the ever-memorable bravery of the army, and the spirit of true patriotism which animated all parts of the monarchy, overbalanced every adverse occurrence. The honor of the nation and its ancient renown in arms, were happily upheld during all the mischances of this war; but valuable provinces were lost; and Austria, by the cession of the countries bordering upon the Adriatic, was deprived of all share in maritime commerce, one of the most efficient means of promoting her industry; a blow which would have been still more sensibly felt, had not at the same time the whole continent been closed by a general and destructive system, preventing all commercial intercourse, and almost suspending all communication amongst nations.

“ The progress and result of this war fully satisfied his majesty, that in the obvious impossi-

bility of an immediate and thorough improvement of the political condition of Europe, shaken as it was to its very foundation, the exertions of individual states in their own defence, instead of setting bounds to the general distress, would only tend to destroy the little strength they still retained, would hasten the fall of the whole, and even destroy all hopes of future and better times. Under this conviction, his majesty foresaw the important advantage that would result from a peace, which, if secured for some years, might check this overgrown and hitherto irresistible power, might allow his monarchy that repose which was indispensable to the restoration of his finances and his army, and at the same time procure to the neighbouring states a period of relaxation, which, if improved with prudence and activity, might prepare the way to more fortunate times. Such a peace, under the existing circumstances of danger, was only to be obtained by an extraordinary effort. The emperor was sensible of it, and made this effort: for the preservation of the empire, for the most sacred interests of mankind, as a security against immeasurable evils, as a pledge of a better order of things, his majesty sacrificed what was dearest to his heart. With this view, exalted above all common scruples, armed against every misconception of the moment, an alliance was formed which was intended by a sense of some security to reanimate the weaker and more suffering party, after the miseries of an unsuccessful struggle, to incline the stronger and victorious one to a course of moderation and justice, without which the community of states can only be considered as a community of misery.

“ His majesty was the more justified in these expectations, because at the time of the consummation of this union, the Emperor Napoleon had attained that point of his career when the preservation of his conquests was a more natural and desirable object, than a restless struggle after new possessions. Any farther extension of his dominions, long since outstretching their proper limits, was attended with evident danger, not only to France, already sinking under the burthen of his conquests, but even to his own real personal interests. What his authority gained in extent, it necessarily lost in point of security. By an union with the most ancient imperial family in Christendom, the edifice of his greatness acquired in the eyes of the French nation, and of the world, such an addition of strength and perfection, that any ulterior scheme of aggrandisement must only weaken and destroy its stability. What France, what Europe, what so many oppressed and despairing nations earnestly demanded of heaven, a sound policy prescribed to the triumphant ruler as a law of self-

preservation—and it was allowed to hope that so many great and united motives would prevail over the ambition of an individual.

“If these flattering prospects were destroyed, it is not to be imputed to Austria. After many years’ fruitless exertions, after boundless sacrifices of every description, there existed sufficient motives for the attempt to procure a better order of things by confidence and concession, when streams of blood had hitherto produced nothing but misery and destruction; nor can his majesty ever regret that he has been induced to attempt it.

“The year 1810 was not yet closed, the war still raged in Spain, the people of Germany had scarcely been allowed a sufficient time to recover from the devastations of the two former wars, when, in an evil hour, the Emperor Napoleon resolved to unite a considerable portion of the north of Germany with the mass of countries which bore the name of the French empire, and to rob the ancient free commercial cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, first of their political, and shortly after of their commercial existence, and with that, of their means of subsistence. This violent step was adopted, without any even plausible pretensions, in contempt of every decent form, without any previous declaration, or communication with any other cabinet, under the arbitrary, and futile pretext that the war with England required it.

“This cruel system, which was intended to destroy the commerce of the world, at the expence of the independence, the prosperity, the rights and dignity, and in utter ruin of the public and private property of all the continental powers, was pursued with unrelenting severity, in the vain expectation of forcing a result, which, had it not fortunately proved unattainable, would have plunged Europe, for a long time to come, into a state of poverty, impotence, and barbarity.

“The decree by which a new French dominion was established on the German coasts, under the title of a thirty-second military division, was in itself sufficiently calculated to raise the suspicions of the adjoining states, and it was the more alarming to them as the forerunner of future and greater dangers. By this decree it became evident, that the system which had been created in France (although previously transgressed, yet still proclaimed to be in existence), the system of the pretended natural limits of the French empire, was, without any further justification or explanation, overthrown, and even the emperor’s arbitrary acts were in the same arbitrary manner annihilated. Neither the princes of the Rhenish confederacy, nor the kingdom of Westphalia, no territory, great or small, was spared, in the accomplishment of this dreadful usurpation. The boundary drawn apparently by blind caprice, without either rule or plan, without any considera-

tion of ancient or more recent political relations, intersected rivers and countries, cut off the middle and southern states of Germany from all connection with the German sea, passed the Elbe, separated Denmark from Germany, laid its pretensions even to the Baltic, and seemed to be rapidly approaching the line of Prussian fortresses still occupied on the Oder; and so little did this act of usurpation (however powerfully it affected all rights and possessions, all geographic, political, and military lines of demarcation) carry with it a character of determinate and complete accession of territory, that it was impossible to view it in any other light than as a forerunner of still greater usurpations, by which one half of Germany was to become a French province, and the Emperor Napoleon the absolute ruler of the Continent.

“To Russia and Prussia this unnatural extension of the French territory could not fail of producing the most serious alarm. The latter, surrounded on all sides, no longer capable of free action, deprived of every means of obtaining fresh strength, appeared hastening to its dissolution. Russia, already in fear for her western frontier, by the conversion of the city of Dantzic, declared a free city by the treaty of Tilsit, into a French military port, and of a great part of Poland into a French province, could not but see, in the advance of the French dominion along the sea-coast, and in the new chains prepared for Prussia, the imminent danger of her German and Polish possessions. From this moment, therefore, the rupture between France and Russia was as good as decided.

“Not without deep and just anxiety did Austria observe the storm which was gathering. The scene of hostilities would, in every case, be contiguous to her provinces, which, owing to the necessary reform in the financial system which had cramped the restoration of her military means, were in a very defenceless state. In a higher point of view, the struggle which awaited Russia appeared still more doubtful, as it commenced under the same unfavorable conjuncture of affairs, with the same want of co-operation on the part of other powers, and with the same disproportion in their relative means, consequently was just as hopeless as all former struggles of the same nature. His majesty, the emperor, made every effort in his power by friendly mediation with both parties to avert the impending storm. No human judgment could, at that time, foresee that the period was so near at hand, when the failure of these friendly attempts should prove more injurious to the Emperor Napoleon than to his opponents. Thus, however, it was resolved by the wisdom of Providence.

“When the commencement of hostilities was no longer doubtful, his majesty was compelled to

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have recourse to measures which, in so unnatural and dangerous a conjuncture, might combine his own security with just considerations for the real interests of neighbouring states. The system of unarmed inaction, the only neutrality which the Emperor Napoleon, according to his own declarations, would have permitted, was, by every sound maxim of policy, wholly inadmissible, and would, at last, have proved only a vain endeavour to shrink from the approaching trial. A power so important as Austria, could not renounce all participation in the interests of Europe, nor could she place herself in a situation in which, equally ineffective in peace or war, she would lose her voice and influence in all great negotiations, without acquiring any guarantee for the security of her own frontier. To prepare for war against France would have been, under the existing circumstances, as little consonant with equity as with prudence. The Emperor Napoleon has given his majesty no personal ground for hostile proceedings; and the prospect of attaining many beneficial results, by a skilful employment of the established friendly relations, by confidential representations, and by conciliatory councils, had not yet been abandoned as hopeless. And with regard to the immediate interest of their state, such a revolution would inevitably have been attended with this consequence—that the Austrian territory would have become the first and principal seat of war, which with its well known deficiency of means of defence could, in a short time, have overthrown the monarchy.

“In this painful situation his majesty had no other resource than to take the field on the side of France. To take up arms for France, in the real sense of the word, would have been a measure not only in contradiction with the duties and principles of the emperor, but even with the repeated declarations of his cabinet, which had, without any reserve, disapproved of this war.—On the signature of the treaty of the 12th of March, 1812, his majesty proceeded upon two distinct principles: the first, as is proved by the words of the treaty, was to leave no means untried which might sooner or later obtain a peace; the other was to place himself internally and externally in a position which, if it should prove impossible to effect a peace, or in case the turn of the war should render decisive measures in this part necessary, would enable Austria to act with independence, and in either of these cases to adopt the measures which a just and wise policy should prescribe. Upon this principle it was that only a fixed and comparative small part of the army was destined to co-operate in the war; the other military resources, at that time in a state of readiness, or that still remained to be prepared, were not called forth for the prosecution of this war. By a kind of tacit agreement between the

belligerents, the Austrian territory was even treated as neutral. The real ends and views of the system adopted by his majesty could not escape the notice of France, Russia, or any intelligent observer.

“The campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic powers, conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and outsteps the bounds of nature. The illusion of glory carried the Emperor Napoleon into the heart of the Russian empire; and a false political view of things induced him to imagine, that he should dictate a peace in Moscow, should cripple the Russian power for half a century, and then return victorious. When the magnanimous constancy of the Emperor of Russia, the glorious deeds of his warriors, and the unshaken fidelity of his people, put an end to this dream, it was too late to repent it with impunity. The whole French army was scattered and destroyed: in less than four months we have seen the theatre of war transferred from the Dnieper and the Dwina to the Oder and the Elbe.

“This rapid and extraordinary change of fortune was the forerunner of an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states. Prussia, whom report had long declared determined to risk all, to prefer even the danger of immediate political destruction to the lingering sufferings of continued oppression, seized the favorable moment, and threw herself into the arms of the allies. Many greater and smaller princes of Germany were ready to do the same. Every where the ardent desires of the people anticipated the regular proceedings of their governments. Their impatience to live in independence, and under their own laws, the sentiment of wounded national honor, and the hatred of a foreign dominion, broke out in bright flames on all sides.

“His majesty, the emperor, too intelligent not to consider this change of affairs as the natural and necessary consequence of a previous violent political convulsion, and too just to view it in anger, was solely bent upon securing, by deep digested and well-combined measures, the real and permanent interest of the European commonwealth. Already, in the beginning of December, considerable steps had been taken on the part of the Austrian cabinet, in order to dispose the Emperor Napoleon to quiet and peaceful policy, on grounds which equally interested the world and his own welfare. These steps were from time to time renewed and enforced. Hopes had been entertained, that the impression of last year's campaign, the recollection of the fruitless sacrifice of

an immense army, the severe measures of every description that would be necessary to replace that loss, the decided declination of France, and of all other nations connected with her, to a war, which, without any prospect of future indemnification, exhausted and ruined her internal strength; that, lastly, even a calm reflection on the doubtful issue of this new and highly imminent crisis, would move the emperor to listen to the representations of Austria. The tone of these representations was carefully adapted to the circumstances of the times, serious as the greatness of the object, moderate as the desire of a favorable issue, and as the existing friendly relations required.

"That overtures, flowing from so pure a motive should be decidedly rejected, could not certainly be foreseen. But the manner in which they were received, and still more the striking contrast between the sentiments entertained by Austria and the whole conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, to the period of these unsuccessful endeavours for peace, soon destroyed the best hopes that were entertained. Instead of endeavouring, by a moderate language, to improve, at least, our view of the future, and to lessen the general despondency, it was, on every occasion, solemnly declared before the highest authorities in France, that the emperor would hear of no proposition for peace that should violate the integrity of the French empire, in the French sense of the word, or that should make any pretensions to the arbitrarily incorporated provinces.

"At the same time, eventual conditions, with which this self-created boundary did not even appear to have any relation, were spoken of; at one time menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt; as if it had not been possible to declare in terms sufficiently distinct, the resolution of the Emperor Napoleon, *not to make to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.*

"These hostile demonstrations were attended with this particular mortification to Austria, that they placed even the invitations to peace which this cabinet, with the knowledge and apparent consent of France, made to other courts, in a false and highly disadvantageous light. The sovereigns united against France, instead of any answer to Austria's propositions for negotiation, and her offers of mediation, laid before her the public declarations of the French emperor. And when, in the month of March, his majesty sent a minister to London, to invite England to share in a negotiation for peace, the British ministry replied, "that they would not believe Austria still entertained any hopes of peace, when the Emperor Napoleon had, in the mean time, expressed sentiments which could only tend to the perpetuation of war;" a declaration which was the more painful to his majesty, the more it was just and well-founded.

"Austria, however, did not, upon this account, cease to impress, in more forcible and distinct terms, the necessity of peace, upon the mind of the Emperor of France; directed in all her measures by this principle, that, as all order and balance of power in Europe had been destroyed by the boundless superiority of France, no real peace was to be expected, unless that superiority were diminished. His majesty in the mean time adopted every necessary measure to strengthen and concentrate his armies; sensible that Austria must be prepared for war, if her mediation were not to be entirely unavailing. His imperial majesty had moreover been long since persuaded, that the probability of an immediate share in the war would no longer be excluded from his calculations. The actual state of things could not be continued; of this the emperor was convinced: this conviction was the main-spring of his actions, and was naturally strengthened by the failure of any attempt to procure a peace. The result was apparent. By one means or the other, either by negotiation or by force of arms, a new state of things must be effected.

"The Emperor Napoleon was not only aware of the Austrian preparations for war, but even acknowledged them as necessary, and justified them in more than one instance. He had sufficient reason to believe, that his majesty the emperor, at so decisive a period for the fate of the whole world, would lay aside all personal and momentary feelings, would alone consult the lasting welfare of Austria, and of the countries by which she is surrounded, and would resolve nothing but what this great motive should impose as a duty upon him. The Austrian cabinet had never expressed itself in terms that would warrant any other construction; and yet the French did not only acknowledge that the Austrian mediation could only be an armed mediation, but declared upon more than one occasion, that Austria, under existing circumstances, ought no longer to confine herself to act a secondary part, but should appear in force upon the stage, and decide as a great and independent power. Whatever the French government could either hope or fear from Austria, this acknowledgment was of itself a previous justification of the whole intended and hitherto adopted measures of his imperial majesty.

"Thus far were circumstances developed when the Emperor Napoleon left Paris, in order to make head against the progress of the allied armies. Even their enemies have done homage to the valour of the Russian and Prussian troops in the sanguinary actions of the month of May. That, however the result of this first period of the campaign was not more favorable to them, was owing partly to the great numerical superiority of the French force, and to the universally acknow-

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ledged military talents of their leader, and partly to the political combinations, by which the allied sovereigns were guided in all their undertakings. They acted under the just supposition, that a cause like the one in which they were engaged, could not possibly be confined to themselves; that sooner or later, whether successful or unfortunate, every state which still preserved a shadow of independence must join their confederacy, every independent army must act with them. They, therefore, did not allow further scope to the bravery of their troops, than the moment required, and preserved a considerable part of their strength for a period when, with more extended means, they might look to the attainment of greater objects. For the same cause, and with a view to the developement of events, they consented to the armistice.

"In the mean time the retreat of the allies had for the moment given an appearance to the war, which daily became more interesting to the emperor, from the impossibility, if it should proceed, of his remaining an inactive spectator of it. The fate of the Prussian monarchy was a point which peculiarly attracted the attention of his majesty, feeling, as the emperor did, that the restoration of the Prussian monarchy was the first step towards that of the whole political system of Europe, and he viewed the danger in which she now stood, as equally affecting himself. Already, in the month of April, had the Emperor Napoleon suggested to the Austrian cabinet, that he considered the dissolution of the Prussian monarchy as a natural consequence of her defection from France, and of the continuation of the war, and that it now only depended upon Austria to add the most important and most flourishing of her provinces to its own state; a suggestion which shewed distinctly enough, that no means could properly be neglected to save that power. If this great object could not be obtained by a just peace, it was necessary to support Russia and Prussia by a powerful co-operation. From this natural view of things, upon which even France could no longer deceive herself, his majesty continued his preparations with unwearied activity. He quitted, in the early part of July, his residence, and proceeded to the vicinity of the scene of action, in order the more effectually to conduct the preparations for war, if no other choice should remain for Austria.

"A short time before, the Emperor Napoleon had declared, "that he had proposed a congress to be held at Prague, where plenipotentiaries from France, the United States of North America, Denmark, the King of Spain, and the other allied princes on the one hand, and on the other, plenipotentiaries of England, Russia, Prussia, the Spanish insurgents, and the other allies of this hostile mass, should meet, and lay the ground-

work of a durable peace." To whom this proposition was addressed, in what manner, in what diplomatic form, through whose organ it could have been done, was perfectly unknown to the Austrian cabinet, which only was made acquainted with the circumstance through the medium of the public prints. How, too, such a project could be brought to bear—how from the combination of such dissimilar elements, without any generally acknowledged principle, without any previously regulated plan, a negociation for peace was to be set on foot, was so little to be comprehended, that it was very allowable to consider the whole proposition rather as a play of the imagination, than as a serious invitation to the adoption of a great political measure.

"Perfectly acquainted with all the obstacles to a general peace, Austria had long considered whether this distant and difficult object was not rather to be attained progressively; and, in this opinion, had expressed herself both to France and to Russia and Prussia, upon the subject of a continental peace. Not that the Austrian court had misconceived, even for a moment, the necessity and importance of an universal peace among all the great powers of Europe, and without which there was no hope of either safety or happiness, or had imagined that the continent could exist, if the separation of England were not invariably considered as a most deadly evil! The negociation which Austria proposed, after the alarming declaration of France had nearly destroyed all hopes of England uniting her endeavours in the attempt to procure a general peace, was an essential part of the great approaching negociation for a general and effective congress for peace; it was intended as preparatory to this, to draw up the preliminary articles of the future treaty, to pave the way, by a long continental armistice, to a more extended and durable negociation. Had the principle upon which Austria advanced been other than this, neither Russia nor Prussia, bound by the strongest ties to England, would certainly ever have listened to the proposals of the Austrian cabinet.

"After the Russian and Prussian courts, animated by a confidence in his majesty, highly flattering to the emperor, had already declared their concurrence in the proposed congress under the mediation of Austria, it became necessary to obtain the formal assent of the Emperor Napoleon, and to determine upon what principles the negociations for peace were to be carried on. For this purpose, his imperial majesty resolved, towards the end of the month of June, to send his minister for foreign affairs to Dresden. The result of this mission was a convention concluded upon the 30th of June, accepting the mediation of his imperial majesty in the negociation of a general, and if that could not be effected, of a preliminary continental peace. The city of Prague

was fixed upon for the meeting of the congress, and the 5th of July for the day of its opening. In order to obtain a sufficient time for the negotiation, it was determined by the same convention, that the Emperor Napoleon should not give notice of the rupture of the armistice which was to terminate on the 20th of July, at that time existing between himself and Russia, till the 10th of August; and his majesty the emperor took upon himself to obtain a similar declaration from the Russian and Prussian courts.

"The points which had been determined in Dresden, were hereupon imparted to the two courts. Although the continuation of the armistice was attended with many objections, and with much serious inconvenience to them, the desire of giving to his imperial majesty another proof of their confidence, and at the same time to satisfy the world that they would not reject any prospect of peace, however confined it might be, that they would not refuse any attempt which might prepare the way to it, overcame every consideration. The only alteration made in the convention of the 30th of June, was, that the term of the opening the congress, since the final regulations could not so soon be determined, should be deferred until the 12th of July.

"In the mean time his majesty, who would not as yet abandon all hopes of completely terminating, by a general peace, the sufferings of mankind, and the convulsions of the political world, had also resolved upon a new attempt with the British government. The Emperor Napoleon not only received the proposal with apparent approbation, but even voluntarily offered to expedite the business, by allowing the persons to be dispatched for that purpose to England a passage through France. When it was to be carried into effect, unexpected difficulties arose, the passports were delayed from time to time, under trifling pretexts, and at length entirely refused. This proceeding afforded a fresh and important ground for entertaining just doubts as to the sincerity of the assurances which the Emperor Napoleon had more than once publicly expressed of his disposition to peace, although several of his expressions, at that particular period, afforded just reason to believe that a maritime peace was the object of his most anxious solicitude.

"During that interval, their majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia had nominated their plenipotentiaries to the congress, and had furnished them with very decisive instructions. On the 12th of July they both arrived at Prague, as well as his majesty's minister, charged with the concerns of the mediation.

"The negotiations were not to be protracted beyond the 10th of August, except in the event of their assuming such a character as to induce a confident hope of a favorable result. To that

day the armistice had been extended through the mediation of Austria: the political and military situation of the allied sovereigns, the condition of the countries they occupied, and their anxious wish to terminate an irksome period of uncertainty, prevented any further extension of it. With all these circumstances the Emperor Napoleon was acquainted; he well knew that the period of the negotiations was necessarily defined by that of the armistice; and he could not moreover conceal from himself how much his own determinations would influence the happy abridgment and successful result of the pending negotiations.

"It was therefore with real sorrow that his majesty soon perceived, not only that no serious step was taken by France to accelerate this great work, but, on the contrary, it appeared as if a procrastination of the negotiations, and evasion of a favorable issue, had been decidedly intended. There was, indeed, a French minister at the place of congress, but without any orders to proceed to business, until the appearance of the first plenipotentiary.

"The arrival of that plenipotentiary was in vain expected from day to day. Nor was it until the 21st of July that it was ascertained that a demur, which took place on settling the renewal of the armistice between the French and Russian and Prussian Commissioners, an obstruction of very subordinate importance, having no influence whatever upon the congress, and which might have been very easily and speedily removed by the interference of Austria, was made use of as the justification of this extraordinary delay. And when this last pretext was removed, it was not until the 28th of July, sixteen days after that appointed for the opening of the congress, that the first French plenipotentiary arrived.

"Even in the very first days after this minister's arrival, no doubt remained as to the fate of the congress. The form in which the full powers were to be delivered, and the mutual explanations should be conducted, a point which had already been treated by all parties, became the object of a discussion which rendered all the endeavours of the mediating power abortive. The apparent insufficiency of the powers intrusted to the French negotiator, occasioned a silence of several days. Nor was it until the 6th of August that this minister gave in a new declaration, by which the difficulties with respect to forms were by no means removed, nor the negotiation by one step brought nearer to its object. After an useless exchange of notes upon every preliminary question, the 10th of August arrived. The Prussian and Russian negotiators could not exceed this term: the congress was at an end, and the resolution which Austria had to form was previously determined, by the progress

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of this negotiation—by the actual conviction of the impossibility of peace—by the no longer doubtful point of view in which his majesty examined the great question in dispute—by the principles and intentions of the allies, wherein the emperor recognized his own—and, finally, by the former positive declarations, which left no room for misconception.

“Not without sincere affliction, and alone consoled by the certainty that every means to avoid the war had been exhausted, does the emperor now find himself compelled to action. For three years has his majesty laboured, with unceasing perseverance, to effect, by mild and conciliatory measures, a real and durable peace for Austria and for Europe. All his endeavours have failed: there is now no remedy, no recourse to be had but to arms. The emperor takes them up without any personal animosity, from a painful necessity, from an irresistible duty, upon grounds which any faithful citizen of his realm, which the world, which the Emperor Napoleon himself, in a moment of tranquillity and reason, will acknowledge and justify. The necessity of this war is engraven in the heart of every Austrian, of every European, under whosoever dominion he may live, in such legible characters, that no art is necessary to distinguish them. The nation and the army will do their duty. An union established by common necessity, and by the mutual interest of every power that is in arms for its independence, will give due weight to our exertions; and the result, with the assistance of heaven, will be such as must fulfil the just expectations of every friend of order and of peace.”

The forces which the allies brought into the field, were very numerous. The line of operations being very extensive, they were divided into three main armies. The first, which might be termed the grand Bohemian army, and estimated at 180,000 men, was under the command of Prince Schwartzemberg. This army was posted on the Ersburg mountains, in the neighbourhood of Culm, within twenty miles of Dresden. The second, termed the Silesian army, and amounting to 100,000 men, was commanded by General Blucher. The third army, under the orders of the Crown-prince of Sweden, was stationed in Brandenburg, for the defence of Berlin, and consisted of 110,000 men.

In the orders given by Prince Von Schwartzemberg to his army, August 17, he observed: “We do not singly undertake this combat: we stand in the same ranks with all that Europe has to oppose of greatness and activity, against the powerful opponent of her peace and liberty. Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, England, Spain—all join their united endeavors for the same end, for a well-founded and durable peace, a reasonable distribution of strength among the

different states, and the independence of every single power. It is not against France, but against the domineering power of France out of her own borders, that this great alliance has raised itself.”

Hostilities recommenced with several advantages on the side of the allied armies. General Moreau was appointed second in command of the allied army under Prince Schwartzemberg. This general was more reputed for the merit of his retreat through the Black Forest and the Valley of Hell (1796) than Bonaparte for the battle of Marengo, as the merit of that battle chiefly belonged to the celebrated Desaix, who saved the army at the expense of his own life. But the retreat through the Black Forest belonged entirely to Moreau; and the Austrians, as well as the French, were so penetrated with the merit of it, that the Archduke Charles would not suffer the pillar to be defaced upon which the French soldiers had recorded this retreat; a singular proof both of the value of this military act, and of the generosity of the archduke.

An important victory was obtained by the Crown-prince of Sweden. On the 21st of August the Emperor Napoleon was concentrating the corps of the Dukes of Reggio and Belluno, and Padua, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, forming more than 70,000 men, in the environs of Bareuth, and every thing announcing on the part of his troops a rapid march upon Berlin, the prince-royal made the following dispositions.

The third Prussian corps, commanded by Bulow, placed two divisions between Hernalsdorf and Klein Berin. One division occupied Mittenwalde and another Trebbin, in order to mask the whole movement. The fourth Prussian corps, under Tauenzin, united at Blankenfelde. The Swedish army left Potsdam on the 22d, at two *a. m.* proceeded upon Saarmund, passed the defiles, and took post at Ruhlsdorf. The Russian army followed the Swedish army and took post at Gutergatze. General Czernicheff guarded Beletz and Treunbritzen with 3,000 Cossacks and a brigade of light infantry.

The secret agents announced that the Emperor Napoleon was to pass by Luckau to proceed to Bareuth. General Czernicheff executed his orders with his usual intelligence, and carried alarm and uneasiness to the rear of the enemy's columns. General Hinchfeldt, who had received orders to proceed from the environs of Magdeburgh to Brandenburg and Potsdam, and from Potsdam to Saarmund, made a rapid movement of five Swedish miles in ten hours.

Affairs were in this state when the enemy attacked General Thumen at Trebbin, on the 22d, in the morning. Their superiority determined the general to evacuate that post. The enemy advanced successively, and occupied all the inter-

val between Mittenwald and the Saare, covered by woods and flanked by marshes. The advanced posts fell back slowly, and covered the front of the line. On the 23d, in the morning, the corps of General Bertrand debouched upon General Tauenzeln. The latter repulsed him, and made some prisoners.

The village of Gross Beren, against which the 7th French corps and a strong reserve was directed, was taken by him. The Duke of Reggio's corps proceeded upon Ahrendorff. By the occupation of Gross Beren the enemy was at 1,000 toises from the centre of the camp. General Bulow received orders to attack it; he executed it with the decision of a skilful general. The cannonade was warm for some hours. The troops advanced under the protection of the artillery, and fell with the bayonet upon the 7th corps, which had deployed in the plain, and which marched boldly upon the camp. There were several charges of cavalry against the corps of the Duke of Padua, which did great honor to the Prussian general, Oppen. The Russian and Swedish army were in battle, and waited the deploying of the other enemy's corps to attack them at the same time. General Winzingerode was at the head of 10,000 horse, and the Count de Woronzow at the head of the Russian infantry. Marshal Count Stedingk, in front of the Swedish line, had his cavalry in reserve.

The village of Ruhlsdorff, situated in front of his camp, was furnished with infantry, in order to keep open the communication with General Bulow. The other corps of the enemy's army not having debouched from the woods, the Russian and Swedish army did not stir.

However, the enemy menacing the village of Ruhlsdorff, and having already pushed his tirailleurs against the light Swedish troops placed in front of that village, the prince ordered some battalions, supported by artillery, to re-inforce the advanced posts, and Colonel Cardell was directed to push on with a battalion of flying-artillery to take the enemy in flank.

Hitherto the results of the affair of Gross Beren were twenty-six cannon, thirty caissons, much baggage, and 1,500 prisoners, among whom were forty officers, and the colonel of Uhlaas of the Saxon guard, and several lieutenant-colonels and French majors. The number of killed and wounded of the enemy was very considerable, and the woods were filled with stragglers, whom the light cavalry were bringing in every moment.

The enemy retired beyond Trebbin, which was already occupied by two regiments of Cossacks. Generals Bulow, Tauenzeln, and O'Rourke were in pursuit of the enemy, as well as the whole light Russian cavalry.

The prince-royal found among the prisoners, officers and soldiers who had served under his

orders, and who shed tears of joy in seeing their old general again.

Four important victories were afterwards rapidly obtained by the allied armies—first, that of Dresden;—secondly, that over Vandamme at Culm and Toplitz;—thirdly, that of Blucher over Macdonald on the Katzbach;—and fourthly, that of the crown-prince over Ney near Wittenberg.

The circumstances of the first battle, the attack of Dresden, were as follow:—The allied armies, upon the denunciation of the armistice, were for the greater part posted on the further side of the mountains of Bohemia; the French armies being at Dresden, and between that town and the foot of the same Bohemian mountains on the side of Saxony. Bonaparte had selected Dresden as a post almost in the centre of Germany, stretching over both sides of the Elbe, and presenting a strong fortress on the right and left bank of this river. Dresden, which the Prussians, in their former wars, under Frederick the Great, were accustomed to enter almost without a siege, was, by the forethought and genius of Bonaparte, erected into an entrenched camp, and improved into an almost impenetrable fortress. Here he concentrated his forces, and prepared for the attack of the allies. Now, upon the commencement of the campaign, the plan of the allies was double,—in the first place they divided their army into two parts, each of which was to take its own line of operation. One of these divisions, under the Prussian general, Blucher, was to march directly forwards, and to threaten the enemy in front. The other division, composed of the main Russian army, under the command of Barclay de Tolly, as likewise of General Kleist's Prussian corps, and nearly the whole of the Austrian army, was to move at the same time on a line immediately to Dresden, and thus to direct itself towards the enemy's flank and rear, whilst Blucher was advancing against their front.

The first and principal division, thus directed against Dresden, accordingly moved upon the projected line on the days of the 20th and 21st of August, and on the night of the 26th, the allied army were encamped in front of Dresden. On the following morning, the enemy withdrew from the surrounding ground into the town, and it was accordingly determined to attack them in their very entrenchments. This attack was one of the most gallant achievements in the war, and failed of success only because the walls were too strong to be taken by a *coup de main*. The enemy, covered by his entrenchments, was thus enabled to repel the assault; and the allies, after repeated efforts, retreated. This retreat, in the language of Bonaparte, was converted into a victory upon his own part; but what must have been the spirit of the allied army, which could have led them, instead of awaiting his attack, to issue from the

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passes of Bohemia in search of him, and to attack him in the very centre of his strong hold. All the circumstances of this affair display the spirit which animated the allies; and the retreat itself was marked with all the results of victory.

The second of these victories was that over Vandamme, near Culm and Toplitz. The allied armies, having been foiled in their attack on Dresden, but having nobly stood their ground in a great battle with Bonaparte in person, on the 27th, began their retreat towards the Bohemian mountains on the 28th, and were followed on different roads by the French corps. Vandamme committed an error in descending the mountains of Culm, and attacking the allies in the valley. The allies, supporting his attack in front, moved two corps of troops upon his flanks—the one upon his right, and the other upon his left. Whilst these operations were making, General Kleist, who was in the rear, suddenly appeared upon the high road behind the position of Vandamme's corps, who now accordingly found himself surrounded. The result was the total annihilation of one complete corps of the French army, and, what very seldom occurs, the capture of the person of the general, and nearly his whole staff.

The third great success of the allies, that of General Blucher over Macdonald, was not less complete. General Blucher, as has before been related, moved towards the front of the enemy in Lusatia, whilst the main or grand allied force moved direct upon Dresden. General Blucher fought several minor affairs with good success, till he was attacked on the 21st by Bonaparte in person; and was compelled to retreat behind the Katzbach. Bonaparte having thus repelled him, returned in haste to Dresden, where he arrived on the night of the 22d, having left Macdonald in command of the French troops in front of General Blucher. Macdonald was on the banks of the Bober, which he ventured to cross. On the night of the 26th and 27th the river was swelled by a sudden inundation, and Macdonald found that his columns were separated from each other. General Blucher immediately perceived his advantage, and, availing himself of it, attacked and defeated the scattered columns with the greatest effect.

The fourth great victory of the allies was that of the crown-prince over Marshal Ney. This marshal was endeavouring to force his way to Berlin, and had nearly succeeded in breaking through the Prussian army interposed between Torgau and that city. Highly to the credit and glory of the Prussian army, of 40,000 men only, they withstood for a whole day the attack made upon them by Ney and Oudinot with a force nearly double.

Whilst affairs were in this situation, the crown-prince arrived with an army of nearly 70,000 men, and immediately fell upon the French advanced-

corps. The result was the destruction of a third corps of the French army, the Swedes having taken 18,000 prisoners, and driven the enemy to Torgau and Wittenbergh.

Such, therefore, were the fruits of these victories, namely, the destruction of three corps, Vandamme's, Macdonald's, and Ney's, and the capture of nearly 45,000 prisoners.

During the gallant assault upon Dresden, General Moreau, while in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia on the operations, had both his legs carried off by a cannon-shot, the ball going through his horse. He died of the wound, September 2. The following was the emperor's letter to Madam Moreau, on this melancholy occasion:

"Madam,—When the dreadful misfortune which befel General Moreau, close at my side, deprived me of the talents and experience of that great man, I indulged the hope that, by care, we might still be able to preserve him to his family and to my friendship. Providence has ordered it otherwise. He died as he lived, in the full vigour of a strong and steady mind. There is but one remedy for the great miseries of life, that of seeing them participated. In Russia, Madam, you will find these sentiments every where; and if it suit you to fix your residence there, I will do all in my power to embellish the existence of a personage of whom I make it my sacred duty to be the consoler and the support. I intreat you, Madam, to rely upon it irrevocably, never to let me be in ignorance of any circumstance in which I can be of any use to you, and to write directly to me always. To prevent your wishes will be a pleasure to me. The friendship I vowed to your husband exists beyond the grave, and I have no other means of shewing it, at least in part, towards him, than by doing every thing in my power to ensure the welfare of his family. In these sad and cruel circumstances, accept, madam, these marks of friendship, and the assurance of all my sentiments,"

"ALEXANDER.

"Toplitz, 6th of Sept. 1813."

Twice did the Emperor Napoleon, with his guards and the corps of the Duke of Ragusa, make offensive movements upon the left of the army of Germany, and here was he compelled, by circumstances, to retire with precipitation and loss. Wittgenstein, with great bravery, defended his post at Dohna against the superior force of the enemy, and in retreating inflicted a greater loss on his adversary than what he himself sustained. On the 9th Bonaparte fought in person, and the allies only retreated that they might reach a more convenient scene to give battle. The French began their advance on the allies, and though the Prussian and Russian force in front of Toplitz was greatly out-numbered by the enemy, it

was still determined, in the most gallant manner, to give them battle. Bonaparte did not deem it prudent to put his fortune on the cast, and he began his retreat, and endeavoured to advance into Bohemia, but he was disappointed by the determined spirit of the allies, and compelled to fall back into Dresden in the character of a fugitive. On the 13th, the advanced guards of General Blücher's army was at Bautzen, and continued its movement upon Dresden, pursuing the French troops as they retreated.

The Emperor Napoleon having united, on the 16th, a great part of the remains of the armies which had been opposed to General Blücher and the Crown-prince of Sweden, with the 1st, 2d, and 14th corps *d'armée*, had advanced at the head of his guards towards Nollendorf. He intended making a serious operation against Bohemia, and for this purpose, at noon, caused a column to file off at Nollendorf.

His serene highness, the commanding Prince of Schwartzberg, had given orders, that all the advanced posts should fall back into the position at Culm, and there await the enemy. The villages of Arbesau, Dalisch, Prenitz, and Johnsdorf, were relinquished to him. A lively cannonade commenced. The corps of the generals of artillery Counts Colloredo and Meerfeldt, defiled by the way of German Neudorf and Reinitz, on the left flank of the enemy, whilst Count Von Wittgenstein caused the Prussians, under General Von Zieten, to advance in masses of infantry on the enemy's front. The enemy shewed continually more masses of soldiers, and every thing for him depended on his gaining ground to débouch. The cavalry of the guards attacked the batteries of the allies with great resolution, whilst the French masses of infantry kept up a murderous fire on all sides.

At this important moment a squadron of Hesse Homburg hussars, supported by the brave Prussian cavalry, cut into the enemy's ranks. The Austrian infantry followed them with the utmost coolness. The enemy was every where forced back, and driven in the greatest disorder unto the heights of Nollendorf. The French general, Kreutzer, seven pieces of artillery, and a standard, fell into the hands of the allied army; the number of prisoners taken amounted to more than 2,000 men. A thick fog and the darkness of the night preserved the enemy's columns from unavoidable destruction. The Emperor Napoleon had a horse wounded under him.

General Walmoden, commanding a body of the allied troops on the lower Elbe, having been informed that Davoust had detached General Pechoux, with his corps, to the left bank of the Elbe, crossed that river on the 14th of September, near Domitz, and marched to meet him; on the 16th, he brought the enemy to action, whom he

entirely defeated and dispersed, with a loss of from 1,500 to 2,000 in killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners, with eight pieces of artillery.

The allies now began to put in execution a grand plan of co-operation, which was to be decisive of the result of the campaign.

The Emperor Alexander having rendered the army of reserve under General Benningsen disposable for active service, that general marched from the Saxon frontier in Silesia into Bohemia, and arrived on the left bank of the Elbe, by Aussig and Leutmeritz, in the first days of October.

On the 7th, a report was received, that General Blücher, by the most rapid and brilliant movement that had been made during this war, marched from Elsterwerda to the mouth of the Black Elster, near the town of that name, and having crossed by the bridge he carried with him, defeated the French corps at Wartemberg, driving its remains to Wittenberg, and immediately advanced within reach of the prince-royal, who had bridges at Rossau and Acken.

On the 8th, accounts were received at Commotau, that the prince-royal had crossed the Elbe, and was in communication with Blücher. On that day, a general advance was made from all the posts on the Bohemian frontier, including General Benningsen's army.

It was now evident, that Bonaparte had left Dresden, and was concentrating his army at Leipsic, at Wurzen, and Eulenburg: the King of Saxony following with his family.

The Emperor of Russia left Commotau in the night of the 8th, followed by the reserve of his army.

The remainder of the grand army had proceeded down the Elster by Zeist and Pegau to Lutzen, on its left, and to Bornä and Espenheim on its right. General Blücher having moved to Halle, a direct communication was opened, through Merseberg, with that general and the prince-royal.

The enemy shewed a line of troops in the villages of Groben, Golsa, Stormenthal, and Kora, between the Pleiss and the Partha, which having been attacked by Count Wittgenstein and General Klenau, on the 13th, a considerable affair took place, in which the enemy was dislodged on his right, and it would have been more serious if the field-marshal, who came up, had not judged it premature, and put a stop to it.

During this period, a treaty of alliance and concert, between Austria and Bavaria, was signed, which opened new lines of communication to the south. By this treaty, which was concluded on the 8th, it was agreed, that the Bavarian troops, in conjunction with the Austrians, should co-operate for the attainment of a general peace.

Bonaparte had made a movement upon Wittenberg, and sent troops to destroy, or to oblige the

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allies to destroy, the bridges at Rosslau and Acken, pushing a small corps to Zerbst, by which he gave some ground to believe, that he meant to march down the right bank of the Mulda, to pass the Elbe at Wittenberg, and to repass again at Magdeburg. This feint had the effect of inducing the prince-royal to fall back to Cothen, where he assembled his army. Finding, however, that the movement of the enemy on the right bank of the Elbe had no other consequence, he decided to return to General Blücher, and to take his post in the general action with that general.

Reports having been received of the march of General Benningsen and Count Colloredo, the army marched on the 15th from Altenberg to Pegau, (the place of assembly on the morning of the battle of Lützen); and it was determined to attack the enemy the following morning. Accordingly the heads of all the columns advanced towards the enemy's position at day-break on the 16th; General Blücher by Schenditz to Golitz and Wetteritz; General Giulay by Lützen, on Lindenau; General Count Meerveldt between the Elster and Pleisse, on Connewitz; General Prince of Hesse Homburg, on the right bank of the Elster, in the same direction, to support Count Wittgenstein, towards Wachau; with General Kleist on his right, towards Liebert Wolkowitz; and General Klenau on the extreme right towards Fuchshayn on the Grimmel road.

The enemy occupied the only ridge in this plain in front of the named places, behind the centre of which, towards Leipsic, Bonaparte's tent was pitched. He was also in force at Connewitz, on the side of General Giulay's advance, and towards General Blücher.

At half-past nine, immediately on the emperor's arrival on the field, the cannonade began with Count Wittgenstein's corps, and immediately extended to both flanks on the whole position, and was continued without any intermission till after dark at night.

Count Wittgenstein almost immediately drove the enemy from the heights opposed to him, and the whole ridge was for some time occupied by the allies; but a large force of infantry and cavalry, opposed to General Kleist, occasioned a continual contest during the whole morning.

Count Meerveldt having advanced to Connewitz, beyond the right of the force opposed to Count Wittgenstein, repaired the bridge which had been destroyed on the Pleisse at Lolitz, and was about to pass over, when, unfortunately, his horse was killed, and himself taken prisoner by a column of the enemy, which was supposed to be a division of the allies retreating.

At the same time Murat, at the head of an immense body of cavalry, appeared on the ridge, on the right of Count Wittgenstein; and judging

that he had time to attack before the Russian reserve could come up to him, he sent on the light artillery of the guard, and immediately afterwards charged with his masses of cavalry. The Russian reserve had broken ground in its front, which rendered it impossible for the cuirassiers to meet him with the velocity they desired; but the cavalry of Count Wittgenstein's corps attacked him in flank, and he retired with as much precipitation as he advanced.

During the preparation of Murat's attack, the Austrian cavalry was greatly distinguished; they made nine charges on the enemy's right, in some of which they swept the whole front with great slaughter. The Russian cuirassiers having advanced, together with the guards and grenadiers, and the latter having occupied a wood on their right, no further attack was made; but the cannonade and fire of the tirailleurs continued till after dark, when the troops lay upon their arms, upon the ground they occupied.

General Giulay, opposed by superior force, could not penetrate. General Blücher had a brilliant action, and defeated the force opposed to him, taking upwards of thirty pieces of cannon, an eagle, and more than 2,000 prisoners.

The next morning, at day-break, Count Wittgenstein's corps appeared on the ground from whence he had driven the enemy, but the heads of columns of the French cavalry and infantry were on their right on the same ridge, the cannon on each side almost within musket-shot, and the videttes within pistol-shot; and in this attitude the armies remained the whole day, without firing a shot, except some accidental skirmishing by the advanced men. Three great corps were advancing rapidly to join the allies; it was therefore evidently not to their advantage to renew the attack, unless either General Blücher, or the field-marshal, was attacked by the enemy, in which case either would have advanced immediately to support the other. Count Colloredo arrived at the village of Magdeborn at noon, and in the evening relieved Count Wittgenstein, who became his support. In the evening also part of General Benningsen's corps arrived, and would have immediately marched upon the enemy's flank, had not the general been made acquainted, while framing his attack, that the action was postponed. The prince-royal also sent notice, that he would arrive on General Blücher's left by the afternoon of the next day.

On the 18th, the disposition for a general action was carried into effect; Marshal Schwartzberg's order of battle, from left to right, was as follows:—Count Colloredo's corps, supported by the Austrian reserve, and connected with General Meerveldt's corps; Count Wittgenstein and General Kleist supported the Russian reserve; General Klenau, his right a little brought forward, sup-

ported also by Russian grenadiers; General Benningsen, his right still more advanced towards Posa; beyond the morass on his right, General Bubna, and Count Platoff were advanced, connecting between General Benningsen and the prince-royal.

General Blucher was to advance between his royal highness and the great morass which extends from Merseburg to Leipsic; and General Giulay in his original direction from Lutzen upon Lindenau.

The village of Liebert Wolkowitz was the point to which all the attacks, under the direction of the field-marshal, were to point; the corps advancing towards a central point, thereby becoming gradually more closely connected, and the more distant corps on the right advancing first.

The enemy occupied the villages with masses in their rear, but the more distant posts were carried without being much supported, the masses retiring with precipitation towards the suburbs of Leipsic. All the villages, however, were defended with cannon, which rendered the action and the cannonade general over the whole extent of the plain. Some of the villages nearest Leipsic were most obstinately disputed. The whole plain was covered with bodies of dead men and horses; and the ruins of the villages were full of heaps of dead and dying. Every part of the combination succeeded. General Blucher's left, connected with the prince-royal's advanced corps, consisting of the Russians and Prussians, came into action in the afternoon, having approached by Taucha. Towards the latter part of the day, by far the most serious and obstinate efforts of attack and defence were made at the villages of Stetteritz and Probsteyda, the former of which was taken and re-taken several times; the latter held out till dark. Napoleon was several hours between these villages, animating his men, and sending in fresh troops till dark; and it must be confessed, that they were most gallantly defended. A large body of Westphalian and Saxon troops, with 22 pieces of artillery, came over to the allies during the action.

The Emperor of Russia was with his army during the whole of the three days; on the first he was joined in the field by the king, who had remained at Toplitz, and had accompanied Gen. Benningsen's army in its actions near Pirna, and before Dresden.

In the afternoon of the 18th, the Emperor of Austria arrived, and joined the other monarchs near the village of Probsteyda, where their majesties remained till dark.

The enemy had then been driven from every part of his position, into a circle within cannon-shot of Leipsic, from whence a column had already begun its march towards the south-west. In the

night, the villages of Stetteritz and Probsteyda were abandoned, and occupied by the allies; but Bonaparte continued to hold Leipsic, and the villages connected with the suburbs, with a strong rear-guard towards the allies.

Early on the 19th, the Emperor Alexander received a flag of truce, sent in the name of the King of Saxony, offering to capitulate to save the town. His imperial majesty gave his answer aloud, in the hearing of many hundred officers, with remarkable force and dignity: he said, in substance, that an army in pursuit of a flying enemy, and in the hour of victory, could not be stopped a moment by considerations for the town; that, therefore, the gates must be immediately opened, and, in that case, the most strict discipline should be observed; that if the German troops in the place chose to join their countrymen in this army, they should be received as brothers; but that he considered any proposal sent, while Napoleon was at hand, as extremely suspicious, as he well knew the enemy he had to deal with; that as to the King of Saxony personally, who had taken a line of determined hostility, he gave no answer, and declined making any communication.

The heavy cannon and columns of attack were ordered to advance. In the meanwhile, the prince-royal attacked and stormed the city on the other side, a Prussian corps being the first in the square.

General Toll, who had been sent with the Saxon flag of truce, to ensure the correct delivery of the message, was, at that moment, in the King of Saxony's apartment, and, running out, called to the Saxon guards to lay down their arms, which they instantly did; their example was followed by the Baden and Wurtemberg troops. The action continued some time in the further part of the town, and, before it ceased, the emperor and the king entered with the field-marshal, and met the prince-royal at the door of the King of Saxony's quarters. Gen. Blucher arrived also at the same time. All the cannon was taken.

Thus the allies gained a complete victory, and Bonaparte left Leipsic at nine in the morning of October 19, and retired with such precipitation and disorder, that Generals Regnier, Lauriston, Bertrand, and several others, were taken in Leipsic or near it. The intention of the enemy being apparent, the Russian reserve, and the troops which had been least engaged, marched at an early hour up the Elster, to endeavour to stop him; Cossacks having been already detached under the Hettman Count Platoff, to destroy bridges, and to occasion every possible difficulty and embarrassment. General Blucher had also detached a strong corps, to go up the left bank of the Saale.

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FRENCH LOSS.

16th Oct.	Battle with Blucher	12,000
	Battle with the Austrians . .	15,000
18th Oct.	In the battle with the whole allied force, killed, wounded, and prisoners	60,000
19th Oct.	At Leipsic	30,000
	By desertion of Saxons, &c. .	25,000
Total loss of men		142,000

Thus, of 220,000 men, not more than 78,000 remained after the 19th, and these were dispersed and dispirited, and closely pursued. Of the allies an effective army of 200,000 men still remained.

Besides those great victories obtained by the allied armies, there were others of less importance, which tended to diminish the numbers of a powerful enemy. Lieutenant-general Von Bulow had defeated the French at Luckau: the battle lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till nine at night, and the enemy's loss was estimated at 2,500 men. The field of battle, with its suburb, was reduced to ashes. Several of these minor triumphs never came to the knowledge of the British ambassador, and were therefore omitted in Lord Cathcart's communications, to which, for the sake of fidelity, we have chiefly adhered.

CHAPTER X.

Series of Actions by the Army under the Marquis of Wellington.—Defeat of Soult.—Surrender of the Enemy's Post at Saragossa.—The British Commander's projected Invasion of France.—Battles of the Pyrenees.—Siege and Capture of the Town and Castle of St. Sebastian.—Motives for invading France.—Critical Situation of the French Empire.—Lord Wellington's Advance into France.—Capture of Pamplona.—The Enemy driven from Bastan.—Retreat of Bonaparte from Germany, and his Arrival in Paris.—Emancipation of Holland.—Series of Victories by Lord Wellington.

HITHERTO, for nearly two years, the war conducted by the Marquis of Wellington was necessarily termed the war in Portugal; and when the success of the British army and of its gallant commanders took the towns of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, and thereby transferred their direct operations to Spain, its name was changed to that of the war in the Peninsula. After the victory of Vittoria it became the war of the Pyrenees. In a few days, the British commander and his army had traversed the Peninsula from one frontier to the other; and his stages were marked by a succession of triumphs.

General Clauzel, with two or three divisions of the army of the north, not having been engaged in the battle of Vittoria, was occupied in the Asturias, and in the maritime parts of Biscay. After his intelligence of the battle, this French general, being thereby confounded in all his plans, was unwilling to abandon the Asturias to the Guerillas, though at the same time apprehensive that his march towards the routed armies would be intercepted. The Marquis of Wellington, for the purpose of relieving the Asturias, sent a detachment of considerable force towards Logrona, and another towards Tudela, where he must have

passed. Notwithstanding these detachments had been most judiciously stationed, General Clauzel, partly by good fortune, and partly by an unexampled alacrity, effected his escape, and ultimately put himself in safety at Saragossa.

General Graham had hunted the enemy to the very foot of the mountains, and had crossed the small but deep mountain river, the Bidassoa, which separates France from Spain. The enemy, as if ashamed of the battle of Vittoria, and of their cowardly desertion of their own cause in that memorable contest, collected their spirits, and made efforts, in some degree, to recover their lost character. General Foy, an officer of known merit, having united the garrisons of Bilboa, Tolosa, and Mondragon, to his own division of the army of Portugal, opposed a good resistance to General Graham, and, upon the whole, fought with bravery and courage.

The Spanish army of reserve, under the Count d'Abisbal, marched in the rear of the allies, and was entrusted with the siege of the strong post of Pancorvo, on the high Burgos road. In the management of this affair they acted with the greatest gallantry, and at length accomplished the task assigned to them.

Lieut.-general Sir J. Murray, indeed, thought himself obliged to raise the siege of Tarragona, on the arrival of Marshal Suchet, which occasioned much disappointment, as this expedition had excited great interest. The naval and military forces performed their duty; they took the fort, and thereby, as they imagined, secured the rear of Sir John Murray.

Two practicable breaches having been effected at San Sebastian, July 24, orders were given that they should be attacked the next morning. The attempt to obtain possession of the place failed, with considerable loss on the side of the allied army.

Marshal Soult had been appointed Lieutenant de l'Empereur and commander-in-chief of the French armies in Spain and the southern provinces of France, by a decree imperial, on the 1st of July; and he joined and took the command of the army on the 13th; which having been joined, nearly about the same time, by the corps which had been in Spain under the command of Gen. Clauzel, and by other reinforcements, was called the army of Spain, and re-formed into nine divisions of infantry, forming the right, centre, and left, under the command of General Reille; Comte d'Erlon, and General Clauzel, as lieutenant-generals, and a reserve under General Villatte; and two divisions of dragoons and one of light cavalry, the two former under the command of Generals Treillard and Tilly, and the latter under the command of General Pierre Soult. There was besides allotted to the army a large proportion of artillery, and a considerable number of guns had already joined.

The allied army was posted in the passes of the mountains. Major-general Byng's brigade of British infantry, and General Murillo's division of Spanish infantry, were on the right, in the pass of Roncesvalles. Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole was posted at Viscarret, to support those troops; and Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, with the third division, at Glaque, in reserve.

Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill occupied the valley of Bastan, with the remainder of the second division, and the Portuguese division, under the Conde de Amarante, detaching General Campbell's Portuguese brigade to Los Alduides, within the French territory. The light and seventh divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, and the town of Vera, and the Puerto de Echalar, and kept the communication with the valley of Bastan; and the sixth division was in reserve at San Estevan. General Longa's division kept the communication between the troops at Vera, and those under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, and Marischal del Campo Giron, on the great road. The Conde del Abisbal blockaded Pamplona.

On the 24th, Marshal Soult collected the right and left wings of his army, with one division of his centre, and two divisions of cavalry, at St. Jean de Pied de Port, and on the 25th attacked, with between 30 and 40,000 men, General Byng's post at Roncesvalles. Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole moved up to his support with the fourth division, and these officers were enabled to maintain their post throughout the day. But the enemy turned it in the afternoon; and Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole considered it to be necessary to withdraw in the night; and he marched to the neighbourhood of Zubiri. In the actions which took place on this day, the 20th regiment distinguished themselves.

Two divisions of the centre of the enemy's army attacked Sir Rowland Hill's position in the Puerto de Maya, at the head of the valley of Bastan, in the afternoon of the same day. The brunt of the action fell upon Major-general Pringle's and Major-general Walker's brigades in the second division, under the command of Lieutenant-general the honorable W. Stewart. These troops were at first obliged to give way; but having been supported by Major-general Barnes's brigade of the 7th division, they regained that part of their post, which was the key of the whole, and would have enabled them to re-assume it, if circumstances had permitted it; but Sir Rowland Hill having been apprized of the necessity that Sir Lowry Cole should retire, deemed it expedient to withdraw his troops likewise to Iruyita; and the enemy did not advance on the following day beyond the Puerto de Maya.

Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority of numbers, they acquired but little advantage over these brave troops during the seven hours they were engaged. All the regiments charged with the bayonet. The conduct of the 82d regiment, which moved up with Major-general Barnes's brigade, was truly gallant.

Lord Wellington was not apprized of these events till late in the night of the 25th and 26th; and he adopted immediate measures to concentrate the army to the right, still providing for the siege of San Sebastian, and for the blockade of Pamplona. This would have been effected early on the 27th, only that Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole, and Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton concurred in thinking their post at Zubiri not tenable for the time during which it would have been necessary to wait in it. They, therefore, retired early on the 27th, and took up a position to cover the blockade of Pamplona, having the right, consisting of the third division, in front of Huarte, and extending to the hills beyond Olaz; and the left, consisting of the 4th division, Major-general Byng's, and Brigadier-general Campbell's Portuguese brigade, on the heights in front of Villalba, having their left at a chapel behind So-

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rausen, on the high road from Ostiz to Pamplona, and their right resting upon a height which defended the high road from Zubiri and Roncesvalles. General Murillo's division of Spanish infantry, and that part of the Conde del Abisbal's corps not engaged in the blockade, were in reserve. From the latter, the regiment of Travia, and that of El Principe, were detached to occupy part of the hill on the right of the fourth division, by which the road from Zubiri was defended.

The British cavalry, under Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotton, were placed near Huarte on the right, being the only ground on which it was possible to use the cavalry.

The British commander-in-chief joined the third and fourth divisions just as they were taking up their ground on the 27th; and, shortly afterwards, the enemy formed their army on a mountain; the front of which extended from the high road to Ostiz, to the high road to Zubiri; and they placed one division on their left of that road, on a height, and in some villages in front of the third division. They had here also a large body of cavalry. In a short time after they had taken up their ground, the enemy attacked the hill, on the right of the fourth division, which was then occupied by one battalion of the 4th Portuguese regiment, and by the Spanish regiment of Pravia. The troops defended their ground, and drove the enemy from it with the bayonet. Seeing the importance of this hill to their position, Lord Wellington reinforced it with the 40th regiment; and this regiment, with the Spanish regiments of El Principe and Pravia, held it from this time, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the enemy, during the 27th and 28th, to obtain possession of it.

Nearly at the same time that the enemy attacked this height on the 27th, they took possession of the village of Sorausen, on the road to Ostiz, by which they acquired the communication by that road, and they kept up a fire of musketry along the line till it was dark.

Having been joined on the morning of the 28th, by the sixth division of infantry, Lord Wellington directed that the heights should be occupied on the left of the valley of the Lanz; and that the sixth division should form across the valley in rear of the left of the fourth division, resting their right on Oricain, and their left upon the heights above-mentioned. The sixth division had scarcely taken their position when they were attacked by a very large force of the enemy, which had been assembled in the village of Sorausen. Their front was, however, so well defended by the fire of their own light troops from the heights on their left, and by the fire from the heights occupied by the fourth division and Brigadier-general Campbell's Portuguese brigade, that the enemy were soon driven back with immense loss, from a fire on their front, both flanks and rear.

In order to extricate their troops from the difficulty in which they found themselves in their situation in the valley of the Lanz, the enemy now attacked the height on which the left of the fourth division stood, which was occupied by the 7th caçadores, of which they obtained a momentary possession. They were attacked, however, again by the 7th caçadores, supported by Major-general Ross, at the head of his brigade of the fourth division, and were driven down with great loss.

The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, and in every part in favor of the allied army, excepting where one battalion of the 10th Portuguese regiment of Major-general Campbell's brigade was posted. This battalion having been overpowered, and having been obliged to give way immediately on the right of Major-general Ross's brigade, the enemy established themselves on their line, and Major-general Ross was obliged to withdraw from his post.

The British commander, however, ordered the 27th and 48th regiments to charge, first that body of the enemy which had first established themselves on the height, and next those on the left. Both attacks succeeded, and the enemy were driven down with immense loss; and the sixth division having moved forward at the same time to a situation in the valley, nearer to the left of the fourth, the attack upon this front ceased entirely, and was continued but faintly on other points of their line. In the course of this contest, the gallant fourth division, which had so frequently been distinguished in this army, surpassed their former good conduct. Every regiment charged with the bayonet; and the 40th, 7th, 20th, and 23d, four different times. Their officers set them the example, and Major-general Ross had two horses shot under him. The Portuguese troops likewise behaved admirably; as did also the Spanish regiments del Principe and Pravia.

Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill had been ordered to march by Lanz upon Lizasso, as soon as Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton and Sir Lowry Cole had moved from Zubiri; and Lieutenant-general the Earl of Dalhousie, from St. Estevan, to the same place, where both arrived on the 28th, and the seventh division came to Marcalain.

The enemy's force which had been in front of Sir Rowland Hill, followed his march, and arrived at Ostiz on the 29th. The enemy thus reinforced, and occupying a position in the mountains which appeared little liable to attack, and finding that they could make no impression on their front, determined to endeavour to turn their left by an attack on Sir Rowland Hill's corps. They reinforced, with one division, the troops

which had been already opposed to him, still occupying the same points in the mountain, on which was formed their principal force, but they drew into their left the troops which occupied the heights opposite the third division, and they had, during the nights of the 29th and 30th, occupied in strength the crest of the mountain on the allies' left of the Lanz, opposite to the sixth and seventh divisions, thus connecting their right in their position with the divisions detached to attack Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill.

Lord Wellington, however, determined to attack their position, and ordered Lieutenant-general the Earl of Dalhousie to possess himself of the top of the mountain in his front, by which the enemy's right would be turned, and Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton to cross the heights on which the enemy's left had stood, and to turn their left by the road to Roncesvalles. All the arrangements were made to attack the front of the enemy's position, as soon as the effect of these movements on their flanks should begin to appear. Major-general the Hon. Edward Pakenham, who had been sent to take the command of the sixth division, (Major-general Pack having been wounded,) turned the village of Sorausen, as soon as the Earl of Dalhousie had driven the enemy from the mountain, by which that flank was defended; and the sixth division, and Major-general Byng's brigade, which had relieved the fourth division on the left of their position on the road to Ostiz, instantly attacked and carried that village. Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole likewise attacked the front of the enemy's main position with the 7th caçadores, supported by the 11th Portuguese regiment, the 40th, and the battalion under Colonel Bingham, consisting of the queen's and 53d regiments. All these operations obliged the enemy to abandon a position which was one of the strongest and most difficult of access hitherto occupied. In their retreat, the enemy lost a great number of prisoners.

The attack made by Lieutenant-general the Earl of Dalhousie was admirably conducted by his lordship, and executed by Major-general Inglis and the troops composing his brigade; and that by Major-general the Hon. Edward Pakenham and Major-general Byng, and that by Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole, and the movement made by Sir Thomas Picton, were highly commendable. The latter officer co-operated in the attack of the mountain by detaching troops to his left, in which the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Trench was wounded.

While these operations were going on, Lord Wellington detached troops to the support of Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill. The enemy appeared in his front late in the morning, and immediately commenced an extended manoeuvre upon his left flank, which obliged him to withdraw from a height which he occupied behind the

Lizasso to the next range. He there, however, maintained himself. The British commander pursued the enemy after their retreat from the mountain to Olague. They withdrew in the night, and took up a strong position, with two divisions, in the pass of Dona Maria. Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, and the Earl of Dalhousie, attacked and carried the pass, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the enemy and the strength of their position.

The enemy was afterwards pursued in the valley of Bidassoa, and many prisoners and much baggage taken.

On the 30th, the enemy's fortified posts at Saragossa surrendered by capitulation to General Mina.

Before the defeat of Soult (called the battle of the Pyrenees), the Marquis of Wellington had, by an order of the day, intimated his purpose of entering the French territory. This order, which recommended a course of good and orderly conduct to the allied troops upon this occasion, displayed great wisdom and humanity, and proved that the illustrious general had all along entertained the purpose of invading France. He only waited the event of the siege of St. Sebastian.

The siege of St. Sebastian was interrupted by the operations of Marshal Soult, but was resumed as soon as supplies were obtained. The governor had a communication with Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, the object of which was to commence a negotiation for the surrender of the place. Advantage was taken of this communication to send him a summons, but he demanded a suspension of hostilities for a fortnight; then to surrender, unless relieved, and to march his garrison into France, with arms and baggage, without being prisoners of war. These haughty conditions were rejected, and the fire, which had ceased for some hours, was recommenced the next evening. A breach having been effected in the walls, after a tremendous bombardment, the assault took place, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, on the 31st of August; and, by the heroic perseverance of all the troops employed, terminated in complete success. The number of prisoners taken by the allied army, during their assault and capture of the town of St. Sebastian, was 670.

The enemy was driven from all the complication of defences prepared in the streets, suffering a severe loss on their retreat to the castle, and leaving the whole town in possession of the allied army, whose loss, during this siege, was severe. A battery was constructed in the horn-work, with great difficulty, against the works of the castle, which opened on the morning of Sept. 8, and the garrison (whose loss amounted to two-thirds of their numbers), surrendered before evening. The troops in the castle amounted to 1,800.

In the capture of St. Sebastian, there are a few points which chiefly merit attention, and

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which it is the duty of an historian to notice with marked emphasis, as constituting the characteristic features of the gallant acquisition. The first of these was the gallantry of the first assault—"Not a man," said Sir Thomas Graham, "escaped with life, who attempted to ascend the ridge;" in other words, who first advanced to the breach in the walls, and who attempted to scale it. Now, as these troops (a forlorn hope!) advanced in a long thread of single files, they of course did not all reach the breach together; and by a necessary consequence, many of them must have seen their comrades fall successively by their sides. Under these circumstances (as they were all killed) they must have each advanced in his turn, and though they saw that their effort was attended with nearly certain death, they still persisted, and each fell in his turn. This is a singular proof of the determined character of this assault, and speaks volumes in itself.

The second characteristic was the conduct of those distinguished officers by whom (as volunteers, or unnecessarily) the storm was led. It very seldom occurs that such a service as that of the assault of breaches is led by general officers; but here the second in command, under General Sir T. Graham, took the command in person of the storming column, was wounded most severely, and then suffered himself, with much reluctance, to be carried from the field. Sir R. Fletcher, moreover, the directing engineer of the siege, was killed in the trenches, or immediately upon leaving them, and Major-general Oswald wounded amongst the first. If the conduct of the forlorn hope be an unanswerable proof of the courageous determination of British privates, this pertinacious spirit of enterprise amongst British officers is an equally unanswerable proof that the officers were in no degree short of their men, but that all concurred with equal heroism to the successful accomplishment.

The third feature is the promptitude of General Graham, in venturing to direct his artillery to fire over the heads of his own men, and thus (with a most tremendous risk of hitting his own soldiers) to fire at an upper part of the wall, whilst his own men were scaling it at its foot. The mere mention of this circumstance is sufficiently explanatory of its peril and difficulty. The General seemed to have resorted to it with terror, and was surprised himself at its success. The artillery officers by whom this dexterous and successful fire was effected, deserved the highest commendation.

But the fourth, and the most honorable trait of all, was the merciful treatment of the conquered garrison and inhabitants: "not a man being put to the sword after the place was taken, and quarter being given to the soldiers."—This is more glorious than even the taking of the city.

If any thing can render war honorable to a civilized and christian community, it must be these two qualities, that it is justly commenced, and that it is humanely executed. The English army, as well and truly becomes them, have long set this merciful example.

The motives for invading France were at this time powerful: the situation of France was exceedingly critical—her armies were not only dispersed but considerably reduced—many of her generals killed or taken prisoners by the victorious Crown-prince of Sweden, the indefatigable Blücher, &c. Add to which, the French emperor was so closely pursued (as mentioned in our preceding chapter) that his return to Paris was very doubtful. Marquis Wellington therefore commenced his advance into France. The British army had its right at Zuganasnardi; from thence it extended by La Rhone, to the Montagne Verte, and from thence to the sea, holding what was considered by the French government the strongest line of the Pyrenees. His lordship having taken with him the first and fifth divisions crossed the Bidassoa at Irun, October 7, and leaving Fontarabia on his left, took the road, through Urogne and St. Jean de Luz, towards Bayonne. At Urogne he forced the French lines, but as the enemy had only 200 killed, and 500 taken prisoners, his force in this position was far from being strong: other divisions entered France by other roads.

On the 31st, the fortress of Pamplona surrendered by capitulation to Don Carlos D'España, the garrison being prisoners of war.

Since the beginning of August, the enemy occupied a position with their right upon the sea, in front of St. Jean de Luz, and on the left of the Neville, their centre on La Petite la Rhune in Sarre, and on the heights behind the village, and their left, consisting of two divisions of infantry, under the Comte D'Erlon, on the right of that river, on a strong height in rear of Anhone, and on the mountain of Mondarin, which protected the approach to that village; they had one division under General Foy at St. Jean Pied de Port, which was joined by one of the army of Arragon, under General Paris, at the time the left of the allied army crossed the Bidassoa; Foy's division joined those on the heights behind Anhone, when Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill moved into the valley of Bastan. In consequence of the heavy rains, the attack was deferred till October 10, when the allied army completely succeeded in carrying all the positions on the enemy's left and centre; in separating the former from the latter, and by these means turning the enemy's strong positions occupied by their right on the lower Nivelles, which they were obliged to evacuate during the night, having taken fifty pieces of cannon and 1,400 prisoners.

The enemy evacuated Ascaïn in the afternoon,

of which village Lieutenant-general Don Manuel Freyre took possession, and quitted all their works and positions in front of St. Jean de Luz during the night, and retired upon Budart, destroying all the bridges on the lower Nivelle. Lieutenant-general the Honorable Sir John Hope followed them with the left of the army, as soon as he could cross the river; and Marshal Sir William Beresford moved the centre of the army as far as the state of the roads, after a violent fall of rain, would allow; and the enemy retired again, on the night of the 11th, into an entrenched camp in front of Bayonne.

Contrary to the general expectation, Bonaparte effected his escape from Germany. The French papers contained a bulletin, dated October 31, giving an account of his retreat from Erfurt to Frankfort, and claiming a victory over the united Bavarian and Austrian army, in the neighbourhood of the latter city. This army, commanded by General Wrede, had marched from Brannau, in order to cut off Bonaparte in his retreat from Leipsic to Frankfort, which object had been very nearly accomplished. On the 29th of October, the French were met at Gelnhausen by the advanced-guard of this army, about 5 or 6,000 strong, which was driven back on Hanau, where the main body had assembled. On the following day a battle took place in the neighbourhood, and the French pretended to have obtained a great victory with but little loss. The battle certainly terminated in their favor, as the enemy effected his escape; but the loss on both sides was nearly equal. On the 2d of November, Bonaparte entered Mayence, and the remains of his army crossed the Rhine. On the 10th Bonaparte arrived at St. Cloud, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

On Bonaparte's return, the Parisians were deceived by false statements and amused by vain pretensions. The year however closed with glorious achievements on the part of the patriots and the allies: viz. the emancipation of Holland, the storming and capture of the French lines before Bayonne, with fifty-one pieces of cannon, and a series of victories obtained by Lord Wellington over Marshal Soult.

Thus the edifices erected by Corsican ambition, and cemented with the blood of mankind, tottered on their bases and sunk prostrate to the ground! He who had carried invasion and desolation abroad, was now doomed to feel the effects of the former at home!

When the rising in Holland was determined upon, November 14, one of the leading patriots proceeded to the residence of Le Brun, the Duke of Placentia, the governor of Holland. He had the Orange cockade in his hat and on his breast, and he addressed Le Brun as follows:—"You may easily guess by these colours for what purpose I am come, and what events are about to

take place. You, who are now the weakest, know that we are the strongest. We, who are now the strongest, know that you are the weakest. You will do wisely and prudently to take your departure with all possible speed, and the sooner you do it, the less you will expose yourself to insult, and possibly to danger." To this address Le Brun replied, "I have, sir, for some time, expected such a message, and I very willingly accede to your proposition, to take my departure immediately." "In that case," said the patriot, "I will see you into your coach without loss of time."

This was accordingly done. But by this time the people had assembled and surrounded the coach, with loud cries of "Orange Boven," up, Orange—down, Bonaparte. The patriot accompanied him in the coach out of the town, and no violence was offered him, except that he was obliged by the people to cry out, "Long live the Prince of Orange," and to wear the Orange cockade—too happy, no doubt, to get off so well. Having thus sent him off, the people laid hold of all the French douaniers and threw them into the river. All the watch-houses of the douaniers, and three of their vessels were burnt.

On the following day, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, proclaiming the house of Orange, and universally putting up the Orange colours. This example was immediately followed by the other towns of the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, as Haarlem, Leyden, Utrecht, the Hague, Rotterdam, &c. At Utrecht, the garrison made some resistance, but the patriots fired upon them, and ten or twelve being killed on both sides, the garrison laid down their arms and were permitted to depart. The French authorities were dismissed, and a temporary government established and proclaimed, in the name of the Prince of Orange; and, until his serene highness's arrival, composed of the most respectable members of the old government, and chiefly of those not employed under the French.

The following account of the house of Orange is of such an interesting nature, that the reader will certainly pardon this digression.

William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, formed the famous union of Utrecht, in 1579, and was the first stadtholder. He married, 1st, Anne of Egmont—2d, Anne of Saxony—3d, Charlotte of Bourbon—4th, Louisa Coligni. He was succeeded, as the stadtholder, by Maurice, son of Anne of Saxony (after whom the *Mauritii* were named). He was again succeeded by Frederic Henry, the son of William the first and Louisa Coligni, and married Amelia, daughter of the Count of Solms. He was succeeded by William II. who married Mary, daughter of Charles I. King of England. William III. the next in succession, married Mary, daughter of James II.

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King of England, and Ann Hyde. The next, William IV. was a great-grandson of a daughter of William II. and married Anne, daughter of George II. King of England. William V. (the stadtholder who sought refuge in England at the commencement of the French revolution,) married Frederica Sophia, Princess of Prussia. His son, the present Prince of Orange, and the sixth William, who was now hailed "sovereign of the Netherlands," under the title of William I. married the sister of the present King of Prussia and the Duchess of York; and his son, the hereditary prince, a gallant youth, distinguished himself under Lord Wellington.

When the intelligence of the emancipation of Holland arrived, the hereditary Prince of Orange returned to England from the army, in order to make arrangements for joining his father in Holland.

After the capture of the French lines before Bayonne, Nov. 12, when 2,000 were made prisoners, the British army went into winter-quarters. These were previously improved, however, by the capture of the town of St. Jean de Luz, notwithstanding some severe opposition on the part of the enemy.

The enemy having retreated from the Nivelle, occupied a position in front of Bayonne, which had been entrenched with great labour. The Marquis of Wellington had determined to pass the Nive immediately after the passage of the Nivelle, but was prevented by the bad state of the roads and the swelling of all the rivulets, occasioned by a great fall of rain. As soon as the weather permitted, and his lordship was enabled to collect his materials, and make the preparations for forming bridges, &c. he moved the troops out of their cantonments on the 8th of December, and ordered that the right of the army, under Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, should pass on the 9th at and in the neighbourhood of Cambo, while Marshal Sir William Beresford should favor and support his operation by passing the sixth division, under Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton, at Usteritz. Both these operations succeeded completely. The enemy were immediately driven from the right bank of the river, and retired by the great road of St. Jean Pied-de-Pont towards Bayonne. Those posted opposite Cambo were nearly intercepted by the sixth division; and one regiment was driven from the road, and obliged to march across the country.

The enemy assembled in considerable force on a range of heights, running parallel with the Adour, and still keeping Ville Franche by their right. The 8th Portuguese regiment, under Colonel Douglas, and the 9th caçadores, under Colonel Brown, of the British light infantry battalions of the 6th division, carried this village

and the heights in the neighbourhood. The rain which had fallen the preceding night and on the morning of the 8th, had so destroyed the road that the day had nearly elapsed before the whole of Sir Rowland Hill's corps had come up, and Lord Wellington was therefore satisfied with the possession of the ground which he occupied.

On the same day, Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope, with the left of the army under his command, moved forward on the great road from St. Jean de Luz towards Bayonne, and reconnoitred the right of the entrenched camp under Bayonne, and the course of the Adour below the town, after driving in the enemy's posts from the neighbourhood of Biarritz and Anglet. The light division, under Major-general Alten, likewise moved forward from Bassusarry, and reconnoitred that part of the enemy's entrenchments. Sir John Hope and Major-general Alten retired in the evening to the ground they had before occupied.

On the morning of the 10th, Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill found that the enemy had retired from the position which they had occupied the day before on the heights, into the entrenched camp on the side of the Nive; and he therefore occupied the position intended for him, with his right towards the Adour, and his left at Ville Franche, and communicating with the centre of the army under Marshal Sir William Beresford, by a bridge laid over the Nive; and the troops under the marshal were again drawn to the left of the Nive.

On the same day, the enemy moved out of the entrenched camp their whole army, with the exception only of what occupied the works opposite to Sir Rowland Hill's position, drove in the picquets of the light division and Sir John Hope's corps, and made a most desperate attack upon the post of the former at the chateau and church of Arcangues, and upon the advanced posts of the latter, on the high road from Bayonne to St. Jean de Luz. Both attacks were repulsed in the most gallant style by the troops, and Sir John Hope's corps took about 500 prisoners. Thus the attempt made by the enemy upon their left, in order to oblige them to draw in their right, was completely defeated by a comparatively small part of their force. This favorable result was produced by the coolness, judgment, and ability of Sir John Hope, and of the general and staff officers under his command. Sir John Hope, however, received a severe contusion, which for a while deprived the army of the benefit of his assistance.

After the action was over, the regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, under the command of Colonel Kruse, came over to the posts of Major-general Ross's brigade, of the fourth division, which were formed for the support of the centre.

When the night closed, the enemy were still

in large force in front of the allies' posts, on the ground from which they had driven the picquets. They retired, however, during the night, from Sir John Hope's front, leaving small posts, which were immediately driven in. They still occupied in force the ridge on which the picquets of the right division had stood; and it was obvious that the whole army was still in front of the left of the allied army; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, they drove in Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope's picquets, and attacked his posts. They were again repulsed with considerable loss.

The attack was re-commenced on the morning of the 12th, with the same want of success, the first division, under Major-general Howard, having relieved the fifth division.

The enemy having thus failed in all his attacks, with their whole force on the left of the allied army, withdrew into their entrenchments, on the night of the 12th, and passed a large force through Bayonne, with which, on the morning of the 13th, they made a most desperate attack upon Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill.

The Marquis of Wellington anticipating this attack, had requested Marshal Sir William Beresford to reinforce the lieutenant-general with the sixth division, which crossed the Nive at day-light on that morning, and his lordship fur-

ther reinforced him by the fourth division, and two brigades of the third division. The expected arrival of the sixth division gave the lieutenant-general great facility in making his movements; but the troops under his own immediate command had defeated and repulsed the enemy with immense loss before their arrival.

Two guns and some prisoners were taken from the enemy, who being beaten at all points, and having suffered considerable loss, were obliged to retire upon their entrenchments.

The enemy marched a large body of cavalry across the Adour on the evening of the 13th, and on the morning of the 14th retired their force opposite to Sir Rowland Hill, towards Bayonne.

Marshal Soult made several movements on the right bank of the Adour, and towards the rear of Sir Rowland Hill's position; but all these movements were foreseen and frustrated. Thus foiled in every attempt to dislodge the allied forces from their positions, the main body of the French army retreated from Bayonne, and marched up the right bank of the Adour.

On the 18th, the right wing of the British forces occupied a position between the Adour and Nive, commanding the navigation of both those rivers, the centre to the left of the army were posted between the Nive and the sea.

CHAPTER XI.

Critical Situation of Bonaparte.—His Address to the Legislative Body respecting Peace.—Plan of Operations intended by the Allies.—Success of the Prince of Sweden's Operations against the Danes.—The Danish Force obtain a Suspension of Arms.—Declaration of the Allied Powers.—Addresses to the French Nation by the Allies.—Hostilities renewed with Denmark.—Treaties signed with his Majesty.—Bonaparte's Policy and Means of Defence.—He joins the Army.—Paris fortified.

IN order to raise twenty-seven millions of francs (about 1,200,000*l.* sterling) for carrying on the war, Napoleon was obliged to have recourse to the old revolutionary system of mandates. These mandates were to be sent to the prefects to pay the requisitions made for provisions, hay, horses, &c. for the army; and the price was to be, not the market price, but whatever the prefect was pleased to fix as the value. The buyer was to determine the price of the article; he was to pay for it in paper, which paper was to be assigned for liquidation upon taxes which might be utterly unproductive. Had Napoleon possessed any other means of procuring money, he would no doubt have used it in preference to this tyrannical and unpopular mode, as

the same expedient must be repeated whenever his wants required it. All the ingenuity of the French government was employed in disguising the features of passing events. By degrees, however, the truth began to transpire, and as the public mind grew enlightened, the rulers of the press were compelled to admit some struggling facts into their papers, which, by the unconnected manner and apparent indifference in which they were introduced, tended to diminish in the opinion of the people the importance of the events themselves to which they related.

Unable to repel the allies from the banks of the Rhine by the force of arms, Napoleon had suddenly conjured up a general dysentery, which, he told his people, destroyed them by thousands,

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and weakened them so opportunely for the fortunes of France that they were struck with total incapacity to proceed. Though many believed, some doubted this report, and disaffection began to appear. In order to dissipate his people's apprehensions, he amused them with the hopes of peace, and indeed appeared at this time inclined to avert his danger by proposals to that effect. On the opening of the legislative assembly the French emperor made the following speech.

"Senators, counsellors of state, deputies from the departments of the legislative body—Splendid victories have raised the glory of the French arms during this campaign; defections without parallel have rendered these victories useless; all has turned against us.—France itself would be in danger, but for the union and energy of the French. In these weighty circumstances, it was my first thought to call you around me. My heart has need of the presence and of the affection of my subjects. I have never been seduced by prosperity. Adversity would always find me superior to its attacks. I have several times given peace to nations when they had lost every thing. From a part of my conquests I have raised thrones for kings who have forsaken me. I had conceived and executed great designs for the prosperity and the happiness of the world.—A monarch and a father, I feel that peace adds to the security of thrones and to that of families.

"Negotiations have been entered into with the allied powers. I have adhered to the preliminary basis which they have presented. I had then the hope, that before the opening of this session, the congress of Mannheim would be assembled; but new delays, which are not to be ascribed to France, have deferred this moment, which the wishes of the world eagerly call for. I have ordered to be laid before you all the original documents which are in the portefeuille of my department of foreign affairs. You will make yourselves acquainted with them by means of a committee. The speakers (orators) of my council will acquaint you with my will on this subject. On my side there is no obstacle to the re-establishment of peace. I know and partake all the sentiments of the French. I say of the French, because there is not one of them who would desire peace at the price of honor. It is with regret that I ask of this generous people new sacrifices; but they are commanded by its noblest and dearest interests.

"It was necessary to recruit my armies by numerous levies; nations cannot treat with security, except by displaying their whole strength; and an increase of taxes becomes indispensable. What my minister of the finances will propose to you, is conformable to the system of finance which I have established. We shall meet every demand without a loan, which consumes the future, and

without paper money, which is the greatest enemy of social order. I am satisfied with the sentiments which my people of Italy have testified towards me on this occasion.—Denmark and Naples alone have remained faithful to their alliance with me. The republic of the United States of America continues with success its war with England. I have recognized the neutrality of the nineteen Swiss cantons.

"Senators, counsellors, deputies from the department to the legislative body—You are the natural organs of this throne; it is for you to give an example of energy which may recommend our generation to the generations to come. Let them not say of us, 'They have sacrificed the best interests of their country! They have acknowledged the laws which England has in vain sought during four centuries to impose on France.' My people cannot fear that the policy of their Emperor will ever betray the national glory. On my side I feel the confidence that the French will be constantly worthy themselves and of me!"

The following were the intended plans of the allies.

A corps under the Crown-prince were to penetrate into Holland, in a line from Cologne to the sea. Almost every Dutchman in the French service had deserted them.

Blucher, with another corps, was to cross the Rhine at Coblenz, and, opening a communication with the Crown-prince, was to march southerly.

The grand army under Schwartzemberg was to enter France through Switzerland, and advance in a north-westerly direction; indeed, the greater part of this army had already filed off in that direction.

An army of 70,000 men, under Bellegarde, was to carry on the war in Italy; but that could not last long, for various reasons: first of all, the Italians were extremely anxious for a change, in order to get rid of the conscription, which was particularly irksome to them. Murat himself was known to be very ill-disposed to Bonaparte, and there were neither troops nor money in the country to carry on the war. The Viceroy of Italy had only 30,000 men with him, who were so much exposed on their flank, by the junction of Bavaria with the allies, that they would not long be troublesome.

Brilliant success attended the Prince-royal of Sweden in his operations against the Danes. On the 4th of December all the corps of his army moved forward, and when they crossed the Stecknitz Marshal Davoust precipitately retired upon Hamburg, having quite exposed the right wing of the Danes which was posted at Oldesloe. He was pursued by General Woronzoff, who moved beyond Bergedorff and defeated the whole French

cavalry in a sanguinary engagement at Wandsbeck. General Walmoden marched direct upon Oldeslohe, and Marshal Stedingk manœuvred on Lubeck, while General Tettenborn, with his light troops, pushed into the interior of Holstein by Trettau, and hung on the enemy's flanks and rear: from the first day General Tettenborn cut off all communication between the French and Danes, and took from the latter a considerable number of prisoners, carriages, and ammunition-waggons. He likewise intercepted some dispatches of the highest importance. Prince Frederick of Hesse did not hold out against these combined movements, but commenced a precipitate retreat on the Eyder. Lubeck was evacuated by the Danes, who were defeated at Bornhoft, on the 7th, by the Swedes, and vigorously pursued by General Walmoden; while General Tettenborn, with his troops, reached the Eyder before them; and at Husum and upon the roads of Flensburg and Schleswig took seven pieces of cannon. Thus, in less than six days the whole of the duchy of Holstein was conquered. The King of Denmark now repented of his obstinacy, and endeavoured to obtain a suspension of arms. An armistice at length took place, which, by desire of the king, was prolonged to January 6, 1814.

On the retreat of Bonaparte from the Elbe, a considerable number of French troops were left in Dresden, under the command of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr. These troops, after the battle of Leipsie, were closely observed by the allies, in order to prevent their escape. Marshal St. Cyr, for a time, thought of nothing but resistance, and incessantly caused new entrenchments to be thrown up around the city, and the streets and suburbs to be barricaded. In the mean time, a dreadful famine prevailed in the city, which reduced the French and the inhabitants to the greatest distress. Finding it impossible to remain any longer in Dresden, the marshal attempted to march away with the greater part of his troops by the left bank of the Elbe, but the Russian commanders drove him back into Dresden. On the 6th of November, he attacked the blockading corps on the right bank of the Elbe, with the intention of penetrating to Torgau, but in this he was also foiled. Reduced to a state of despair, he now proposed a capitulation to General Klenau, on the condition of declaring his troops prisoners of war, but to be marched to France and there exchanged. This proposal was accepted; and the French began to quit Dresden on the 12th; but Prince Schwartzberg refused to ratify the treaty, and made the offer to St. Cyr of re-entering the place. This the marshal declined, and submitted to the condition of surrendering absolutely as prisoners of war. By a return, given as accurate, the number of troops thus capitulating, amounted to 1,739 officers, among

whom were thirteen generals of division, beside the marshal; and 38,745 privates.

On the 21st of November, the fortress of Stettin surrendered to the allies by capitulation, on the same leading condition, that the garrison should be detained in Germany as prisoners of war. They marched out on the 5th of December, to the number of 7 generals, 533 officers, and 7,100 privates. Of these 1,400 were Dutch, who immediately mounted the orange cockade, that they might be sent to the assistance of their countrymen.

The following important declaration of the allied powers, expressive of the policy which they had in common agreed to adopt, for the attainment of a secure and honorable peace, was published at Frankfort, December 1.

"The French government has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the *senatus consultum* to that effect contain an appeal to the allied powers. They, therefore, find themselves called upon to promulgate anew, in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war, the principles which form the basis of their conduct, their wishes, and their determinations.

"The allied powers do not make war upon France, but against that preponderance, haughtily announced,—against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe, and of France, the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire.

"Victory has conducted the allied armies to the banks of the Rhine. The first use which their imperial and royal majesties have made of victory, has been to offer peace to his majesty the Emperor of the French. An attitude strengthened by the accession of all the sovereigns and princes of Germany, has had no influence on the conditions of that peace. These conditions are founded on the independence of the French empire, as well as on the independence of the other states of Europe. The views of the powers are just in their object, generous and liberal in their application, giving security to all, honorable to each.

"The allied sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy; because the French power, in a state of greatness and strength, is one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wish that France may be happy,—that French commerce may revive,—that the arts, those blessings of peace, may again flourish; because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. The powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it has fought with its accustomed bravery.

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"But the allied powers also wish to be free, tranquil, and happy themselves. They desire a state of peace which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, may henceforward preserve their people from the numberless calamities which have overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years.

"The allied powers will not lay down their arms until they have attained this great and beneficial result, this noble object of their efforts. They will not lay down their arms until the political state of Europe be re-established anew,—until immovable principles have resumed their rights over vain pretensions,—until the sanctity of treaties shall have at last secured a real peace to Europe."

At the same time the Marquis of Wellington addressed the French people in the following manner.

"Upon entering your country, know that I have given the most positive orders (a translation of which is joined to this) to prevent those evils which are the ordinary consequences of the invasion, which you know is the result of that which your government made into Spain, and of the triumphs of the allied army under my command.

"You may be certain that I will carry these orders into execution, and I request of you to cause to be arrested and conveyed to my headquarters, all those who, contrary to these dispositions, do you any injury. But it is required you should remain in your houses, and take no part whatever in the operations of the war, of which your country is going to become the theatre.

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

ORDERS.

"Although the country which is in front of the army be an hostile one, the general-in-chief anxiously desires that the inhabitants should be well treated, and properly respected, as has hitherto been the case.

"The officers and soldiers must remember, that their nations are at war with France, only because he who is at the head of the government of the French nation will not permit them to be at peace, and wishes to oblige them to submit to his yoke; they must not forget that the greatest evils which the enemy has suffered in his shameful invasion of Spain and Portugal, have proceeded from the disorders and cruelties which the soldiers, authorized and even encouraged by their chiefs, committed upon the unfortunate and peaceable inhabitants of the country.

"It would be inhuman and unworthy of the nations to which the general-in-chief alludes, to revenge that conduct upon the peaceable inhabitants of France, and this vengeance would, in every case, cause the army evils similar, or even greater, than the enemy has suffered in the peninsula, and would be very opposite to the public interests.

"The same regulations must therefore be observed in the cities and villages of France, as have hitherto been practised in the requisitions and receipts for provisions, which may be drawn from the country, and the commissaries belonging to each army of the different nations will receive from their respective general-in-chief orders relative to the mode of payment for the provisions, and the time within which the payment must be made."

A declaration of the allies was also transmitted to Switzerland, setting forth their determination "not to lay down their arms till they had ensured to the republic those places which France had torn from it; and, without any pretension to meddle with her interior relations, not to suffer Switzerland to be placed under foreign influence."

At the close of the year the French nation were thus addressed by the allies:—

"Frenchmen: victory has conducted the allied armies to your frontier. They are about to pass it.

"We do not make war upon France, but we repel from us the yoke which your government wished to impose upon our respective countries; which have the same right to independence and happiness as yours.

"Magistrates, landholders, cultivators, remain at your homes. The maintenance of public order, respect for private property, the most severe discipline shall characterize the progress and stay of the allied armies. They are not animated by the spirit of vengeance; they wish not to retaliate upon France the numberless calamities with which France, for the last twenty years, overwhelmed her neighbours and the most distant countries.

"Other principles and other views than those which led your armies among us, preside over the councils of the allied monarchs. Their glory will consist in having put the speediest period to the misfortunes of Europe. The only conquest which is the object of their ambition, is that of peace; but at the same time a peace which shall secure to their own people, to France, and to Europe, a state of real repose. We hoped to have found it before touching the soil of France. We come there in quest of it.

"The Marshal Prince SCHWARTZENBERG, Commanding in chief the grand allied army. "Head-quarters, at Lorrach, Dec. 31, 1813."

Field-marshal Blücher, on crossing the Rhine, issued the following proclamations:—

"To the army of Silesia,—When you advanced from the Oder to the Rhine, it was necessary to take from the enemy the provinces which he had previously occupied. Now you are going to pass the Rhine to force peace from the enemy, who cannot console himself for having lost, in two campaigns, the conquests which he had made during nineteen years.

"Soldiers—I have only to point out the road

to glory to the conquerors of Katsbach, of Wurtenburgh, of Mockern, and of Leipsic, and I am certain of success; but I have new duties to prescribe to you. The inhabitants upon the left bank of the Rhine are not our enemies; I have promised them protection and security for their property. I have done so in your name. It belongs to you to perform what I have promised. Bravery does honor to the soldier, but subordination and an exact discipline are the highest titles to glory. "DE BLUCHER."

"To the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine,—I have conducted the army of Silesia beyond the Rhine, to establish the liberty and independence of nations, and to conquer peace.

"The Emperor Napoleon has incorporated with the French empire, Holland, a part of Germany and of Italy; he has declared that he would not give up a single village of his conquests, not even if the enemy were on the heights of Paris.

"The armies of all the European powers are acting against this declaration and these principles. Will you defend these principles? If so, range yourselves in the battalions of the Emperor Napoleon, and endeavour to fight against the most just of causes, which Providence so visibly protects. Do not partake in this opinion; you will find protection on our part.

"I will protect your property. Let every citizen, let every landholder, peaceably remain at home, and every magistrate at his post, to continue his functions without interruption.

"However, all connection with the French empire must cease, from the moment of the entrance of the allied troops.

"Whoever infringes this order will render himself guilty of treason against the allied powers; he will be carried before a military council, and condemned to death.

"DE BLUCHER."

The Danish government having rejected the basis proposed to it for a pacification, hostilities recommenced in the morning of Jan. 6, 1814. The blockade of Rensburg was formed, and the advanced posts of the garrison were compelled to retire under the cannon of the place.

The fortress of Gluckstadt capitulated on the 6th of January, and was occupied by the Swedish troops. The garrison, about 3,000, were prisoners of war.

An enemy's corps of more than 10,000 men, with from twenty-five to thirty pieces of cannon, made an attack on Breda. General Benkendorf, who defended the place, supported by a combined movement of Generals Bulow and Graham, forced the enemy to retire.

Early this year Lord Castlereagh (with his lady) sailed in the *Erebus*, with a favorable wind for

Holland. His lordship, it was supposed, went as a negociator, in order to meet the other diplomatic characters; but he proceeded to the head quarters of the allies as a monitor.

Finding protestations useless, Bonaparte had recourse to acts to prove the sincerity of his wish for peace. Conscious that his iniquitous attempt upon Spain was one of his chief offences against the peace of Europe and the law of nations, he now endeavoured to make some reparation for the wrongs he had done that country, by releasing King Ferdinand VII. from his captivity, and allowing him to return to Spain with his brother Don Carlos, who had been kept with him at Valency. Previous to their departure, he bound them by a solemn oath, to conclude a separate treaty with him immediately after they should have resumed their stations, which was accordingly done.

The Emperor of Russia arrived at Lorrach on the 11th, and the reserves of the army having assembled in the course of that and the succeeding day, his imperial majesty and the King of Prussia crossed the Rhine on the 13th. The Emperor of Austria, who arrived at Basle on the evening of the 12th, went to meet their imperial and royal majesties at some distance, and they together entered Basle on horseback, at the head of the Russian and Prussian guards.

General Count Platoff, supported by the Prince-royal of Wurtemberg, sustained a gallant action between Epinal and Nancy, in which a considerable number of the enemy were killed and taken. General Wrede, in another action, put the enemy to a considerable loss.

On the 14th, treaties of peace were at length signed between the British and Swedish ministers, and the plenipotentiary of his majesty the King of Denmark.

Repeated bankruptcies evinced the distressed situation of France at this period. Bonaparte's embarrassments increased every day, which his dissimulation could no longer conceal. Considerable towns, such as Dole, Macon, Bourg, &c. opened their gates to small detachments of 200, and even of fifty men; and, in order to keep secret the true reason of the facility with which these places had been occupied, Napoleon laid the blame on their mayors, who failed to break down their bridges. Unable to disguise the fact of General Guilay's arrival at Langres, he said, that "in consequence of general arrangements, Marshal Mortier had quitted that town to take post at Chaumont." Compelled to acknowledge that the allies were within three leagues of Lyons, he added, with a striking felicity of invention, that "the inhabitants of that city had displayed much order and patriotism;" nevertheless, he owned that they had sent goods to the value of 100,000,000 of francs to the mountains; and as this might too clearly show that Lyons was totally unpro-

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vided with any means of defence, he assured his people that Marshal Augereau approached to its succour with troops of the line. This commander would therefore have been obliged to abandon Dauphine, the inhabitants of which, according to the *Moniteur*, had not *displayed much ardor*.

Whilst General Blucher's army rapidly advanced towards Metz, compelling Marshal Marmont to fall back, Napoleon contented himself with hinting that the Silesian troops were before Metz, Thionville, Mentz, and other fortresses; but spoke of their number with great contempt and indifference.

The last levies not having been completed in Brittany, Poitou, and Normandy, where the royalists had from the beginning waged war against the revolution, and where the people had probably been informed at this time of the approach of the Bourbon princes, it was necessary for Napoleon to conceal this fact from the southern departments; he, therefore, artfully caused to be published, that these provinces were sending large levies, which would form part of the reserve. He, whose sports were war and desolation, now became the slave and flatterer of his subjects; outdid them in his calls for peace, and bargained for their assistance in this emergency, on condition that he would never more call them to the field.

By a notice, published at Paris on the 13th, Bonaparte invited all such as had served in the imperial guards to re-enter that corps, until the enemy should be driven from the French territory.

The enemy finding all attempts at negotiation fruitless, began to assume a menacing tone. Great reinforcements were promised to the army under Macdonald. Victor had his head-quarters at Becaro; Marshal Ney's position was at Nancy; whilst General Duvignan occupied the defile before Epinal; General Duhesme was at St. Diez; General Segur commanded a brigade of the guards of honor, in the defile of Severne; General Montlegrier was at Rambervillers, and Marshal Marmont had taken a position on the Sarre. Segur exhorted the people to come forward *en masse*; assuring them, the present sacrifice they were called upon to make would be the last, and that the news alone of their rising *en masse*, would make the enemy retire from the country!!

By a decree, issued from the Thuilleries, the national guard of Paris was called out; and, in the French phrase, "placed in activity." Bonaparte himself was to command it in chief. His staff was to consist of one major-general, who was to be second in command; of four assistant major-generals, four adjutant-commandants, and eight assistant-captains. No person was allowed to find a substitute for the service of the national guard, except a father, by his son; a father-in-law, by his son-in-law; an uncle, by his nephew, and a brother, by his brother. Every *arrondissement*

was to furnish a legion, consisting of 2,620 men; and as Paris was divided into numerous *arrondissements*, the force thus raised was estimated at about 40,000 men, being all the male population of the capital able to bear arms.

Bonaparte claimed a victory at Breda, on the 13th; and the Dutch papers, of the 21st, represented the French as completely defeated there. The Journal of France, however, acknowledged the death of the General of Brigade, Avy, and stated that General Maison had been deceived by false accounts. The emancipation of Genoa was also acknowledged in the following ludicrous manner—"General Jordy, who commanded in the place, had put it in a state of defence: he had fourteen pieces of cannon. The garrison consisted of 1,500 men; 1,800 men from Grenoble were coming to reinforce them, which was sufficient to secure it from a *coup-de-main*: by a sort of fatality, General Jordy was attacked by a fit of apoplexy on the morning of the day when the enemy appeared. The officer who commanded under him suffered himself to be prevailed upon by the citizens, and the garrison left the city. The prefect had forsaken it, so that for three days past the citizens had constituted themselves into a body, and had assumed the authority. The garrison had marched out, the citizens had opened the gates."

Provisions at this time in France were rising rapidly in price. The English prisoners at Verdun were removed in consequence of the advance of the allies. Bonaparte having collected an army of 70,000 men at Vitry, about 120 miles from Paris, was determined to make a desperate stand. The King of Denmark published a declaration, dated Middlefort, Jan. 17, in which he stated, to the great mortification of the French emperor, "that he would join the allied sovereigns, united against France, in order to assist in bringing about a general peace."

Previous to Bonaparte's leaving Paris, he, a second time, confided the regency, during his absence, to the Empress Maria Louisa; on which occasion she took the oath before him, in a council of the French princes, grand dignitaries, cabinet ministers, and ministers of state. On the 23d, the officers of the national guard of Paris, in number 800, were presented to Napoleon, in the Saloon of Marshals, on which occasion the following sublime and affecting scene (according to the *Moniteur*) took place: "when his majesty passed on his way to mass, he was saluted with an unanimous cry of *vive l'empereur*. On his return they were reiterated with new force. The officers, divided into legions, formed a vast circle, in the midst of which the emperor placed himself. Then appeared a scene the most affecting—the most sublime. The emperor, addressing himself to the officers of the national guard, told

them that a part of the French territory was invaded, that he was going to place himself at the head of the army, and that he hoped, with the assistance of God and the valour of his troops, to repulse the enemy beyond the frontiers. At this moment his majesty's looks were tenderly fixed upon the empress, and the King of Rome, whom his august mother carried in her arms, and his majesty added, with a *tremulous* voice, that he confided his wife and his son to the love of his faithful city of Paris; that he gave it the highest mark of his esteem, in leaving under its protection the objects of his dearest affections; that he *hoped* his capital would not be polluted by the presence of the enemy; that, however, if, in the midst of the grand manœuvres which were preparing, some hordes of light troops dared to insult its barriers, he was sure that its brave inhabitants would not forget that their sovereign had confided its defence to them. At that instant a thousand voices resounded, a thousand arms were raised to swear to defend the precious trust confided to a faithful people!

On the 25th Bonaparte left his capital, and

when the news of his departure became public, the French funds fell.

In the mean time, works of palisades and of defence were constructed with extreme rapidity at the different barriers of Paris. Port-holes were opened in some of these palisades for placing cannon in batteries in them. Some little barriers (called false barriers, as they served only for foot passengers) were constructed; at each of these, an ailet, eighteen inches wide, was made, so that only one person could pass at a time. The enclosure of Paris was stated to be a vast system of defence, on an extent of more than 13,000 toises. In the interior every hand was employed in the fabrication of arms. Forges were established under the halls of the public markets. Other vast edifices were provided with every thing proper to form military hospitals, it being intended that they should change for a time their destination. A call had been made on all citizens to furnish linen for bandages.

King Joseph Bonaparte remained in Paris, to review the several corps occasionally formed.

CHAPTER XII.

Bonaparte joins his Army.—State of Warfare in France.—Perilous Situation of the French Emperor.—Termination of Negotiations for Peace, and Dissolution of the French Legislative Body.—The Allied Troops form a connected Semicircle round Paris.—Bonaparte defeats General Alsuffieff.—Operations offensive and defensive.—Gallantry of Blucher.—The Allies withdrawn from the Banks of the Seine.—Conflict of Opinions.—New and interesting Change in the Positions of the French and Allied Armies.—Lord Wellington enters Bourdeaux, after a glorious Victory.—The Allies enter Paris.—Bonaparte's Abdication.—Restoration of Monarchy.

On the 26th of January, Napoleon arrived at Vitry, and entered St. Dizier on the 27th. On the same day he had attacked the rear of Marshal Blucher's army at St. Dizier; and forced it to retire upon the main body. He fancied that he had fallen in with the grand army, which he conceived would be compelled to retire before him. He soon learnt, however, that he had only engaged the force under General Blucher, who had then crossed the Marne, and was rapidly marching towards Troyes, to effect its junction with Prince Schwartzemberg, who moved still further to the south, on the Auxerre and Sens road to Paris. Instead of pursuing his advantage at St. Dizier, and in the direction of Lorraine, as he had first intimated was his intention, Napoleon resolved on preventing the union of the Silesian with the grand army, and for that purpose turned to his right instead of advancing, and unexpectedly

fell on Blucher's main body at Brienne; although he brought all his force to bear on the Prussian veteran, the battle lasted, with alternate success, almost during the whole of the 29th; he, however, carried the castle in the evening, and Blucher, after a desperate but unavailing effort to retake it, set fire to the town, and retreated at the approach of night. Had not the grand army penetrated so far on his right towards Paris, Bonaparte would have followed up his success, and driven Blucher both upon Chaumont and Langres; but he felt that the capital might then be carried before the reserve, composed of new levies, could be formed for its protection. He therefore did not proceed farther than La Rothiere and Dienville, where he posted his rear under Victor and Grouchy, whilst he crossed the Aube with his rear, and hastily marched upon Troyes. This movement, however, was not unobserved, and the

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great numerical superiority of the allies enabled them to make a combined attack, on three points at once, to endeavour to frustrate his intention. The active Blücher traced back his steps, and on the 1st of February fell with his whole force on the rear-guard at La Rothière and Dienville. Meanwhile a corps detached from the army that invested Metz, Luxemburg, and Thionville, appeared before Vitry, on the road to Chalons; and an Austrian division, detached from the grand army, stormed the bridge of Rosnay, between Paris and the enemy, which Marmont was appointed to defend. On these points the enemy declared the assailants were repulsed with loss.

The battle of February 1 was fought on both sides with the greatest obstinacy and bravery. It lasted the whole of the day, and was protracted far in the night. Many villages were taken and retaken several times, notwithstanding the thickness of the snow which greatly impeded the movements, especially those of the artillery. Bonaparte headed some of the charges, and had a horse shot under him. His loss was differently rated in the various dispatches. He pretended that his rear-guard alone had been engaged, and had maintained itself all the day against five times its number. At the close of the action with General Blücher, a battery of artillery moving to support a cavalry manoeuvre missed its way in the obscurity of the night, and was taken. As soon as they perceived this ambush, they cut the traces, mounted the horses, and contrived to escape with some loss. Their situation however was not much improved by their escape. Though they retained courage enough to remain during the night so close to the enemy, that the advanced posts were almost intermixed, and Berthier nearly went over to the allies whilst making his rounds, yet no sooner had the morning dawned than they retreated; taking positions, or rather being drawn from thence, until they effected their passage across the Aube, and regained Napoleon's main body, which on the 3d established itself at Troyes. In the battle of Brienne, the loss of the French was very considerable in killed and wounded; that of the allies was also considerable. The latter, however, took seventy-three pieces of cannon and 4,000 prisoners.

During the negotiations for peace, terms were proposed and seemingly accepted, which were of such a nature as to reduce the power of Bonaparte below that of France under her kings. The legislative assembly of France, hitherto the organs of Bonaparte's will, for what he said they echoed, and what he commanded they complied with, became less obedient when adversity had overtaken him, and ventured, in a report drawn up by an extraordinary committee; to recommend peace in the strongest manner. The report was ordered to be printed,

but in the night the police entered the printing-office, destroyed the copies already printed, and broke the forms to pieces. Immediately after, the assembly was dissolved.

On the 8th of February, the allied troops formed round Paris a connected semicircle, on a cord of which stood Bonaparte, with all the troops he could gather from every part of the dominions still in his power, like the bear at a stake, ready to take advantage of the unguarded and unsupported advance of the boldest assailants. The 9th was spent on both sides in military movements.

On the 10th, by Bonaparte's own bulletin, the Silesian army was acknowledged to be within three days march of Paris; and it became necessary for him to relieve the capital from immediate pressure on that side; accordingly, on that day, Bonaparte, who had previously made all the necessary preparations for that object, moved forward from Sezanne, to attack the van-guard of General Sacken, posted at Champaubert, under General Alsuffieff. He succeeded in completely surprising that corps, which was obliged to yield to superior force, with considerable loss in artillery and men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; and among the last was the commanding general himself.

Napoleon executed his plan of interposing between Prince Schwartzemberg's and Blücher's armies: he stood in the rear of the former, and in front of the latter, and though between two fires, and threatened with utter annihilation in case of defeat, he had the merit of preventing at this time the farther march of either of the allied commanders on Paris.

Generals Sacken and D'York, eager to revenge the defeat of Alsuffieff, advanced the next day (Feb. 11) to Montmirail, about twelve miles from Champaubert, to attack the enemy. They met Bonaparte at the head of 30,000 men: a desperate action ensued; the village of Marchais was taken and retaken three times. Those corps of the allies boasted of having retained their position, but admitted the loss of four pieces of cannon. As they subsequently retreated towards the Marne, and afterwards retired behind that river, on the 13th, it is evident the enemy had the advantage; but it was by no means so great as the French bulletins stated; for, according to them, Bonaparte made *thousands* prisoners, while all the rest were killed or drowned in a fish-pond!

General Blücher, who had been apprised that Sacken and D'York had been worsted by the enemy, but who was not aware of their having retreated across the Marne, advanced on the 13th from Bergeres, the centre of his position, to support them. He directed his march towards Etoges, a small town occupied by Marshal Marmont, with 9 or 10,000 men, to observe his movements,

and who retreated on his approach. Marshal Blücher, though not able to make any serious impression on him, harassed him, in his retreat and followed him to the small village of Fromentieres, and both armies bivouacked for the night, Blücher being determined to attack the next day. But before this design could be carried into execution, Marmont retreated still farther to Janvillieres. In the mean time, Bonaparte (who, having followed General Sacken to the Marne, was at Chateau Thierry on the 13th) made a forced march in the night with all his guards, and a considerable corps of cavalry; and on the morning of the 14th effected his preconcerted junction with Marmont.

The veteran Blücher was greatly surprised by this rapid and masterly movement. An engagement was now inevitable; he had to contend in a flat country, with forces superior to his in a double proportion, and with a cavalry three-fold more numerous; he was, however, superior in artillery. In this unforeseen exigency, Blücher was still himself, and he could rely on his troops. The cavalry of his advanced-guard was soon forced to give way before the vastly superior numbers of the enemy; but it found a safe retreat in the intervals of the infantry, formed into squares, behind which it rallied. Blücher, however, finding the ground untenable, from the superiority of forces against him in an open country, began his retreat towards Etoges. His infantry continued formed in solid squares, the intervals being furnished with artillery, and the cavalry occasionally skirmishing on the exterior side of his moving fortresses. In this way he retreated near sixteen miles, fighting every inch of the ground, resisting the most furious charges of the enemy's cavalry, without one of his squares being once broken. Surrounded at one time, on all sides, he broke his way by his determined resolution, the steadiness of his troops, and the fire of his artillery and musketry, first through circumvening corps of cavalry, and at last reached Etoges at night, in safety, with the loss of about 3,500 men, while that of the enemy was far more considerable. Had one of his squares been broken, the loss of Blücher's army was inevitable. Bonaparte firmly reckoned upon it; therefore Blücher and his army acquired by this retreat more glory than by the most splendid victory.

Blücher, in consequence of this action, retreated unmolested to Chalons, behind the Marne, where he was afterwards joined by the corps separated from his army during these operations, and by others who hastened to reinforce him. Having been completely refitted with all necessaries, Blücher's army began its march from Chalons, to join Prince Schwarzenberg.

When Bonaparte moved to attack Blücher, the Austrians advanced forward from Troyes. From

the 9th to the 16th of February, they were successful. Sens and Fontainebleau were taken by storm, and the advanced posts on that side pushed very near Paris: the grand army was established on the Seine, in possession of the bridge, and with the corps of Generals Wrede, Wittgenstein, and Bianchi, on the Paris side of that river, pressing on that capital. On the 15th, however, Bonaparte recalled by those movements from the pursuit of Blücher, attacked the van-guard of Wittgenstein, and defeated it with considerable loss in men and artillery. Next day, after several fruitless attempts, he succeeded by a last attack in forcing the town and bridge of Montereau, where the Prince-royal of Wurtemberg was posted, and a considerable part of his army immediately passed the Seine. Schwarzenberg, who had been deceived by false intelligence from one of his generals, commenced his retreat towards Troyes, and thus the banks of the Seine, like those of the Marne, were evacuated by the allies.

Bonaparte, notwithstanding, evinced great dissatisfaction in the very bulletin in which he announced those advantages. He blamed three of his generals, among whom was Marshal Victor; Montbrun, another of them, was sent to trial. In the eulogium pronounced on General Chateau, killed before Montreaux, an indirect censure was cast on the lukewarmness of all his officers in general.

At this time, a conflict of political opinions prevailed; some entertaining sanguine hopes of a peace, and others of Bonaparte's downfall. The object of the allies was to enter Paris, and then make a full disclosure of their views. Austria adopted this measure with some reluctance. Before the battles of the 17th and 18th of February, Bonaparte transmitted a project of a treaty upon the bases of the ancient limits, and the retreat of the grand Austrian army to Troyes, after the partial disasters experienced by the Russians, Bavarians, and Wurtembergers at Nangis and Montereau, were supposed to have taken place on account of Napoleon's proposals, backed by his victories. The Emperor of Austria, who did not entirely approve of the attempt on Paris, finding that the other armies had failed, and that all the weight of the enterprise fell on his own, after their defeats, ordered his troops to fall back, although only one of their corps (Bianchi's) had been partially engaged, and they still possessed a great superiority of numbers, which must have ensured success, had they resolutely pushed on to the French capital. This retrograde movement, and the explanation of the reasons on which it was founded, as well as the renewed pacific views of Austria, created some difficulties amongst the allies, and occasioned important communications to the Prince-regent of Great Britain.

A new and interesting change, however, took place in the respective positions of the French and

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the allies in France. The latter had been driven from the neighbourhood of Paris, on the north-east and south-east quarter. Prince Schwartzberg abandoned the banks of the Seine, and even the line of the Aube, to retreat towards the Marne. Blucher had also evacuated all the country between Paris and the last-named river, and was apparently using his utmost endeavours to effect a junction with Schwartzberg; for which purpose he had passed the Aube, at Arcis-sur-Aube, on his way to Troyes, where he intended to join the grand army. He was attacked by Bonaparte at Mery-sur-Seine, Feb. 21. The town in the conflict was set on fire, and Bonaparte boasted of only 100 being made prisoners. Arrangements had been made for burning the bridge over the Seine, that divides the town in two parts. The wind blew violently, and the town, which was on fire in three places, could not be saved. Whilst Field-marshal Blucher was reconnoitering the enemy's position in the town, he was struck with a musket-ball in the leg, which did him no material injury.

The next day, Bonaparte was seen marching a considerable quantity of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and baggage, towards Troyes. Blucher then thought that his object had been effected: by a forced march during the night, he retraced his steps, threw bridges over the Aube, and pushing again forward towards the north, drove Marshal Marmont from position to position, and at last crossed the Marne near Meaux (only twenty-five miles from Paris) on the 27th, and was on the 28th firmly established on both banks of the river. He was aware, at the same time, that Bonaparte might have troops in his rear; but for this he had provided. Bonaparte, however, soon discovered the feint which had been practised upon him; and leaving Oudinot with 45,000 men, to observe Schwartzberg's army, set out himself with his principal force, in pursuit of Blucher. The veteran general having fully anticipated these movements, retreated at the approach of Bonaparte, towards the north, where he was sure of meeting reinforcements from the army of the crown-prince, and of uniting with the crown-prince himself. Bonaparte suffered himself to be drawn away from the central position he had so judiciously chosen in the beginning, by this march of Blucher; and after a useless and fatiguing pursuit, he was forced to acknowledge, in a short sulky bulletin of the 5th of March, that he had obtained no advantages; but that Blucher's army, with the numerous corps by which it had been joined, would have been destroyed but for the treason of the Commandant of Soissons, who opened its gates to the allies. Rheims, however, was liberated, (as he termed it) though this town was a few days before sharply reprimanded in the *Moniteur*, for the friendly reception the allied troops had experienced from the inhabitants;

consequently, they could not have considered the arrival of Bonaparte's troops as a deliverance.

In the mean time Prince Schwartzberg, fully aware of Marshal Blucher's movements, and acting on the same plan of manœuvres adopted near Dresden, advanced again on his side towards Paris, which he knew Bonaparte was too far north to protect. He marched again upon Troyes, and upon all the neighbouring positions. The French were every where defeated, with even more confusion than loss, in several partial actions. They retreated to Troyes in a distracted state, and obtained a capitulation, by which they were allowed only half an hour to evacuate the place. At the expiration of that time, the cavalry of the allies was sent in pursuit of the fugitives, and a great number of prisoners were brought in, as might be naturally expected, from the previous state of disorganization of those troops. On the 4th of March, Prince Schwartzberg's head-quarters were at Troyes. Thus Bonaparte had no other course left him but to retrace his steps back again to the south, with an army exhausted by fatiguing marches, and considerably diminished by losses.

A still brighter prospect was open, by the spirit which the French people manifested at the sight of the first of the Bourbon princes who had appeared among them since the revolution. Count d'Escars, who accompanied Monsieur, the French king's next brother to France, declared in a letter, that all ranks of the people approached them with acclamations of "*Vive le Roi Louis XVIII. et les Bourbons.*" On the first day of their entering France they travelled thirty-three leagues. Monsieur had an army of 8,000 men, of whom a part were cavalry.

Marshal Blucher effected his junction with Winzingerode and Bulow, March 3, and an action took place at Craone on the 7th, on which occasion the allies sustained some partial losses, and were obliged to continue their retrograde march from the Marne to Laon.

On the 9th of March, Bonaparte's right wing was defeated, with considerable loss, by the army of Silesia, under its veteran chief, who took forty-five pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. Bonaparte kept his ground before Laon on the 10th, with his left wing and centre, and continued the attack, during the whole of that day, with such obstinacy that a wood and village were taken and retaken five different times. Night alone put an end to the engagement, and the enemy availed himself of it to retreat.

These important occurrences removed every prospect of an immediate peace. War, blazed with renewed fierceness; and the tide of success having turned towards the allies, they were determined to oblige France to accept of their own terms. The preliminaries of peace had been

drawn, and intelligence of their being signed was momentarily expected, when suddenly Lord Wellington, having forced the passage of the Adour, was rapidly advancing towards Bourdeaux. The British hero returned to Garris on the 21st of February, and ordered the sixth and light divisions to break up from the blockade of Bayonne, and General Don Manuel Freyre to close up the cantonments of his corps towards Irun, and to be prepared to move when the left of the army should cross the Adour. On the 24th Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill passed the Gave d'Oleron at Villeneuve with the light, second, and Portuguese divisions, under the command of Major-general Charles Baron Alten, Lieutenant-general Sir W. Stewart, and Marshal de Campo Don F. Le Cor, while Lieutenant-general Sir H. Clinton passed with the sixth division between Montford and Laas, and Lieutenant-general Sir T. Picton made demonstrations, with the third division, of an intention to attack the enemy's position at the bridge of Sanveterre, which induced Soult to give orders to blow it up. Field-marshal Sir W. Beresford attacked the enemy on the 23d in their fortified posts at Hastings and Oyergave, on the left of the Gave de Pau, and obliged them to retire within the *tête-du-pont* at Peyrehourade.

Immediately after the passage of the Gave d'Oleron was effected, Sir Rowland Hill and Sir Henry Clinton moved towards Orthies and the great road leading from Sanveterre to that town. The enemy retired at night from Sanveterre across the Gave de Pau, and reassembled their army near Orthies on the 25th, having destroyed all the bridges on the river. The allied army crossed the Gave de Pau below the junction of the Gave d'Oleron on the morning of the 26th, and early on the 27th found the enemy in a strong position near Orthies, with his right on the heights on the road to Dax, and occupying the village of St. Boes, and his left on the heights above Orthies and that town, and opposing the passage of the river by Sir Rowland Hill. The course of the heights on which the enemy placed his army, necessarily retired his centre, while the strength of the position gave extraordinary advantage to the flanks. Marshal Sir W. Beresford was ordered to attack the enemy's right with the fourth division, under Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole, and the seventh division, under Major-general Walker, and Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry, while Sir Thomas Picton was to march along the great road leading from Peyrehourade to Orthies, and attack the heights on which the enemy's centre and left stood with the third and sixth divisions, supported by Sir S. Cotton with Lord E. Somerset's brigade of cavalry. Major-general C. Baron Alten, with the light division, kept up the communication, and was in reserve between these two attacks. Sir Rowland Hill was likewise ordered to cross the

Gave, and to turn and attack the enemy's left. Sir William Beresford carried the village of St. Boes after an obstinate resistance by the enemy; but the ground was so narrow that the troops could not decide to attack the heights, notwithstanding the repeated attempts of Major-general Ross and Brigadier-general Vasconcello's Portuguese brigade; and it was impossible to turn the enemy by their right, without an excessive extension of their line. Lord Wellington, therefore, so far altered the plan of the action as to order the immediate advance of the third and sixth divisions, and he moved forward Colonel Barnard's brigade of the light division to attack the left of the height on which the enemy's right stood.

The attack, led by the 52d regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Colborne, and supported on their right by Major-general Brisbane's and Colonel Kean's brigades of the third division, and by the simultaneous attacks on the left by Major-general Anson's brigade of the fourth division, and on the right by Lieutenant-general Sir T. Picton, with the remainder of the third division, and the sixth division under Sir Henry Clinton, dislodged the enemy from the heights and procured the victory. In the meantime Sir R. Hill had forced the passage of the Gave above Orthies, and seeing the state of the action, moved immediately with the second division of infantry, under Lieutenant-general Sir W. Stewart, and Major-general Fane's brigade of cavalry, direct for the great road from Orthies to St. Sever, thus keeping upon the enemy's left. The enemy retired at first in admirable order, taking every advantage of the numerous good positions which the country afforded. The losses, however, which they sustained in their continued attacks, and the danger with which they were threatened by Sir R. Hill's movements, soon accelerated their movements, and the retreat at length became a flight, their troops being in the utmost confusion.

Lieutenant-general S. Cotton took advantage of the only opportunity which offered to charge with Major-general Lord E. Somerset's brigade, in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles, where the enemy had been driven from the high road by Lieutenant-general Sir R. Hill. The 7th hussars distinguished themselves upon this occasion, and made many prisoners. Lord Wellington having continued the pursuit till it was dusk, halted his army in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles. Six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, and a great many were made prisoners. The whole country was covered with the enemy's dead: his army was in the utmost confusion when passing the heights near Sault de Navailles, and several of his soldiers had thrown away their arms. The desertion afterwards became immense. The British commander-in-chief followed the enemy the day after to St. Sever, and on the 1st of

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March passed the Adour, the enemy having left open the direct road to Bourdeaux.

After the 1st of March the rains set in again, and all the streams became no longer fordable. Sir John Hope had crossed the Adour, below Bayonne, Feb. 23, and as soon as he had gained possession of the heights of the Adour, a garrison detachment of 2,000 men were drawn out to meet him, whom he threw into complete confusion. The flotilla met with the severest difficulties in crossing the Adour, where there is always a surf, but at length the bridge was established, and they all passed, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who flocked to see what they could not otherwise believe. Such was the situation of Soult, that he preferred to leave the road to Bourdeaux open, and a detachment under Sir W. Beresford was sent to take possession of that city; its occupation being of the utmost military importance.

No sooner had the British standard cast its protecting shadow on the banks of the Garonne, than the whole population of Bourdeaux, headed by its mayor, advanced to meet the warriors. The imperial eagles were laid prostrate, and the royal lilies were exalted: the white cockade resumed its place, the airs of ancient loyalty hailed the descendant of a martyred king, and the name of BOURBON was proclaimed with the enthusiasm of liberated patriots! This event, so unexpected after the instance of indifference and subserviency which France had hitherto displayed, rekindled hope and animation on the British shores. Peace, always contemplated with dread, notwithstanding the favorable nature of its conditions, as long as it was to be made with Bonaparte, immediately saw the number of its supporters diminish. Thanks to the Marquis of Wellington, and the army under his command, were immediately and unanimously voted in both houses of the imperial parliament, for that consummate ability which obtained the victory of Orthies.

The capture of Rheims, on the 13th of March, by Napoleon in person, was preceded by a well-fought battle, in which the allies acknowledged a loss of 2,000 killed and wounded, and eight pieces of cannon.

Prince Schwartzemberg having heard of Blücher's successes at Laon, was determined to act on the offensive, and for that purpose moved his head-quarters to Pont-sur-Seine. Intelligence of the defeat of Count St. Priest, at Rheims, having reached him, he changed his plans, and fell back to Arcis, intending to march on Chalons, in order to support the Prussian veteran: but, on the 16th, he learnt that the enemy occupied Chalons and Epernay, where Bonaparte arrived on the 17th.

On the 18th, Marshal Blücher drove the enemy over the Aisne, and advanced to Rheims, the enemy having retreated at his approach. On the

19th, Bulow marched upon Soissons, and on the same day Winzingerode proceeded towards Rheims. On the 20th, Blücher intercepted a letter addressed to Bonaparte, giving him an account of the entrance of the English army into Bourdeaux, and of the general rising of the people in favor of the Bourbons.

General Bianchi obtained a victory over Augereau at Maçon, having taken 500 prisoners and two pieces of cannon. All the French posts in the Simphon were taken.

On the 21st, the enemy occupied Arcis, while the allies collected their troops before that place, without any opposition except an endeavour to cut off the division of the Prince-royal of Wurtemberg, which terminated in the loss of three pieces of cannon on the part of the enemy. The two armies then remained in presence of each other. At length the allies perceived that the French army was defiling on the road to Vitry. Only a strong rear-guard was left at Arcis, and they lost no time in attacking it with their whole force. After an obstinate resistance, it was driven out of the town with considerable loss, and followed the main army on the Vitry road.

Soult, after several actions, in which his rear-guard had suffered considerable loss, had retreated beyond Tarbes.

The negotiations which had been held at Chaillon were broken off, March 18. From the first moment the allies crossed the Rhine, they offered peace to Napoleon, who, they thought, would never be moderate enough to accept any terms proposed. Bonaparte, however, attempted to out-wit them, and unexpectedly closed with their proposals, intending to gain time by negotiations until he should have assembled a sufficient force to renew the war with a greater prospect of success. The continuation of hostilities partly defeated his intentions, but as they were never pushed to an extremity, on account of the pending congress, he still found means to assemble such a force as to encourage him to throw off the mask, and, at last, to reject the conditions offered him. Meanwhile, the rising in favor of the Bourbons, confirmed the allies in their purpose not to make peace with Bonaparte; and perseverance on their part, and ambition on his, led to the events which remain to be related. On the breaking off of these negotiations, the allied powers published a declaration, ascribing its procrastination and termination to Bonaparte.

Bonaparte suddenly moved from Vitry, still more to the southward, towards St. Dizier, Joinville, and even as far as Chaumont and Langres. By this unaccountable movement, from which no advantages proportionate to the risk he ran could possibly have been derived, he gave the allies an opportunity of effecting their junction, and of marching with their united forces towards Paris.

The allies took advantage of the opportunity Napoleon afforded them, by the desperate and extraordinary plan he had formed of passing between their armies, and of striking at their communication with the Rhine, intending, at the same time, to liberate the garrisons of Metz, &c. The extent and nature of this project was fully ascertained on the 23d. A movement was immediately ordered upon Vitry, to secure that place, and to endeavour to cut off Macdonald's corps, said to have been, at this time, on the left bank of the Marne, between Chalons and Vitry, to operate a junction with the troops under General Winzingerode, which had moved upon Chalons, and to unite both armies.

Their majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia left Troyes on the 20th, and had their head-quarters at Pougy. The Emperor of Austria moved his head-quarters on the 19th to Bar-sur-Seine, with all the cabinet-ministers, and came on the 21st to Bar-sur-Aube.

On the evening of the 23d, the army broke up from Pougy, and having marched by Rameru and Dompierre, assembled, at day-break, near Sommequis; but the corps of Marshal Macdonald had crossed the Marne the preceding day, before it could be intercepted.

On the 24th, the junction with General Winzingerode was effected at Vitry and Chalons, and the Silesian army came within reach of co-operating with the grand army. On the following day, General Winzingerode, with his own and several other corps of cavalry, being left to observe the enemy, the united allied force began its movement by rapid and continued marches on Paris.

The corps of Marshals Mortier and Marmont were found at Vitry and Sommesons, and were driven back with loss, and pursued in the direction of Paris. At this time the emperor, the king, and field-marshal the Prince of Schwartzemberg, were at Fere Champenoise; and on the 26th at Treffaux. Field-marshal Blucher was at Etoges on the 26th, and continued his march on Meaux by Montmirail. In the course of that week not less than 100 cannon and 9,000 prisoners were taken, with several general officers. At the affair near Champenoise, Colonel Rappatel, late aid-de-camp to General Moreau, was killed while exhorting the French to surrender, and Colonel Neil Campbell, who was on this service, and who had been with the advanced Russian corps in all the affairs since his return from the siege of Dantzic, was severely wounded, having been run through the body by a Cossack, who mistook him for an enemy during one of the charges. The wound, however, was not mortal.

On the 27th, the imperial and royal head-quarters were at Coulomiers, and the Silesian army reached Meaux. On the 28th, their head-quar-

ters were at Quincy. Bridges were prepared at Meaux and Triport. The Silesian army advanced to Clave in front of which town a severe action took place, in which the enemy was repulsed.

On the 29th, the emperor and the king, with Field-marshal Prince Schwartzemberg, crossed the Marne at Meaux, and the enemy being still in possession of the woods near Ville Parisis and Bondy, he was attacked and driven beyond Bondy towards Pantin: the head-quarters were established at the former of those places.

Field-marshal Blucher, the same day, marched in two columns to the right, pointing upon Montmartre, through Mory, Draucey, and St. Denis.

The enemy had improved the defences which the ground afforded on Montmartre, and in front of it, by redoubts and batteries, and had a considerable force of regular troops near the villages of Pantin, Romainville, and Belleville. The navigable canal, the woods and houses, together with some ground, so deep as to be nearly impassable for horses, afforded considerable means of resistance. A disposition for a general attack having been made on the 30th, the sixth corps, supported by the grenadiers of reserve, was engaged, at an early hour, to prevent the enemy from holding Pantin. The remainder of the troops, under the Prince-royal of Wurtemberg, was to turn the enemy on his right, and to push on to occupy, in succession, all the heights on the left of the road, Belleville inclusive. The day was considerably advanced before the troops reached their several positions, and the enemy made a determined resistance, especially at the village of Pantin: the whole of the force was commanded by the Duke of Treviso; the right wing by the Duke of Ragusa. A message had been sent, on the 29th, to deprecate resistance, and to explain that it must be vain, as the whole army was present; but the messenger was not received. In the evening of the 30th, Count Nesselrode was admitted within the barriers of Paris; and at the same time, one of the emperor's aid-de-camps was sent to Marshal Marmont, who agreed that all firing should cease in half-an-hour, if the allied sovereigns would consent that no part of the army should pass the barrier of Paris that night. This was consented to, and the enemy withdrew from Montmartre within the town. The advanced corps bivouacked within pistol-shot of the town. The emperor returned to Bondy with the field-marshal, and at four in the morning the deputies of the city arrived. Seventy cannon, three colours, and 500 men were taken. The number of the killed and wounded of the enemy was very considerable, but this victory was not gained without some loss on the part of the allies.

The Empress and King of Rome left Paris, March 29, by the advice of Prince Joseph, who

remained behind to defend Paris, and who issued a proclamation, exhorting the inhabitants to be courageous, and adding, for encouragement, "I shall not quit you." Early on the 30th of March, he issued an order to defend Paris. At ten o'clock, the same day, he renewed the order. At eleven he fled, and at half-past eleven sent his aid-de-camp to repeat—"I am with you—Defend yourselves."

Four hours armistice having been agreed upon, for the purpose of treating of the conditions relative to the occupation of the city of Paris; the following articles were adjusted and signed.

Art. 1. "The corps of the marshals, Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, shall evacuate the city of Paris, on the 31st of March, at seven o'clock in the morning.

2. "They shall take with them, all the appurtenances of their corps d'armée.

3. "Hostilities shall not commence until two hours after the evacuation of the city; that is to say, on the 31st of March, at nine o'clock in the morning.

4. "All the arsenals, military establishments, workshops, and magazines, shall be left in the same state they were previous to the present capitulation being proposed.

5. "The national or city-guard is entirely separated from the troops of the line. It is either to be kept on foot, or disarmed, or disbanded, according to the ulterior dispositions of the allied powers.

6. "The corps of the municipal gendarmerie shall in every respect share the fate of the national guard.

7. "The wounded and the stragglers remaining in Paris after seven o'clock shall be prisoners of war.

8. "The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the allied powers.

"Done at Paris, May 31, at two o'clock in the morning."

The cavalry, under his imperial highness the grand Archduke Constantine, and the guards of all the different allied forces, were formed in columns early in the morning, on the road from Bondy to Paris. The Emperor of Russia, with all his staff, his generals and their suites present, proceeded to Pantin, where the King of Prussia joined him with a similar cortège. These sovereigns, surrounded by the princes in the army, together with the prince field-marshal, and the Austrian état-major, passed the Fauxbourg St. Martin, and entered the barrier of Paris, about eleven o'clock; the Cossacks of the guard forming the advance of the march. Already was the crowd so enormous, as well as the acclamations so great, that it was difficult to move forward; but before the monarchs reached the Porte de St. Martin, to turn on the Boulevards, there was a

moral impossibility of proceeding: all Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated in one spot; one animus, or spring, evidently directed all their movements; they thronged in such masses round the emperor and the king, that, with all their condescending and gracious familiarity, extending their hands on all sides, it was in vain to attempt to satisfy the populace. The air resounded with peals of *Vive l'Empereur Alexandre*, "Vive notre libérateur." "Vive le Roi de Prusse." With these acclamations were afterwards mingled those of "Vive le Roi," "Vive Louis XVIII." "Vive les Bourbons," "A bas le Tyran." The white cockade appeared very generally; many of the national guards wore them.

The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzberg, made their entry into Paris, at the head of the allied troops, early on the 31st of March. The enthusiasm manifested on this occasion by the Parisians, manifested that the restoration of their legitimate king, the downfall of Bonaparte, and an honorable and permanent peace, were their most ardent wishes. The three chiefs, before they entered any house, remained in a square, to make their troops file off before them, to let discipline be observed, and to prevent all disorders. At one o'clock these great military and civil cases were fulfilled. The chiefs of the three armies entered the house of the Prince of Benevente; having asked for private lodgings, the Emperor of Russia was accommodated in the house of the Prince of Benevente; the King of Prussia in that of M. De Beaumanois, and Prince Schwartzberg in General Sebastian's.

On the same day, the Emperor of Russia issued the following declaration to the French people:—

"The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France; the allied sovereigns receive favorably the wish of the French nation. They declare—

"That if the conditions of peace ought to contain stronger guarantees when the question was to bind down the ambition of Bonaparte, they may be more favorable when, by a return to a wise government, France herself offers the assurance of this repose.

"The sovereigns proclaim in consequence, "That they will no more treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any of his family.

"That they respect the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate kings: they may even do more, because they profess it as a principle, that, for the happiness of Europe, France must be great and strong.

"That they will recognize and guarantee the constitution which France shall adopt. They therefore invite the senate to name immediately a provisional government, which may provide for the wants of the administration, and prepare the

constitution, which shall avail the French people.

"The intentions which I have expressed, are common to all the allied powers.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER."

On the 1st of April, the members of the senate met, in consequence of an extraordinary convocation; the Prince of Benevento being president. A provisional government was appointed, and it was decreed, that the Emperor Napoleon and his family had forfeited all right to the throne; and the French people and the army were, consequently, absolved from their oaths of allegiance. The Emperor of Russia having, on the 2d, received the homage of the senate, made the following observations:—

"A man who called himself my ally entered my states as an unjust aggressor: it was against him that I made war, and not against France. I am the friend of the French people. What you have just done redoubles this sentiment; it is just, it is wise, to give to France strong and liberal institutions, which may be conformable to the present state of knowledge: my allies and myself come only to protect the liberty of your decisions."

The emperor stopped a moment, and then proceeded with the most affecting emotion:—

"As a proof of the durable alliance which I mean to contract with your nation, I restore to it all the French prisoners who are in Russia: (amounting to near 200,000 men) the provisional government had already asked this of me: I grant it to the senate in consequence of the resolutions which it has taken to-day."

The Marquis of Wellington had proceeded to Toulouse, the enemy's rear-guard having been attacked and defeated at St. Gaudens by the advanced-guard of the cavalry attached to Sir R. Hill's corps, under Major-general Fane.

It is asserted, that General Lucotte had received Bonaparte's orders to blow up all the magazines of powder, shells, &c. in case the allies entered Paris, and the explosion was to be simultaneous with their entry. The general tore the order, horror-struck with its atrocity. The knowledge of this came to the ears of the Emperor Alexander; who sent the order of Wladimer, set in diamonds, to the general, accompanying it with a letter, in which his imperial majesty requested him to wear and consider it as a token of his having saved the capital of his country.

Bonaparte, when at Fontainebleau, thought of passing a decree, inflicting a penalty of death upon any one who should be found to have a newspaper in his pocket. The evening before his dethronement, he made a colonel a present of an estate in Westphalia. On the 4th of April, in the morning, he reviewed the troops, which he seemed to consider as his own. The marshals and generals, who had learned from the papers the resolutions

of the senate and the provisional government, conversed together on the subject loud enough to be heard by Napoleon; but he appeared to pay no attention to what they said, and the review passed quietly. When it was over, Marshal Ney, as had been settled, entered the palace with him; and followed him into his cabinet, where he asked him if he was informed of the great revolution that had taken place at Paris? He replied, with all the composure he could, that he knew nothing of it; though he was doubtless well-informed of the whole. The marshal then gave him the Paris papers, which he seemed to read with attention; but he was only seeking time to find an answer.

Meanwhile came Marshal Lefebvre, who, addressing his late emperor in a feeling tone, said, "You are undone; you would not listen to the counsels of any of your servants, and now the senate has declared, that you have forfeited the throne." These words made such an impression on him, who was used to consider himself above all laws, that he immediately burst into a flood of tears; and, after some minutes' reflection, wrote an act of abdication in favor of his son.

On the 5th, several generals went to the Duke of Bassano, who was mostly alone with the emperor; to request him to dissuade Bonaparte from appearing on the parade: but he would not refrain from it. On that morning he had formed a plan, which he made the Duke of Bassano write and sign with him, to repair with 20,000 men, that he had still with him, to Italy, and join Prince Eugene: he repeated several times, "If I choose to go there, I am certain that all Italy will declare for me." On the parade he looked horribly pale and thoughtful, and his convulsive motions declared his internal struggles. He did not stop above eight or ten minutes. When he got into the palace, he sent for the Duke of Reggio, and asked him, if the troops would follow him? "No, sire, you have abdicated."—"Yes, but upon certain conditions."—"The soldiers," resumed the duke, "don't comprehend the difference; they think you have no right any longer to command them."

The marshals who had been dispatched to obtain accounts from Paris returned in the night, between twelve and one. Marshal Ney entered first—"Well, have you succeeded?" enquired Bonaparte. "Revolutions do not turn back: this has begun its course; it was too late; to-morrow the senate will recognise the Bourbons." Bonaparte then exclaimed, "Where shall I be able to live with my family?"—"Where your majesty shall please, and for example, at the Isle of Elba, with a revenue of six millions."—"Six millions! That is a great deal for a soldier such as I am. I see very well I must submit. Salute all my companions in arms." Soon after, Bonaparte became seriously indisposed. Dr. Corvi-

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sart repaired to Fontainebleau to attend him. Bonaparte was now accompanied by the English colonel Campbell, the Russian general, Schorvaloff, a Prussian and an Austrian general, and an escort of 1,500 of the allied troops. Though ill, he read the Paris papers every day: his hand trembled while reading, and his unsteady eye ran over the passages.

The corps of Marshal Marmont, amounting to 12,000 men, passed in the night of the 4th within the lines occupied by the allied troops. This corps took its cantonments near Versailles.

Marshals Ney and Macdonald, accompanied by General Caulaincourt, arrived at the same time, as bearers of Bonaparte's proposal, to submit to the decision of the senate and the people of France, and to abdicate in favor of his son. This proposition not having been agreed to, he surrendered himself to the wishes of the nation, and signed a formal abdication of the crown of France and Italy in the following terms:

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France. Done at the palace of Fontainebleau, the 6th of April, 1814."

The senate afterwards announced the adoption of a constitution for the government of France, under the dominion of their ancient line of kings. There appeared no diversity of opinion in the nation. All obliged the call of the provisional government. Bonaparte stood alone and unprotected, in a country where, a few days before, he disposed at pleasure of the lives of its inhabitants.

The operations of this campaign had been conducted by Prince Schwartzenberg, in an able and distinguished manner. Exclusively of the talents he displayed in the field of battle, and the success which attended his career, the humane conduct he pursued on entering Paris increased the admiration he had excited. Where conciliation, where every kind of feeling of the heart was required to change a system of carnage and desolation to the protection of a people, (late a most

bitter enemy) the character of this prince shone most brilliant. The Emperor of Russia, in estimation of his great services, decorated him with the grand order of St. Andrew, presented in diamonds.

When Bonaparte had accepted the conditions proposed to him, Marshals Ney and Macdonald and General Caulaincourt arranged with Prince Schwartzenberg the line of demarcation to be observed between the allied and French armies.

On the 12th, the members of the provisional government and the members of the ministerial departments, preceded and followed by the municipal body, and by numerous detachments of the national guards of Paris, went to the barrier of Bondy to meet his royal highness, Monsieur, brother to the king, and lieutenant-general of the kingdom. A little before one o'clock, his royal highness appeared without the barrier, accompanied by a great number of the grand officers, the officers of his household, and a number of the marshals of France, who had previously advanced to receive him.

Monsieur, and all the persons who accompanied him, were on horseback: his royal highness was dressed in the uniform of the national guard.

The members of the provisional government, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, advanced near his royal highness. The Prince of Benevente, in the name of the provisional government, addressed the prince, and received a gracious reply.

His royal highness then entered the barrier; M. le Baron de Chabrol, prefect of the department of the Seine, then presented to his royal highness the municipal body of Paris, and observed—

"Your royal highness will accept the vows of the whole nation. He will every where hear acclamations. He will see hope revive in every heart; and the happiness of his country will console him for his long sufferings."

The allied sovereigns, deeming it more expedient that the solemnity should be purely French, did not attend. As the Bourbon family, however, had been for a length of time resident in England, Lord Castlereagh deemed it prudent to meet his royal highness at the barrier, and accompany him into Paris. The Bourbon standard now began to be hoisted in every French department.

BOOK XI.

CHAPTER I.

Events which led to Hostilities between Great Britain and the United States.—Conduct of the American and of the British Governments.

SINCE the affair between the *Little Belt* and the President, as related in book ix. chapter 9, much dissatisfaction was expressed by the American government, which was considerably increased by the artifices of Bonaparte, whose interest it was to engage Great Britain in a war with the United States. As these hostilities have been occasionally alluded to in the French proclamations, inserted in our preceding books, we shall here relate the events which led to them.

Captain Bingham, of his majesty's ship the *Little Belt*, declared, that the attack had been commenced by the American frigate, the President; that it was outrageous and unprovoked, and that he only resisted the violence first offered to him.

The following was the American official account of this affair, which was published as a copy of a letter from Commodore Rogers to the secretary of the navy.

*United States Frigate President, off Sandy Hook,
23d May, 1811.*

"Sir,—I regret extremely being under the necessity of representing to you an event that occurred on the night of the 16th instant, between the ship under my command, and his Britannic majesty's ship of war the *Little Belt*, commanded by Captain Bingham: the result of which has given me much pain, as well on account of the injury she sustained, as that I should have been compelled to the measure that produced it, by a vessel of her inferior force. The circumstances are as follow: On the 16th instant, at twenty-five minutes past meridian, in seventeen fathoms water, Cape Henry bearing S. W. distant fourteen or fifteen leagues, a sail was discovered from our mast-head, in the east, standing towards us under a press of sail. At half-past one the symmetry of her upper sails (which were at this time distinguished from our deck) and her making signals,

shewed her to be a man of war. At forty-five minutes past one, *p. m.* hoisted our ensign and pendant; when, finding our signals not answered, she wore and stood to the southward. Being desirous of speaking her, and of ascertaining what she was, I now made sail in chase; and by half-past three, *p. m.* found we were coming up with her; as by this time the upper part of her stern began to show itself above the horizon. The wind now began, and continued gradually to decrease, so as to prevent my being able to approach her sufficiently before sunset, to discover her actual force (which the position she preserved during the chase was calculated to conceal), or to judge even to what nation she belonged, as she appeared studiously to decline shewing her colours. At fifteen or twenty minutes past seven, *p. m.* the chase took in her studding sails, and soon after hauled up her courses, and hauled by the wind on the starboard-tack; she at the same time hoisted an ensign or flag at her mizen peak, but it was too dark for me to discover what nation it represented: now, for the first time, her broadside was presented to our view; but night had so far progressed, that although her appearance indicated she was a frigate, I was unable to determine her actual force.

At fifteen minutes before eight, *p. m.* being about a mile and a half from her, the wind at the time very light, I directed Captain Ludlow to take a position to windward of her, and on the same tack, within short speaking distance. This however the commander of the chase appeared from his manœuvres to be anxious to prevent, as he wore and hauled by the wind, on different tacks, four times successively between this period and the time of our arriving at the position which I had ordered to be taken. At fifteen or twenty minutes past eight, being a little forward of her weather beam, and distant from seventy to a hun-

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English. At the approach of that period the French minister stated, in a letter to General Armstrong, "I am authorised to declare to you, Sir, that the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked, and that after the 1st of November they will cease to have effect; it being understood that, in consequence of this declaration, the English shall revoke their orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade which they have wished to establish." On the 2d of November Mr. Madison proclaimed to the people of the United States that the French decrees were revoked, though he had abundant reason to know the *previous* acts required of Great Britain would not be performed. The French emperor succeeded in attaching the blame of the non-performance of his promise to the British government, and of exasperating the United States against that government.

Mr. Foster having been commissioned to communicate the sentiments of Great Britain to America, he delivered them in a firm and decisive language; but his communication not corresponding with the expectations of the American government, the president issued the following proclamation for convening a congress:—

"Whereas great and weighty matters, claiming the consideration of the congress of the United States, form an extraordinary occasion for convening them, I do, by these presents, appoint Monday, the 4th day of November next, for their meeting at the city of Washington; hereby requiring the respective senators and representatives then and there to assemble in congress, in order to receive such communication as may then be made to them, and to consult and determine on such measures as in their wisdom may be deemed meet for the welfare of the United States.

"In testimony whereof, I have caused the (L.S.) seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and signed the same with my hand.

"Done at the city of Washington, the 24th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1811; and of the independence of the United States the 36th.

"By the President, JAMES MADISON.

"Secretary of State, JAMES MONROE."

Previous to the meeting of congress the American papers were filled with scurrilous invectives against Great Britain, as the following extracts from the Philadelphia Journal, dated August 5, will evince:

"*The cup is full!*—The long impending ire, the smothered hatred, the disguised war, which assumed so many aspects, which has ultimately plundered and promised redress, and professed justice only to vary the forms of injustice, which

has oppressed the commerce, corrupted the morals, insulted the dignity, and violated the rights of this free and independent nation—which has murdered our people, and carried thousands into the most odious of all bondage, at length assumes an aspect less treacherous, because a more open and determined hostility.

"Great Britain at length avows her injustice, and once more menaces our independence.

"From the seat of the United States' government, and from England, we at the same moment have received advices which corroborate each other, and determine the fact, that Great Britain has resolved to make war upon us.

"Prior to the receipt of these advices, we had received authentic information of the course already pursued by Mr. Foster, at Washington. Upon his first arrival we had suggested, that five or six weeks would determine whether the 'intentions' of the British government were 'wicked or charitable.' The youth and inconsequence of this gentleman had induced an opinion, that he was intended to be one of those messengers whom Pope Sixtus V. described, by the smoothness of their chins, better adapted to convey *billet-doux* than *rescripts*—to partake of a carnival than to announce boisterous war; we supposed him sent, like some of his predecessors, to intrigue, or, like others, to amuse or abuse our government—Hammond, Liston, Merry, Erskine, Rose, Jackson, and Morier, had, in succession, been employed upon this mission; and, upon considering their course of conduct, it was not easy to believe, that this young gentleman was to be the agent of a policy more auspicious. The distresses in which the detestable nature of British policy had involved that nation, induced some to believe that necessity had taught her justice; and the coming of Foster was, with a credulity which has never been diminished by disappointment or by reason, considered by thousands as the final measure which was to heal all former wounds, and put a stop to future injuries.

"Others, and we among this class, believed, that as he could not have been the person selected, if any thing like substantial justice was to be done, his mission was to be only a business of amusement and procrastination—that he was to make no distinct promises, but to carry on a discussion of contingent propositions, and to give aid to Messrs. Pickering and Co. in their undertakings.

"It appears that we had mistaken the character of the mission, and that the minister's valet would have executed the service upon which Mr. Foster was sent, with as much skill and as much good manners as the diplomatist himself.

"Mr. Foster has fallen nothing short of the insolence of one of his predecessors, in the style

and port which he has assumed, and he has exceeded him in personal indecorum, and even personal rudeness.

"Mr. Foster, besides presenting some acrimonious representations on the subject of the rencontre with the Little Belt, also undertook to demand, categorically, that the United States should repeal, without delay, the non-importation law; and that they should also demand of France the repeal of her decrees, as they applied to England.

"On the subject of the Little Belt, our government displayed an alacrity to give the most satisfactory explanations, and it is presumed did so; but on the subject of the non-importation law, it was replied, that the acts of legislation belonged to the congress of the United States, which would meet in November, and it would be with that body to act in their provinces as wisdom and justice should direct. But that on the question, as it related to France, or any other nation, the United States would not interfere but in concerns of the United States alone. That the United States had given to Great Britain, in common with France, a fair and liberal opportunity to obtain not only an uninterrupted commercial intercourse with the United States, but if she had accepted the terms, an exclusion of France in her favour; that Great Britain had not chosen to pursue that path, consistent with justice and her commercial interests, by leaving the flag of the United States with free possession of the neutral rights of an independent nation.—That France had embraced the proposition, and that it had now become an engagement for which the national faith of the United States was pledged, so long as Great Britain chose to persist in her aggressions on neutral commerce; that as it related to France, she had complied with the engagement, and the United States flag was, as to her, unrestrained and uninterrupted on the high seas—and the United States had no right to interfere in any matters of dispute between the two belligerents, in which she was not concerned, and could not, and would not, make any representation on the subject.

"The conduct and menaces held forth by Mr. Foster, on this occasion, we cannot give in expressions sufficiently forcible or characteristic; but to Mr. Monroe, personally, he is represented as having demanded as we have above stated; and upon the mild and tempered answer of Mr. Monroe, he assumed a tone of arrogance and insult; and declared, *that if the non-importation law was not immediately set aside, a force beyond anything Mr. Monroe might expect, would appear on our coasts, and not only annihilate our foreign but our coasting trade.*

"It is stated that Mr. Monroe treated these menaces with dignity and temper, and chid the

young gentleman with the equanimity of a sage, for the rudeness of his manner and expressions. This unexpected occurrence delayed the departure of Mr. Monroe for Virginia, for three days, and Mr. Barlow was also delayed for a like period.

"Such is the state of affairs with Great Britain. The president, before his departure, is said to have given directions to have every vessel belonging to the United States put in a state of complete equipment; and that all military works on the sea-board be completed without delay."

Hence it appears that America, feeling sore at the want of condescension in England, but still more at her dignified language, began to suspect an insult where none was intended, and to regard as an act of hostility what was merely a mistake, or, giving it the worst name, the irregularity of an individual. The trial of Commodore Rodgers, which took place in a court of inquiry before congress assembled, was some act of satisfaction on the part of the American government for the outrage upon the Little Belt. Impartiality demands, that we should give a brief outline of the evidence furnished to this court, on the oaths of the several witnesses examined. The court of inquiry consisted of Commodore Stephen Decatur, president, Captain Charles Stewart, Captain Isaac Chauncey, and W. Paulding, jun. esq. judge-advocate.

The first witness examined was Charles Ludlow, master-commandant, and acting captain of the President.—He was on board the ship at the time of the action with the Little Belt, on the night of the 16th of May last. The Little Belt had her top-sails aback. From his position he was uncertain which fired the first gun; but the second was from the President; and was instantly followed by three cannon and musketry from the Belt. Commodore Rodgers ordered to fire low, and with two round shot. After a short pause the Belt recommenced firing, as did the President. The Belt soon appeared ungovernable, and lay bow on towards the President, when Commodore R. observed, that some accident must have happened to her, and ceased firing. Her gaff was down, and her main-top-sail-yard on the cap; and mizen, too, he thinks. The action continued fourteen or fifteen minutes, including the interval. There was nothing but round and grape shot fired, or on deck, on board the President. The ship was not on fire, or any part of her, and did not sheer off after the action. Another broadside would probably have sunk the Little Belt. Did not know or believe any part of commodore's official account was untrue or incorrect.

John Orde Creighton, first lieutenant.—Was stationed at the fourth division of guns, on the upper deck. Commodore Rodgers hailed first, then a second time, when a shot was fired, as he

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believes, from the Little Belt, no gun having been fired or provocation given on board the President. The orders of Commodore R. were to keep the guns at half-cock, and guard against accidents. After receiving the Little Belt's broadside, was ordered to fire. The Belt was silenced in five minutes, and the President ceased. The Belt renewed the fire, and Commodore R. returned it, and silenced the Belt again in five minutes. Boarded the Little Belt the next morning; Commodore Rogers sent a friendly message, expressing regret for the occurrence, and offers of assistance. Captain Bingham said he took the President for a Frenchman. President was not on fire, and did not sheer off. Nothing but round and grape was fired or on deck. Another broadside would probably have sunk the Belt. Commodore's account confirmed.

Henry Caldwell, commandant of marines.—Heard the hailing; was looking at the Little Belt, and saw the first shot proceed from her; on which Commodore Rodgers said, "What is that?" and he answered, "she has fired into us." Orders were then given to fire. Belt silenced in five minutes. Commodore R. was anxious to stop his fire, and did so. The Belt renewed the action, and in six or seven minutes was silenced again, when Commodore R. was anxious to prevent mischief, and stop his fire. No fire or sheering off. Commodore's account confirmed.

Raymond H. Y. Perry, junior lieutenant and signal-officer.—Was on the quarter-deck, near Commodore Rodgers's elbow. The commodore hailed; got no reply—hailed a second time, and got none. Heard a gun, and was looking at the Belt, which fired it, previous to any gun or provocation from the President. The Belt was silenced in five minutes, and orders were sent to every division of guns on board the President to cease. The Belt renewed the fire, and the President also. In six minutes the Belt was silenced again, and the commodore was very anxious to stop the firing on board the President. No fire or sheering off. The Belt was in a very dangerous situation, and would, probably, have been sunk by another broadside. Heard hailing from the Belt, and understood they said their colours were down; and so reported. Commodore Rodgers hailed, "Have you struck your colours?" and was answered, "I have, and am in great distress." Lights were on board the President during the night. Commodore Rodgers's statement confirmed.

Andrew L. B. Madison, lieutenant of marines.—Was on the gangway. Heard the commodore hail first, then waited fifteen or sixteen seconds, time enough for a reply, but got none, and hailed again; when the Belt fired a gun from her gangway. Saw the flash, and heard the report; no

gun or provocation had been offered by Commodore Rodgers. In six seconds a gun was fired from the President, when instantly the Belt fired three guns, and then her broadside and musketry. Belt silenced in six or seven minutes. Firing stopped in the President. In two or three minutes Belt renewed the action, and in four or five minutes was again silenced; when Commodore Rodgers ordered his fire to cease, and appeared anxious to prevent damage. No firing or sheering off of the President. Commodore's report confirmed.

Captain Caldwell confirmed the account of the first and second guns and broadside, as given by the other witnesses.

Jacob Mull, sailing-master.—Was on the quarter-deck. Commodore Rodgers hailed, and got no answer, but "halloo." After sufficient time hailed again, and got no reply, but a shot, without provocation. In three or four seconds returned the shot, and got a general fire from the Little Belt. Thought the Belt a heavy frigate until next day. Action continued fourteen or fifteen minutes, including three or four minutes' interval. Little Belt could have fired again, but President could have sunk her. Commodore's official account is true.

Lieut. Creighton thought the Little Belt a frigate (excepting her feeble defence,) until next day. Captain Bingham told him the President's colours were not hoisted, but he recollected the pendant. It is the usage, as before stated by another witness, for the President to be prepared for action on coming alongside an armed vessel. Thought the Little Belt displayed bad management, or want of conduct, in her defence.

Joseph Smith, midshipman, acting as master's-mate.—Commanded the fourth division of guns. Heard Commodore Rodgers hail, and no reply for five seconds. Heard second hail, and was looking at the Little Belt when the first gun was fired by her, before a shot or any provocation was given from the President. The commodore fired one gun, then the Little Belt three, and action continued. Thought the Little Belt a frigate. The duration of the action, and orders to cease, as before stated. The last order to stop firing was received by three different officers. Commodore R.'s statement confirmed.

Henry Dennison, acting chaplain.—Was on the quarter-deck. Little Belt was seventy or eighty yards distant. Heard Commodore R. hail, and the reply, and the second hail—then a gun, he thinks from the Belt, as he felt no jar in the President, and no gun or provocation had been given by Commodore R. Account of Commodore R. confirmed.

Michael Roberts, boatswain.—Was on the fore-castle, saw the flash and heard the gun from the

Little Belt, before any shot or provocation had been given from the President. Had not seen the commodore's account.

Richard Carson, midshipman.—Was on the fore-castle and gangways. Commodore R. hailed, and was answered by repeating his words; second hail was answered by a shot. Was looking at the Belt, and saw and heard the gun, before any provocation from Commodore Rodgers. Gun from the President was followed by the Belt's broadside, as stated by others. Commodore's account confirmed.

Matthew C. Perry, Silas Duncan, and John M'Clack, midshipmen, gave their evidence to the same effect.

Thomas Gamble, second lieutenant.—Com-manded the first division of guns. Commodore Rodgers hailed, "Ship a-hoy!" Was answered, "halloo." Asked "what ship is that?" Received his own words repeated in reply. Hailed again, "what ship is that?" Then a gun from the Belt. Heard no gun or provocation from the President—swears no gun was fired from his division. Nothing but round and grape shot fired after the action commenced. Commodore's orders as before stated; when firing ceased finally. Belt was in a favorable position for firing, but another broadside from the President probably would have sunk her. Saw no colours on the Belt, and took her for a frigate of thirty-six or thirty-eight guns. No firing on board or sheering off by the President; statement of Commodore Rodgers confirmed.

John Neese, captain of the first gun.—In the first division on the gun-deck, was looking at the Little Belt, and saw and heard her first fire.

Lieutenant Creighton testified farther; that when the Belt was silenced the second time, she luffed up towards the commodore, instead of keeping way, as she should have done, to fire at the President, and would have done if her rudder had been free. Commodore Rodgers expressed much humanity and anxiety to stop the firing. Lieutenant Creighton also testified to the officers of assistance from Commodore Rodgers to the Little Belt the next morning.

Alexander James Dallas, third lieutenant, com-manded third division guns; heard first and second hail, and question repeated back from the Little Belt; then third hail and gun; was looking at the Belt when she fired, when no gun or provocation had been given from the President; was in the bridle-port when the Belt fired, and after the shot was received, got into the port and fired a gun in return, from general order, without particular direction. A broadside from the Belt immediately succeeded. None but round and grape used in his division, and no fire or sheering off. A broadside more would probably have sunk the Belt. Commodore Rodgers was very

anxious to stop the firing.—Commodore's statement confirmed.

John M. Funk, fourth lieutenant, commanded third division gun-deck; heard hail, reply; second hail, and gun from Belt, as before; heard no gun or provocation from President, and there certainly was none from his division; gun from Belt returned from President in five or six seconds, and broadside from Belt ensued.—Orders of Commodore R. as before. Round and grape only fired. No fire or sheering off. Another broadside would have sunk the Belt. Commodore R. exerted himself to stop the firing.—Official account confirmed.

Peter Gamble, midshipman, was on gun-deck, at second division; heard first shot from Little Belt, and felt no jar on board the President. No gun or provocation from Commodore Rodgers.—Confirmed the official account.

Edward Babbet, midshipman, was on gun-deck, at third division; was looking at the Belt, and saw and heard the first gun from her. No gun or provocation had been given by the President.—Official account confirmed.

Mr. Mull testified that the damage on board the President was one boy wounded; a shot in the mainmast, and another in the foremast, with some of the back-stays cut away; but not a single shot of any kind from the Little Belt struck the hull of the President.

Edward Rutledge Slubrick, midshipman, was forward on gun-deck, at first division; was looking at the Belt, and saw and heard the first fire from her before any gun or provocation from the President.

Philip Dickenson Spencer, midshipman, was confident that the first shot came from the Little Belt.

Breasted Barnes, carpenter, was on gun-deck to attend pumps, and looking at the Belt when she fired the first shot, before gun or provocation from Commodore Rodgers. The President did not receive a shot of any kind in the hull, but one in her main-mast and another in her foremast.

Edward Walker, captain first gun, fourth division fore-castle, from hearing the report and feeling no jar, believed the first shot came from the Belt. Moses Dunbar, second captain (first absent) second gun, fourth division, was looking at the Little Belt, and saw her fire first. George Simmons, third captain, (first absent) third gun, fourth division; John M'Cornick, second captain (first absent) fourth gun, fourth division; William Campbell, first gun, fourth division, quarter-deck, all testified the same as Moses Dunbar.

Thomas Taylor, captain second gun, quarter-deck, saw the Little Belt fire six seconds first. Six captains of guns on the quarter-deck said the same.

Mr. Mull testified that the commodore shewed great humanity.—Lieutenant Dallas heard two reports,—Midshipman S. H. Stringham, J. H.

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Ludlow, and D. G. Ingraham, saw the Little Belt fire the first shot.

Here the examination closed, and the result of the trial was the acquittal of Commodore Rodgers. The American government, by putting the commodore on his trial, disavowed the act as belonging to themselves, and transferred it to the individual. They divested, therefore, the outrage upon the Little Belt, of a national insult, and rendered it as a private or individual action. But the record of this trial, the evidence, the defence, and the sentence, were not communicated to the British government; and, of course, it was suspected that the whole was an affair of management; that the evidence had been wilfully procured on the part of the government of the country to answer a particular purpose; and that the sentence was unjust; therefore, instead of being a satisfaction, it was by some considered as an aggravation of the injury.

In a court of inquiry held at Halifax, relative to this business, the evidence considerably varied. This court was held before the Right Honorable Lord James Townshend, captain of his majesty's ship *Eolus*, and senior officer at Halifax, Nova Scotia; Charles John Austen, esq. captain of his majesty's ship *Cleopatra*; and Alexander Gordon, esq. commander of his majesty's ship *Rattler*.

Lieutenant Moberly, senior lieutenant, stated, "that on the 16th inst. while cruising off the coast of America, Cape Charles bearing west fifty-four miles, at eleven a. m. saw a strange sail,—that she was a lugger was reported from the mast-head, on the star-board beam; we then steering S. W. the wind aft, or a little on the starboard quarter; on which took in our studding sails, and hauled our wind for her on the star-board tack;—shortly after, made her out to be a ship. At thirty past two p. m. having then made out the chance to be a frigate, with a commodore's broad pendant flying, being then about six miles, and not having answered any of our private signals, viz. 275, private signal, and our number, concluded her to be the American frigate *United States*; showed our colours, and steered our course south. Set studding-sails at five o'clock,—observed the frigate make all sail; and to keep more away from us; at seven found she was gaining on us fast. Captain Bingham then thinking it best to speak her before dark, shortened sail, and hove to, colours up; we then making out her stars in her broad pendant, beat to quarters, and got clear for action, a second time, having beat before at two p. m.; double shotted and double breached the guns. At fifty past seven, observed the frigate to have shortened sails to top-sails, top-gallant-sails, and jib, and standing down as if with an intention of passing under our stern; wore twice to evade this. Captain Bingham

hailed, and was not answered; wore again, to close to us, on larboard beam. Captain Bingham hailed the ship, "a-hoy!" which was repeated word for word by the frigate: Captain Bingham asked what ship that was, which was also repeated as before; and on asking a second time, was answered by a broadside. Captain Bingham was then standing on the midship gun, jumped off, and gave orders to fire, which was done in less than a minute after her first fire, we being quite ready, guns pointed, and continued firing for about an hour, when the frigate ceased firing, and hailed us to know what ship this was. Captain Bingham answered, his majesty's ship *Little Belt*, several times, before he understood us. He then asked if our colours were down? No! was Captain Bingham's answer. Captain Bingham then hailed to know what ship that was; and was answered the *United States* frigate,—the name we could not understand. In the mean time the frigate had filled, and was standing from us;—a short time after lost sight of her,—hove-to for the night, having no sail set. At day-light, saw a sail to windward; made her out to be the same we had engaged;—at six she bore up for us under easy sail; at eight she passed within hail, asked permission to send a boat on board, which was granted: boat came on board, staid ten minutes, then returned; understood the frigate to be the *President*, belonging to the *United States*, Commodore Rodgers; observed the *President* to fill and stand on, on the starboard tack, under her top-sails."

Lieutenant Thomas Leveel, Mr. James Franklin, boatswain, and Mr. Hinselwood, purser, corroborated the whole of the foregoing statement.

In addition to whom, Mr. William Turner, surgeon, stated, "that at ten minutes past eight o'clock p. m. Captain Bingham hailed the stranger twice, very loudly, but received no answer: about five minutes after, Captain Bingham again hailed, and was answered from the frigate, to what purpose I could not distinctly understand. Captain Bingham again hailed twice, and immediately heard the frigate fire, and the whole passed over us. I then distinctly heard Captain Bingham give orders to fire away: we returned the broadside within the space of twenty seconds; the action continued with great vigour for about forty-five minutes, to the best of my judgment."

"The examination and information of William Burkit, mariner, taken before John Howe and Thomas Boggs, esquires, two of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Halifax, this 22d day of June, in the year of our Lord 1811; who, being duly sworn, depose and saith, that he was born at Deptford, in England; that he is about twenty-three years of age; that he has reason to think he has a mother still living at

Deptford; that he left home about three years ago, and went to Montego-bay, Jamaica; that he left that place afterwards, and proceeded to New York, in a brig called the Pizarro; that some time in August, 1809, being in a state of intoxication, he was forcibly carried on-board the United States armed schooner Revenge, in which he continued until she was cast away in Long Island Sound; that he was afterwards transferred to the United States' ship the President; that he was entered on-board the Revenge, and afterwards on-board the President, by the name of Elijah Shephardson; that he was on-board the President the first week in May last, when that ship was lying at Annapolis, in Maryland; that Commodore Rodgers suddenly came on-board from Havre-de-Grace, where he had been with his family; that instantly after the arrival of the commodore, all was bustle in the ship; that the sails, some of which were unbent, were immediately bent, and the ship got ready, with all possible expedition, to proceed to sea; that she got under weigh next day, and proceeded down the river; that they spoke a brig, which said they had been boarded the day before by a British cruiser, and that she had taken a man from her, who had been sent back again; that, as they were going down the river, they got up a much larger quantity of shot and wads than had ever been customary on any other occasion, while he was on-board the ship; and that he knows this to have been the case, from having held the station of quarter-gunner; that after proceeding to sea, they cruised off the different parts of the coast without any thing materially happening until the 16th of May; that at twelve o'clock on that day, being below at dinner, word was brought that a frigate, supposed to be British, was in sight; that orders were then given for clearing away the bulk-heads, and preparing for action; that, soon after, all hands were beat to quarters; that every thing was then immediately got ready for action; that at this time it was about two o'clock; that all sails were then set, and they went eagerly in chase of the supposed frigate; that orders were soon after given for pricking and firing the guns; before dark, while they were approaching nearer the chase, orders were given to take the aprons off the guns; and at that time this deponent looked at the ship they were in chase of, through the bridle port, and he saw her colours flying; that he saw red in them, but could not correctly ascertain what colours they were; that at the distance they were, he is satisfied that with glasses they could easily be distinguished; that he heard Lieutenant Belding, who had a glass, and who commanded in his division, say, that her colours were British; that when this deponent looked at her, he could see her hull, and was satisfied that she was a small ship;

that they continued after this period to approach her until between eight and nine o'clock, when they were within pistol-shot; that Commodore Rodgers then gave orders to stand by their guns, and not to fire till orders were given; that the commodore then hailed; and when he was hailing a second time, a gun in the division to which this belongs, being the second division, went off, he thinks by accident; and that there were four or five men leaning on the gun at the time; that he instantly turned, to acquaint the lieutenant that the gun had gone off by accident, the lieutenant then standing only three guns from him; that before he could do this, the whole broadside of the President was discharged; and that immediately after a general order was given, "fire away as quick as possible;" that before the firing of the gun of this division, which he thinks went off by accident, and the broadside which immediately followed, this deponent is satisfied, as he was looking out of the port, and distinctly saw the Little Belt, that not a gun had been fired from her; that the President, he thinks, continued firing about half an hour without cessation; that an order was then given to cease firing; that the President then filled her main-top-sail, and stood from the Little Belt, with her head to the southward, and continued all night on that tack, without heaving to; that the commodore, before he steered from the Little Belt, hailed her to know if she had struck; the only part of the answer given, that he could distinctly hear or understand, was, that she was a British ship.

"This deponent further saith, that the President was wounded in her foremast and mainmast, a 22-pound shot having entered each of them; and the rest of the night, after the engagement, they were employed in repairing the damage sustained in the rigging. This deponent farther saith, that the crew of the President consists of about 500 men, upwards of 300 of which he knew to be British seamen, from having conversed with them, and having heard them declare they were so, and from many of them having designated the place they came from; that the engagement with the Little Belt had excited great disgust in the British seamen on-board the President, who had manifested their reluctance to fight against their country; that one man, in particular, had so plainly expressed this feeling, as to have drawn on him the resentment of Commodore Rodgers, who had put him in irons; in which situation he remained when this deponent left the ship for the aforesaid defence, and for having said the first gun was fired from the President.

"This deponent further saith, that, after the President came into New York, and was lying in the North River, that, by the assistance of his hammock lashings, he got in the night from the

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fore-chains into the river, and swam to a place of safety; and has since procured a passage to Halifax.

"WILLIAM BURKIT, his X Mark.

"Sworn at Halifax, the day and year aforesaid, before us,

"JOHN HOWE, } Justices of the Peace."

"THO. BOGGS, }

Bristol, July 25, 1811.

"John Russell deposes, that he belonged to the President American frigate; that he did his duty in the foretop; was quartered at the aftermost gun on the fore-castle, before they fell in with the Little Belt. The commodore informed the ship's company, that he was ordered to demand two American seamen that had been pressed by a British frigate; if they were not given up, he was to take them by force: when they went down to the Little Belt the guns were double-shotted, and loaded with grape; that the first gun was fired from the President, but he believes from accident, as no orders were given from the quarter-deck to fire; the guns had locks, and were all cocked. After the action, he was informed by the men in the waste, that a man was entangled with the lanyard of the lock, that occasioned the gun to go off."

The
(Signed) "JOHN X RUSSELL.
mark of.

"The within-named John Russell was sworn in the truth of the within affidavit, before me, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the city and county of Bristol, the 25th day of July, 1811."
(Signed) "DAVID EVANS."

On the meeting of Congress, this affair was particularly dwelt upon in the president's speech, communicated by Mr. Edward Coles, his private secretary, and which was as follows:

"Fellow-citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

"In calling you together sooner than a separation from your homes would otherwise have been required; I yielded to considerations drawn from the posture of our foreign affairs; and in fixing the present for the time of your meeting, regard was had to the probability of farther developments of the policy of the belligerent powers towards this country, which might the more unite the national councils in the measures to be pursued.

"At the close of the last session of congress, it was hoped that the successive confirmations of the extinction of the French decrees, so far as they violated our neutral commerce, would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council; and thereby authorize

a removal of the existing obstructions to her commerce with the United States

"Instead of this reasonable step towards satisfaction and friendship between the two nations, the orders were, at a moment when least to have been expected, put into more rigorous execution; and it was communicated through the British envoy just arrived, that, whilst the revocation of the edicts of France, as officially made known to the British government, was denied to have taken place, it was an indispensable condition of the repeal of the British orders, that commerce should be restored to a footing that would admit the productions and manufactures of Great Britain, when owned by neutrals, into markets shut against them by her enemy; the United States being given to understand, that, in the mean time, a continuance of their non-importation act would lead to measures of retaliation.

"At a later date it has, indeed, appeared, that a communication to the British government, of fresh evidence of the repeal of the French decrees against our neutral trade, was followed by an intimation, that it had been transmitted to the British plenipotentiary here, in order that it might receive full consideration in the depending discussions. This communication appears not to have been received: but the transmission of it hither, instead of founding on it the actual repeal of the orders, or assurances that the repeal would ensue, will not permit us to rely on any effective change in the British cabinet. To be ready to meet, with cordiality, satisfactory proofs of such a change, and to proceed, in the mean time, in adapting our measures to the views which have been disclosed through that minister, will best consult our whole duty.

"In the unfriendly spirit of those disclosures, indemnity and redress for other wrongs have continued to be withheld; and our coasts and the mouths of our harbours have again witnessed scenes, not less derogatory to the dearest of our national rights than vexatious to the regular course of our trade.

"Among the occurrences produced by the conduct of British ships of war hovering on our coasts, was an encounter between one of them and the American frigate commanded by Captain Rodgers, rendered unavoidable on the part of the latter, by a fire commenced without cause by the former; whose commander is, therefore, alone chargeable with the blood unfortunately shed in maintaining the honor of the American flag. The proceedings of a court of inquiry, requested by Captain Rodgers, are communicated; together with the correspondence relating to the occurrence between the secretary of state and his Britannic majesty's envoy. To these are added, the several correspondences which have passed on the subject of the British orders in council;

and to both, the correspondence relating to the Floridas, in which congress will be made acquainted with the interposition which the government of Great Britain has thought proper to make against the proceedings of the United States.

"The justness and fairness which have been evinced on the part of the United States towards France, both before and since the revocation of her decrees, authorised an expectation that her government would have followed up that measure by all such others as were due to our reasonable claims, as well as dictated by its amicable professions. No proof, however, is yet given of an intention to repair the other wrongs done to the United States; and, particularly to restore the great amount of American property seized and condemned under edicts, which, though not affecting our neutral relations, and therefore, not entering into questions between the United States and other belligerents, were nevertheless founded in such unjust principles, that the reparation ought to have been prompt and simple.

"In addition to this and other demands of strict right on that nation, the United States have much reason to be dissatisfied with the rigorous and unexpected restrictions to which their trade with the French dominions has been subjected; and which, if not discontinued, will require, at least, corresponding restrictions on importations from France into the United States.

"On all those subjects our minister-plenipotentiary, lately sent to Paris, has carried with him the necessary instructions; the result of which will be communicated to you; and by ascertaining the ulterior policy of the French government towards the United States, will enable you to adapt to it that of the United States towards France.

"Our other foreign relations remain without unfavorable changes. With Russia they are on the best footing of friendship. The ports of Sweden have afforded proofs of friendly dispositions towards our commerce in the councils of that nation also. And the information from our special minister to Denmark, shews, that the mission had been attended with valuable effects to our citizens, whose property had been so extensively violated and endangered by cruisers under the Danish flag.

"Under the ominous indications which commanded attention, it became a duty to exert the means committed to the executive department, in providing for the general security. The works of defence on our maritime frontier have accordingly been prosecuted with an activity leaving little to be added for the completion of the most important ones; and, as particularly suited for co-operation in emergencies, a portion of the gun-boats have, in particular harbours, been ordered into use. The ships of war before in commission,

with the addition of a frigate, have been chiefly employed as a cruising guard to the rights of our coast; and such a disposition has been made of our land-forces, as was thought to promise the services most appropriate and important. In this disposition is included a force consisting of regulars and militia, embodied in the Indian territory, and marched towards the north-west frontier. This measure was made requisite by several murders and depredations committed by Indians; but more especially by the menacing preparations and aspect of a combination of them on the Wabash, under the influence and direction of a fanatic of the Schawanese tribe. With these exceptions, the Indian tribes retain their peaceable dispositions towards us, and their usual pursuits.

"I must now add, that the period is arrived, which claims from the legislative guardians of the national rights a system of more ample provisions for maintaining them. Notwithstanding the scrupulous justice, the protracted moderation, and the multiplied efforts on the part of the United States, to substitute, for the accumulating dangers to the peace of the two countries, all the mutual advantages of re-established friendship and confidence; we have seen, that the British cabinet perseveres, not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs, so long and so loudly calling for it, but in the execution brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character as well as the effect of war on our lawful commerce.

"With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armour and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.

"I recommend, accordingly, that adequate provision be made for filling the ranks and prolonging the enlistments of the regular troops; for an auxiliary force, to be engaged for a more limited term; for the acceptance of volunteer corps, whose patriotic ardour may court a participation in urgent services; for detachments, as they may be wanted, of other portions of the militia; and for such a preparation of the great body, as will proportion its usefulness to its intrinsic capacities. Nor can the occasion fail to remind you of the importance of those military seminaries, which, in every event, will form a valuable and frugal part of our military establishment.

"The manufacture of cannon and small arms has proceeded with due success, and the stock and resources of all the necessary munitions are adequate to emergencies. It will not be inexpedient, however, for congress to authorise an enlargement of them.

"Your attention will, of course, be drawn to such provisions, on the subject of our naval force,

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as may be required for the services to which it may be best adapted. I submit to congress the seasonableness, also, of an authority to augment the stock of such materials as are imperishable in their nature, or may not at once be attainable.

"In contemplating the scenes which distinguish this momentous epoch, and estimating their claims to our attention, it is impossible to overlook those developing themselves among the great communities which occupy the southern portion of our own hemisphere, and extend into our neighbourhood. An enlarged philanthropy, and an enlightened forecast, concur in imposing on the national councils an obligation to take a deep interest in their destinies; to cherish reciprocal sentiments of good-will; to regard the progress of events; and not to be unprepared for whatever order of things may be ultimately established.

"Under another aspect of our situation, the early attention of congress will be due to the expediency of farther guards against evasions and infractions of our commercial laws. The practice of smuggling, which is odious every where, and particularly criminal in free governments, where, the laws being made by all for the good of all, a fraud is committed on every individual as well as on the state, attains its utmost guilt, when it blends, with a pursuit of ignominious gain, a treacherous subserviency, in the transgressors, to a foreign policy adverse to that of their own country. It is then that the virtuous indignation of the public should be enabled to manifest itself, through the regular animadversions of the most competent laws.

"To secure greater respect to our mercantile flag, and to the honest interest which it covers, it is expedient, also, that it be made punishable in our citizens to accept licences from foreign governments, for a trade unlawfully interdicted by them to other American citizens; or to trade under false colours or papers of any sort.

"A prohibition is equally called for against the acceptance, by our citizens, of special licences, to be used in a trade with the United States; and against the admission into particular ports of the United States, of vessels from foreign countries, authorised to trade with particular ports only.

"Although other subjects will press more immediately on your deliberations, a portion of them cannot but be well bestowed on the just and sound policy of securing to our manufactures the success they have attained, and are still attaining, in some degree, under the impulse of causes not permanent; and to our navigation, the fair extent of which it is at present abridged, by the unequal regulations of foreign governments.

"Besides the reasonableness of saving our manufacturers from sacrifices which a change of circumstances might bring on them, the national interest requires, that, with respect to such articles,

at least, as belong to our defence and our primary wants, we should not be left in unnecessary dependence on external supplies. And whilst foreign governments adhere to the existing discriminations in their ports against our navigation, and an equality or lesser discrimination is enjoyed by their navigation in our ports, the effect cannot be mistaken, because it has been seriously felt by our shipping-interests; and in proportion as this takes place, the advantages of an independent conveyance of our products to foreign markets, and of a growing body of mariners, trained by their occupations for the service of their country in times of danger, must be diminished.

"The receipts into the treasury, during the year ending on the 30th of September last, have exceeded thirteen millions and a half of dollars; and have enabled us to defray the current expences, including the interest on the public debt, and to reimburse more than five millions of dollars of the principal, without recurring to the loan authorised by the act of the last session. The temporary loan obtained in the latter end of the year 1810, has also been reimbursed, and is not included in that amount.

"The decrease of revenue, arising from the situation of our commerce, and the extraordinary expences which have and may become necessary, must be taken into view, in making commensurate provisions for the ensuing year. And I recommend to your consideration the propriety of ensuring a sufficiency of annual revenue, at least to defray the ordinary expences of government, and to pay the interest on the public debt, including that on new loans which may be authorised.

"I cannot close this communication without expressing my deep sense of the crisis in which you are assembled, my confidence in a wise and honorable result to your deliberations, and assurances of the faithful zeal with which my co-operating duties will be discharged; invoking, at the same time, the blessing of heaven on our beloved country, and on all the means that may be employed in vindicating its rights and advancing its welfare."

(Signed) "JAMES MADISON.

"Washington, Nov. 5, 1811."

In taking a review of this speech, we find it labours with its own weight in order to throw a load of blame upon the British government. It begins with a complaint of the unfriendly conduct of Great Britain in refusing what the president was pleased to term their neutral rights. During the discussions of the plenipotentiaries of the two powers upon this point, the governments of England and the United States could not agree, as they referred in their respective arguments and appeals to different principles and different codes.

The speech next alludes to the affair of the

Little Belt, and, according to the result of the trial, inculpates the British commander. It must be confessed, that America, in this respect, had offered all the satisfaction which could be *ex jure* required of her. She had given Captain Rodgers a trial in one of her admiralty-courts, and it is the peculiar nature of these courts, that being administered in every country alike, that is, on the law of nations and the public law of Europe, they have every where an acknowledged name, and even some portion of authority; and their judgments are deemed satisfactory and conclusive, till set aside in the same form and manner, and for their manifest and gross injustice, in some other admiralty-court. The president, therefore, as president of America, committed no injury in assigning the wrong-doing to the party designated by his own admiralty-courts, though, as before intimated, the evidence had all the appearance of corruption.

The president next congratulates his countrymen on the friendly footing of America with the northern powers, and then, recurring to the conduct of Great Britain, taxed with the daily commission of many hostile acts, calls upon America to put herself into the armour and attitude demanded by her circumstances.—The measures proposed are the four following:—1. That the army be recruited up to its war establishment.—2. That the enlistment of the regular troops be prolonged.—3. That an auxiliary force (i. e. an army of reserve) be raised for a limited term.—4. A supplemental militia.—5. That corps of volunteers be accepted.—6. Such a preparation of the great body of the American people as will render its utility in some degree proportionate to what it ought to be from its natural intrinsic capacity (i. e. the instruction of the peasantry in the use and exercise of arms.)

Of the voluminous documents which accompanied the president's speech to congress, we shall confine ourselves to a description of them.

Relative to the orders in council, Mr. Foster, in his letters of the 3d, 11th, 14th, and 16th July, 1810, to Mr. Monroe, the American minister, insisted that the Berlin and Milan decrees had not been effectually repealed, and that the regent could not therefore forego the just measures of retaliation which his majesty, in his defence, had found it necessary to have recourse to.

Mr. Monroe, in a reply to Mr. Foster, dated 23d July, considered that his government was bound to respect the solemn declaration of the French government, August 5th, 1810, that the decrees were repealed; argued, that they were repealed from the release of the New Orleans packet, the Grace, Anne, and other vessels; endeavoured to avoid the meaning Mr. Foster gave to the declaration made to the deputation from the Hanse Towns by Bonaparte (viz. that he, Bonaparte, had not pronounced the cessation of any

one of his decrees in that declaration, which, on the contrary, was a confirmation of them all) and concluded by declaring the determination of his government to continue the non-intercourse act, unless the British orders were revoked.

Mr. Foster, in a letter of the 24th July, asked whether it was the determination of the president to rest satisfied with the partial repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, which Mr. Monroe believed to have taken place. To this no reply seemed to have been given. In a letter from Mr. Foster, dated 26th July, he shewed that Mr. Monroe had not, in his letter of the 23d July, adduced any satisfactory proof of the repeal of the obnoxious decree of France, and he urged afresh the injustice of the American government in persevering in their union with the French system to crush the commerce of Great Britain.

In a reply to this letter by Mr. Monroe, on the 1st. Oct. he did not bring forward any fresh evidence to shew that the Berlin and Milan decrees were repealed, and he seemed to evade the discussion.

In a note, dated 17th of Oct. from Mr. Monroe, he enclosed two letters from Mr. Russel, the American *chargé d'affaires* at Paris, stating, that the Berlin and Milan decrees had ceased to be executed, and a note from the Marquis Wellesley, dated on the 14th of August, to Mr. Smith, acknowledging the receipt of a letter to Mr. Foster, stating, that he had commenced his negociations with Mr. Monroe, relative to the orders in council.

Mr. Foster, in a letter, dated on the 22d of Oct. alluded to Mr. Russel's letters, announcing the liberation of four or five American vessels, captured and brought into French ports since the 1st of Nov.; and he added to Mr. Monroe, "I hope you will not think it extraordinary if I should contend, that the seizure of American ships by France since Nov. 1st, and the positive and unqualified declarations of the French government, are stronger proofs of the continued existence of the French decrees, and the bad faith of the ruler of France, than the restoration of five or six vessels, too palpably given up for fallacious purposes, or in testimony of his satisfaction at the attitude taken by America, is a proof of their revocation, or of his return to the principles of justice."

Mr. Monroe, in his reply, dated Oct. 29, to this letter, adverted to Mr. Russel's letters, and stated, that it might have been fairly presumed, that the new evidence afforded of the complete revocation of the French decrees, as far as they interfered with the commerce of the United States with the British dominions, would have been followed by an immediate repeal of the orders in council.

Mr. Foster, in his reply, dated Oct. 31, insisted again, that, "where proof can be obtained of the decrees being in existence, we have it, namely,

BOOK XI. in the ports of France, in which vessels have been avowedly seized under their operation since November 1."

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Mr. Foster, in his correspondence on the subject of the President and Little Belt, demanded the immediate disavowal of the act of aggression committed by the President, and required a just reparation.

Mr. Monroe stated, that no orders of a hostile nature had been given to Commodore Rodgers.

Mr. Monroe subsequently transmitted the result of the court of inquiry on Commodore Rodgers.

Mr. Foster replied, that he should transmit it to his government without delay.

Mr. Foster, in a letter of the 2d July, protested against the occupation of West Florida by the United States. Mr. Monroe, in his reply, dated on the 8th, argued that the province formed part of Louisiana, which was ceded to France, and bought of France by the United States. Mr. Foster, on the 5th of September, called upon the American government to explain the conduct of Governor Matthews, in attempting to subvert the Spanish authority in East Florida.

Mr. Monroe replied, that Spain had committed spoliations on American commerce, and that America looked to East Florida to indemnify her for them.

On the 12th of November, in the house of representatives, Mr. Smilie said, that it was high time the president's message should be taken into consideration. He therefore moved, "that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the union, for the purpose of taking it up." The house accordingly went into committee of the whole, Mr. Bibb in the chair.

Mr. Smilie then offered the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That so much of the president's message as relates to our foreign relations, be referred to a select committee.

2. Resolved, That so much of the president's message as relates to the measures of public defence demanded by the present crisis, be referred to a select committee.

3. Resolved, That so much of the president's message as relates to the revenue, and to the provisions necessary for the ensuing year, be referred to the committee of ways and means.

4. Resolved, That so much of the president's message as relates to evasions and infractions of the non-intercourse law, be referred to the committee of commerce and manufactures.

5. Resolved, That so much of the president's message as relates to foreign licences, and to the protection of manufactures and navigation, be referred to the committee of commerce and manufactures.

6. Resolved, That so much of the president's message as relates to the Spanish American colonies, be referred to a select committee.

Mr. Dawson thought the second resolution embraced too much. He wished to know whether the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Smilie) intended to place every subject connected with military and naval defence before one committee.

Mr. Smilie said he did. All those subjects had been before one committee during the revolutionary war.

After some debate, the resolutions were agreed to, and the committee rose and reported them. After the committee rose,

Mr. D. R. Williams moved to amend the 2d resolution, so as to refer that part of the president's message relative to filling up the ranks, prolonging the enlistment of regular troops, and an auxiliary force, to a select committee.—Agreed to.

Mr. Bibb moved farther to amend the resolution, so as to embrace the subject of the militia generally.

Mr. Dawson proposed the following additional resolution, which was adopted:—

Resolved, That those parts of the president's message relative to the naval force, and to the defence of our maritime frontiers, be referred to a select committee.

The two following resolutions were also offered by Mr. Bacon, and adopted:—

Resolved, That so much of the president's message as relates to the manufacture of cannon and small arms, and providing munitions of war, be referred to a select committee.

Resolved, That so much of the president's message as relates to Indian affairs, be referred to a select committee.

Besides the affair of the President, an attack had been made upon the Chesapeake, an American frigate, in order to recover some British seamen illegally detained. (*See Book VII. Chap. IX. page 561.*) This affair was settled by a very just and noble submission on the part of Great Britain, which detracted nothing from her honor, whilst it added infinitely to the credit of her honesty; and the following was a consequent message to the senate and house of representatives of the United States, Nov. 16.

"I communicate to congress copies of a correspondence between the envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary of Great Britain and the secretary of state relative to the aggression committed by a British ship of war on the United States frigate Chesapeake; by which it will be seen, that that subject of difference between the two countries is terminated by an offer of reparation, which has been acceded to.

"JAMES MADISON.

"Washington, Nov. 13, 1811."

The following was the correspondence alluded to.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Monroe.

Washington, Oct. 30.

"SIR,—I had already the honor to mention to you, that I came to this country furnished with instructions from his royal highness the prince-regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, for the purpose of proceeding to a final adjustment of the differences which have arisen between Great Britain and the United States of America in the affair of the Chesapeake frigate; and I had also that of acquainting you with the necessity under which I found myself of suspending the execution of those instructions, in consequence of not having perceived that any steps whatever were taken by the American government to clear up the circumstances of an event which threatened so materially to interrupt the harmony subsisting between our two countries, as that which occurred in the month of last May, between the United States ship *President*, and his majesty's ship *Little Belt*, when every evidence before his majesty's government seemed to shew that a most evident and wanton outrage had been committed on a British sloop of war by an American commodore.

"A court of inquiry, however, as you informed me in your letter of the 11th instant, has since been held by order of the president of the United States, on the conduct of Commodore Rodgers; and this preliminary to farther discussion on the subject being all that I asked in the first instance, as due to the friendship between the two states, I have now the honor to acquaint you that I am ready to proceed, in the truest spirit of conciliation, to lay before you the terms of reparation which his royal highness has commanded me to propose to the United States' government, and only wait to know when it will suit your convenience to enter upon the discussion. "AUG. J. FOSTER.
"The Hon. James Monroe, S. S."

Mr. Monroe to Mr. Foster.

Department of State, Oct. 31, 1811.

"SIR,—I have just had the honor to receive your letter of the 30th of this month.

"I am glad to find that the communication which I had the honor to make to you on the 11th instant, relative to the court of inquiry, which was the subject of it, is viewed by you in the favorable light which you have stated.

"Although I regret that the proposition which you now make in consequence of that communication, has been delayed to the present moment, I am ready to receive the terms of it whenever you may think proper to communicate them. Permit me to add, that the pleasure of finding them satisfactory will be duly augmented, if they

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should be introductory to a removal of all the differences depending between our two countries, the hope of which is so little encouraged by your past correspondence. A prospect of such a result will be embraced, on my part, with a spirit of conciliation equal to that which has been expressed by you.

(Signed) "JAMES MONROE.

"A. J. Foster Esq. &c."

Mr. Foster to Mr. Monroe.

Washington, Nov. 1, 1811.

"SIR,—In pursuance of the orders which I have received from his royal highness the prince-regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, for the purpose of proceeding to a final adjustment of the differences which have arisen between Great Britain and the United States in the affair of the Chesapeake frigate, I have the honor to acquaint you—First, that I am instructed to repeat to the American government the prompt disavowal made by his majesty (and recited in Mr. Erskine's note of April 17, 1809, to Mr. Smith,) on being apprised of the unauthorised act of the officer in command of his naval forces on the coast of America, whose recall from an highly important and honorable command immediately ensued as a mark of his majesty's disapprobation.

"Secondly, that I am authorised to offer, in addition to that disavowal, on the part of his royal highness, the immediate restoration, as far as circumstances will admit, of the men who, in consequence of Admiral Berkeley's orders, were forcibly taken out of the Chesapeake, to the vessel from which they were taken; or, if that ship should be no longer in commission, to such seaport of the United States as the American government may name for the purpose.

"Thirdly, that I am also authorised to offer to the American government a suitable pecuniary provision for the sufferers in consequence of the attack on the Chesapeake, including the families of those seamen who unfortunately fell in the action, and of the wounded survivors.

"These honorable propositions, I can assure you, Sir, are made with the sincere desire that they may prove satisfactory to the United States; and I trust they will meet with the amicable reception which their conciliatory nature entitles them to. I need scarcely add how cordially I join with you in the wish that they might prove introductory to a removal of all the differences depending between our two countries.

"AUG. J. FOSTER

"To the Hon. James Monroe, &c."

Mr. Monroe to Mr. Foster.

Washington, Nov. 12, 1811.

"SIR,—I have had the honor to receive your

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BOOK XI. letter of the 1st Nov. and to lay it before the president.

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"It is much to be regretted that the reparation due for such an aggression as that committed on the United States frigate the *Chesapeake*, should have been so long delayed; nor could the translation of the offending officer from one command to another, be regarded as constituting a part of a reparation otherwise satisfactory: considering, however, the existing circumstances of the case, and the early and amicable attention paid to it by his royal highness the prince-regent, the president accedes to the proposition contained in your letters; and in so doing, your government will, I am persuaded, see a proof of the conciliatory disposition by which the president has been actuated.

"The officer commanding the *Chesapeake*, now lying in the harbour of Boston, will be instructed to receive the men who are to be restored to that ship. I have the honor, &c. "JAMES MONROE."

Though the non-importation act was in force in the United States against the manufactures of Great Britain, yet they still found their way to America, by circuitous means. *Amelia Island*, which is situated not far from the mouth of the *Mississippi*, was the great *entrepôt* for British commodities; however, at this time it was so narrowly watched by the American gun-brigs, that very little business was done. But great quantities of British commodities were introduced into the United States, by the way of Canada; which commerce, from the extent of the frontier, it was impossible to prevent. Large consignments were sent out to Canada for this traffic.

To the measures adopted by Mr. Madison, Mr. Pickering was a formidable opponent: this gentleman had addressed the people of the United States in the following manner:

"Fellow citizens.—By cherishing and animating the prejudices of the people in favor of France, and exasperating their antipathies to England, the leaders rose to power; and by persevering in the same means, they retain it; now and then faintly intimating, in a whisper, that some of the emperor's decrees are *not just*; and a few, the better to conceal their subserviency, and gain to themselves the character of independence, will even venture, occasionally, to call him a *tyrant*; with which his imperial majesty will not be offended, while they continue to serve him. For the seizure and confiscation of American vessels under the *Rambouillet* decrees,—an act of such distinguished atrocity,—such a shameless violation of the most obvious rules of justice as demonstrate the emperor's utter contempt for the opinion of the world, as well as for the rulers of the American republic, Mr. Madison made the kindest apology imaginable. The property of

our citizens (says he) was seized under a *misapplication* of the principles of reprisal, combined with a *misconstruction* of the laws of the United States! when Mr. Madison, perfectly acquainted with the nature and character of the seizure, knew it to be an act of sheer deliberate villainy; that the principle of reprisal had nothing to do with it; and that the law was so plain, as to be incapable of misconstruction in relation to this point. Besides, if the law had appeared in any respect uncertain and doubtful, there was an intelligent American minister on the spot to explain it, if a right understanding of it had been desired. But such an understanding, a correct construction of the law, was not desired. A glaringly false construction alone could furnish the emperor with his shameless pretence for the seizure. These considerations, with those exhibited in the preceding address, shew that it was impossible for Mr. Madison to "anticipate" or "expect" the restoration of the property. Why, then, did he hazard the making of such a declaration to congress? On the foundation-principle formerly mentioned, and repeated, with some illustrations, in this address,—the maintenance of the prejudices of the people in favor of France, as the essential means of maintaining in power the party of which he is, at least, the ostensible head. A full and faithful display of the nature and effects of the *Rambouillet* decree would naturally and necessarily have led him to detail the multitude of other acts of France, alike unjust, insulting, and injurious to the United States, and their citizens. This, if the people continued under the delusion in which he, with his predecessor, and their own coadjutors, had involved them, would have destroyed his popularity. If such a display by the president of the United States served to open the eyes of the people, they, thus made sensible of the deceptions which had been practised upon them by the same leaders, would have cast them off; and the cause of democracy might have been ruined. Such a display, therefore, of wholesome truths, by Mr. Madison was not to be expected. Besides, it would have contradicted the course, and been subversive of the predilections of his whole life, in relation to France. But there was also an immediate object which forbade such a display: it would have deprived him of all apology for accepting the declarations of a conditional and future, instead of an actual, repeal of the *Berlin* and *Milan* decrees; and thereby have deprived him of a pretence for reviving the non-intercourse law against Great Britain. An adjustment of our differences with Great Britain must not take place. The rulers of republican France, by intrigues, by bribery, endeavoured to prevent any amicable treaty between the United States and Great Britain: any treaty, which, by enlarging and securing our own

commerce, would also benefit hers, and thus pave the way for that return of good-will and confidence between the two nations, which should add to the prosperity of both; and when one was fortunately made (that of 1794), France omitted no means to defeat it. And when foiled in this attempt, and afterwards in the choice of a president (Mr. Adams, and not Mr. Jefferson, being elected), she let loose and gave greater scope to her piratical cruisers, 'to fleece us of our property (as Joel Barlow said, and he was then in Paris) to a sufficient degree to bring us to our feeling in the only nerve in which it was presumed our sensibility lay, which was our pecuniary interest.' By 'bringing us to our feeling,' Mr. Barlow meant inducing the submission of the government of the United States to France, like many of the powers of Europe, whose cases he cited as examples for us to follow. Fortunately the minds of the great majority of the American people at that time remained alive to national insults and injuries. Resistance took place, instead of the expected submission.

"The French government was brought to its senses, and abandoned its impudent pretensions and claims. How this high and honorable ground was lost to the United States may be the subject of future observation. That season of dignity, spirit, and independence passed away; and that of submission followed, with all the evils we now experience in its train.

"I have mentioned bribery as one of the means used by France to gain and establish an influence in the United States; and I have done it on the following grounds:—

1. "The notorious profligacy of the French government (to say nothing of what existed under its former monarchy), evidenced by its uniform conduct from an early period of the revolution. The official documents of our own government, under the hands of our envoys, Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, attest that profligacy. Doubtless there are some persons who, to gain an important point, would offer a bribe, who would disdain to receive one. The government of France had no scruples of this sort. The directory, by their minister of corruption, Talleyrand, had the consummate baseness and impudence to demand of our envoys a *douceur* (in English, a bribe,) of 50,000*l.* sterling, upward of 220,000 dollars, for the pockets of four of them: the fifth director, Merlin, who had held the office of *minister of justice*, being paid by the owners of privateers—for being the *minister of iniquity* in directing the decisions of the prize-courts, condemning American vessels and their cargoes.) And this bribe they were informed was only the customary tribute in diplomatic affairs! And even this *douceur* was not to procure the acknowledgment of our envoys in the character of public mi-

nisters, but only permission for them to stay in Paris, where those insolent tyrants kept their court.

2. "The confidential friend and agent of Talleyrand in this business (whose information Talleyrand told Mr. Gerry was just, and might always be relied on), in addition to the *douceur* of 50,000*l.*, earnestly pressed for a loan to the French republic of many millions of dollars; to have made which would have been a violation of our duty as a neutral nation: and urged various other unwarrantable and insolent demands of the French government; enforcing them by threats of its vengeance on failure of their compliance. Our envoys remaining firm and invincible, the confidential agent said to them, 'Perhaps you believe that in returning and exposing to your countrymen the unreasonableness of the demands of this government, you will unite them in resistance to those demands; you are mistaken: you ought to know that the diplomatic skill of France, and the means she possesses in your country, are sufficient to enable her, with the aid of the French party in America, to throw the blame which will attend the rupture of the negotiations on the federalists, as you term yourselves, but on the British party, as France terms you; and you may assure yourselves this will be done.'

3. "The testimony of Fauchet, the minister of France to the United States, in his famous letter of October 31, 1794, the time of the great insurrection in the western part of Pennsylvania, familiarly known by the name of the Whisky Insurrection, referring to certain overtures which had been made to him by one of the exclusive patriots, (whom he named) and which he had before communicated to his government, Fauchet says, 'Thus, with some thousands of dollars, the republic would have decided on civil war or peace! Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America have already their prices!'

4. "The notorious treachery of many officers, civil and military, of the countries which have been over-run by the arms of France, and whose treason can be ascribed to no cause but the distribution of French gold, or the delusive promises of elevation to higher employments and dignities, as in the case of Godoy, the prince of peace, who betrayed Spain into the hands of Bonaparte, or to both these causes. Accordingly, the opinion is general, that this sort of corruption has been the efficient pioneer to the French armies, and opened their way to conquest.

5. "The open avowal of the fact by a French agent, at the time that Adet (the successor of Fauchet) was the French minister in Philadelphia. This agent was Mr. Letoinbe, the consul-general of the French republic; a person well known to many of my fellow-citizens, as well as

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to me. Letombe had previously been French consul at Boston, had lived some years in the United States, and was doubtless much better informed concerning them than the minister Adet. Washington was then President of the United States: and probably Létombe perceived that the time had not arrived for France, by her intrigues and bribery, to give an effectual ascendancy in the councils of our nation. Letombe accordingly mentioned the fact in a tone of complaint and vexation. It was to a very intelligent and respectable gentleman of my acquaintance, to whom Letombe said, 'that Mr. Adet had foolishly thrown away a great deal of money in bribing members of congress, although they (Létombe and the minister) were put to much difficulty in raising it; and that they had, at a great loss to the French republic, in the negotiation, procured 80 or 90,000 dollars at Boston.' I quote from my memorandum, made at the time the information was given to me. Mr. Adet's mission to the United States terminated near the close of the year 1796. Since that time the French government has found less difficulty in procuring money. The plunder of the world,

and the mines of Mexico and Peru have been open to them. Eighteen months ago I received satisfactory information, that the Frenchman who was then Bonaparte's consul-general in Philadelphia, had, in the course of one year, received about 1,000,000 of dollars, for which the French government could have no legitimate use in the United States; because it then neither derived nor needed any supplies from the United States.

"The evidences of corruption, of falsehood, of hypocrisy, and deceit, in the men whose official or personal means and influence have for many years given a direction to the public sentiment, and managed the affairs of the United States, it has been necessary to exhibit to the view of my fellow-citizens; because the only hope of political salvation rested on the public conviction, that those men did not deserve the confidence of the nation. This exposure was anticipated with regret; because (as I early remarked) in exposing them I should unavoidably expose the nakedness of my country; when, if compatible with truth, I would infinitely rather speak the praises of both. More remains to be told.

"July 29.

"TIMOTHY PICKERING."

CHAPTER II.

Hostile Determinations of America.—The intended War unpopular.—American Bill for Importation of Goods from Great Britain.—Bill for protecting British Seamen.—Pacific Disposition of the British Government.—Madison's Message to Congress.—Petitions against the Orders in Council.—Official Note on the said Orders.—Captain Henry's Mission to the United States.

THE American government evinced a hostile disposition towards Great Britain in the earliest proceedings of congress. On the 6th of December, when Mr. Porter called up the consideration of the report of the committee of foreign relations, he briefly stated "The objects and views which had governed the committee in their report, which he had submitted to the House. The orders in council were of themselves a sufficient cause of war with the committee; and which causes were aggravated by the miserable shifts of the British ministry, and their authority in that country. Any man not wilfully blind, could see that Britain had not acted towards them even in a manner which accorded with her own ideas of justice; she captured under a principle this week, which she did not avow the next; and if a doctrine so monstrous were sanctioned, she would next trample upon the necks of their citizens in the streets. It was the unanimous opinion of the Committee, that these encroachments were

such as to demand war, as the only alternative to obtain justice. Their situation was like a young man establishing himself in society, who, if he submitted to indignities in the outset, would have to incur a double expence of time and labour to establish his lost character. On the carrying trade, the committee expressed no final opinion. It was in their power to harass the resources of Britain, as well on the ocean as by land; to carry on a war against her coast and colonies at their own doors; and destroy her trade with the colonies, by the number of privateers which would be fitted out for service. They had it in their power to make a conquest of Canada, which, to Britain, was of the utmost importance; and from whence she had imported articles of the utmost necessity last year, to the amount of 600,000,000 dollars, a great deal of which was for square timber for her navy. They held a sword over her resources which would cut her to the quick. It was, therefore, the determina-

tion of the committee to RECOMMEND open war to the utmost energies of the nation; yet he hoped it would not be entered into prematurely, for the howlings of newspapers. He knew that many of his friends were for immediate war; he felt the indignities of their situation as sensibly as any man in the house, and he would go as far to redress them, when the preliminaries were settled; but he did not wish to invite to the feast till the cloth was laid—till the nation was 'put into the attitude, and a war demanded by the crisis.'"

The resolutions were all carried in a committee of the whole, except the second, in which the words "ten thousand" were struck out, with a view to insert a larger number, which there appeared to be some difficulty in fixing on; the lowest proposition was 12,000, and the highest not exceeding 50,000; it was, however, agreed to let it remain, so that when the bill was reported, the house could fill as they saw proper; more time would elapse, and they would be better informed on the subject. (10,000 was an idea quite out of order to mention; they were quite up to the war mark.)

The resolutions were afterwards taken up in the house, and the first carried by Ayes and Noes, 117 to 11.

The second resolution was then proposed by the speaker.—A plea for time was put in by Mr. Randolph and Mr. Goldsborough, who said, "if they were to be dragged into a war, it was but reasonable to give them one night more to reflect on it." The house then adjourned till the 7th, at eleven, when it sat but a very little time, and adjourned on the motion of Mr. Randolph, as the committee of investigation wished to have this day for the examination of persons agreeably to their powers: unless time was given, as the duty was arduous, it would be putting a veto on their proceedings.

The house of representatives determined to recognize formally the independence of South America.

Though the president's enmity against Great Britain was supported by congress, the intended war was far from being popular in the United States: the clamour for it subsided rapidly; petitions were presented against it, and on the 7th of January, 1812, Mr. Newton observed, "that the committee of commerce and manufactures had been for some time hesitating what report to make on the various petitions of merchants praying permission to import British goods purchased previously to the 2d of February last. The delay of the committee had been owing to a wish to ascertain the course that congress would pursue: and as the national legislature had determined to assume a manly attitude with regard to Great Britain, the committee, (he said,) had instructed him to report a bill for the relief of the petition-

ers." Mr. N. accordingly reported a bill, authorising the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, under certain circumstances, from Great Britain, her colonies, and dependencies.—The bill was referred to a committee of the whole, of which the following is a copy:

"A bill to authorise the importation of goods, wares, and merchandize, under certain circumstances, from Great Britain, her colonies, or dependencies.

"Sect. 1. Be it enacted, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, that all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the growth, produce, and manufacture of Great Britain, her colonies, or dependencies, which were purchased or actually contracted for in Great Britain, her colonies, or dependencies, anterior to the 1st day of February, 1811, shall be, and the same is hereby authorised to be, imported into the United States, or the territories thereof, and may be admitted to entry, provided the satisfactory proof be exhibited conformable to such regulations and instructions as shall, from time to time, be given by the secretary of the treasury to the respective collectors of the customs, that the goods, wares, and merchandize imported into the United States or the territories thereof, by virtue of this act, were purchased or actually contracted for anterior to the 1st of February, 1811, and that such goods, wares, or merchandize are the *bona fide* property of a citizen or citizens of the United States, or the territories thereof.

"Sect. 2. And be it farther enacted, that the following addition be inserted after the passage of this act, to the oath or affirmation taken by importers, consignees, or agents, at the time of entering goods imported into the United States, or the territories thereof, viz:—'I do also swear (or affirm) that there are not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, amongst the goods, wares, or merchandize now offered to be entered, any goods, wares, or merchandize other than such as are permitted by virtue of the provisions of this act to be imported into the United States, or the territories thereof; and I do farther swear (or affirm) that if I shall hereafter discover any such goods, wares, or merchandize, amongst the said goods, wares, and merchandize imported in manner and form aforesaid, I will immediately, and without delay, report the same to the collector of this district.'

"Sect. 3. And be it farther enacted, that the following additions shall be inserted after the passage of this act to the oath or affirmation taken by the masters or persons having the charge or command of any ship or vessel arriving at any port within the United States, or the territories thereof, to wit:—'I further swear (or affirm) that there are not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, on-board (the denomination and name of

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"Sec. 4. And be it farther enacted, That if any person or persons shall falsely make oath or affirmation to any of the matters herein required to be verified, such person or persons shall suffer the like pains and penalties as shall be incurred by persons committing wilful and corrupt perjury."

A bill of a most extraordinary nature was also brought forward in the house of representatives in America, for the purpose, as it was termed, of protecting American seamen. It was read a first and second time, and committed. The principal provisions were, that if any foreigner should be guilty of impressing any American citizen on-board of a foreign ship or vessel, if he should be arrested, he should be tried and convicted as a pirate, and suffer death; and the American so-impressed, on his return to his country, should be entitled to thirty dollars per month during the time of his detention, and might recover it by a suit of foreign attachment, against the debtor of any British creditor; and what he should recover, and the costs, should be so much payment of the debt.

The proceedings of the imperial parliament fully demonstrated the pacific disposition of the British government towards the United States. The subject was introduced by Mr. Whitbread, Feb. 13, who said "All parties profess that they deprecate the idea of a war with America—all parties profess that such an event is but too probable. Those who conducted the affairs of America and of this country had uniformly declared, that each was actuated by the most conciliatory dispositions; it had, however, unfortunately turned out, that, notwithstanding this most friendly disposition on our side, the breach had widened from day to day. It might be seen from the speech of the president, that war was the inevitable consequence of the pernicious system which Great Britain had adopted. The case was before the world, with the exception of the two houses of parliament of the British empire; every one who read the papers knew the case, but the British parliament knew it not. The great question which they had to decide was, whether they should or should not go to war with America? and unless information was officially and technically communicated to the house, which might be referred to as documents on the table, they could not form any decision. If the markets of the western world were open to our trade, innumerable

would be the blessings which would ensue to this country; but, if a war with America was resolved on, the greatest evils must be expected. It was very well in us to talk of chastising America, of crushing and annihilating her; but, in his opinion, our greatest efforts could not accomplish the one or the other.—The news which had lately arrived made it important that the house should be in the possession of every information. The effects of the bill now agitated in congress would, if passed, give great umbrage to France, after what had occurred in the course of their negotiations; he therefore thought that we should watch for and seize this opportunity of amicably adjusting the differences. He concluded by moving

"That an humble address be presented to his royal-highness the prince-regent, that he will be pleased to direct, that there be laid before the house copies of the correspondence between the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and the American charge d'affaires, from Jan. 1, 1810, to the latest period; together with copies of the correspondence between Mr. Foster and Mr. Monroe, and of the documents referred to therein."

Mr. Stephen said, considering as he did the importance of the question, he would content himself with saying, generally, that never was there any thing more unfounded than the assertion, that the conduct of this country to America was unjust. Nothing but a wish to conciliate, could justify his majesty's ministers in the persevering and almost humiliating line of conduct which they had adopted, for the purpose of avoiding a rupture with America. The question was not, whether we were to go to war with America, but whether America was to go to war with us?

Mr. Curwen said, the state of the country called seriously on ministers to retrace their steps. America had a right to dispose of her commerce as she pleased, and no country should have the power to call that right in question. Whatever might be the pertinacity of the chancellor of the exchequer on this head, he sincerely hoped that he would not be long in a situation to retain it with any effect.—(*At this time a change in ministry was expected.*)

The chancellor of the exchequer would maintain that the language of the British government, with respect to conciliation, had been always sincere, while at the same time it was anxious not to give up rights, which, if great Britain relinquished, would degrade her from the rank which she held among the nations of the world. With the remark that the prosperity of America was that of Great Britain, he perfectly agreed. (*Hear!*) A decided common advantage would be obtained by peace, and lost by a state of war, and, as far as was consistent with the rights of Great Britain, should be preserved. It was impossible,

however, to consent to the production of the papers without seeing many points into which it might be inexpedient to enter. An honorable gentleman had expressed a hope that this negotiation might soon be in other hands; but he was inclined to believe that the honorable gentleman's consolatory views would not open upon him so soon as he imagined; nor if the conduct recommended by that honorable gentleman should be adopted should he wish to be the minister who was to carry it into execution.

Mr. Baring was apprehensive that, from the feelings of the country, a war could hardly be avoided. If discussions were actually pending betwixt the two governments, the production of the papers might be inexpedient.

Mr. Hutchinson said, if he were called on to give his vote on the differences between this country and America, he should give his vote for America, and against his own country. He had no confidence in ministers.—(*A laugh.*)—He had no confidence in the plunderers of America, and the authors of the accursed cry of “no popery.” They did not merit the confidence of parliament, nor the confidence of the country.

Mr. Lester contended, that ministers carried on affairs well, and were entitled to the gratitude of the country.

The house divided—for the motion, 36.—Against it, 123.—Majority against the motion, 87.

Mr. Lockhart made a motion respecting the claims of the American loyalists, and went into some statements respecting their origin and nature. They complained that they were injured by government taking a sum nearly one-third less than what would provide a just compensation for their losses, and the object of his motion was, that a committee should be appointed, to whom the petition of these claimants might be referred, who should examine into these claims, and report upon them.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the question would be found to resolve itself into this, that government having done all it could to enforce these claims without actually going to war about them, and having obtained from the American government all it could obtain, whether it was now bound to make good a deficiency to so great an amount as was claimed. He apprehended the petitioners had no right to expect compensation from that house for what was due to them from the American government.—Leave was given to appoint the committee.

On the 19th of March, the president, Mr. Madison, sent the following message to both houses of congress, to the senate and house of representatives.

“I lay before congress copies of certain documents which remain in the department of state; they prove, that at a recent period, whilst the

United States, notwithstanding the wrongs sustained by them, cease not to observe the laws of peace and neutrality towards Great Britain, and in the midst of amicable professions and negotiations on the part of the British government there, and its public minister here, a secret agent of that government was employed in certain states, more especially at the seat of government, Massachusetts, in fomenting dissaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation, and in intrigue with the disaffected, for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and eventually in concert with a British force destroying the union, and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain: in addition to the effect which the discovery of such a procedure ought to have on the public councils, it will not fail to render more dear to the hearts of all good citizens that happy union of the states, which, under Divine Providence, is the guarantee of our liberties, their safety, their tranquillity, and their prosperity.

(Signed) “JAMES MADISON”
“March 19, 1812.”

This message was accompanied with several documents upon which it was founded. They contained the correspondence of the Earl of Liverpool and Sir James Craig, late governor of Canada, with a certain Captain John Henry, who was the secret agent spoken of, and who had himself made the disclosure to the government, and given them the document, alleging, as the reason, that the British government had refused to give him his reward. The documents were transmitted by Mr. Henry to Mr. Monroe, the American secretary, in a letter, dated Philadelphia, 20th of Feb. 1812, in which he said, that his great object in making the disclosure, was to produce unanimity among all parties in America.

No. 2. contained the general instructions from Sir James Craig to Mr. Henry, dated on the 6th of Feb. 1809, respecting his secret mission. The following was the most material part of them:—

“It has been supposed, that if the federalists of the eastern states should be successful in obtaining that decided influence which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not improbable, that rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general union. The earliest information on this subject may be of great consequence to our government, as it may also be, that it should be informed how far, in such an event, they would look up to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connection with us.

“Although it would be highly inexpedient that you should, in any manner, appear as an avowed

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agent, yet if you could contrive to obtain an intimacy with any of the leading party, it may not be improper that you should insinuate, though with great caution, that if they should wish to enter into any communication with our government through me, you are authorised to receive any such, and will safely transmit it to me."

No. 6. contained Mr. Henry's memorial to Lord Liverpool, enclosed in a letter to Mr. Peel, dated June 13, 1811:—In this memorial he alluded to the object of his mission, which

"Was to promote and encourage the federal party to resist the measures of the general government: to offer assurances of aid and support from his majesty's government of Canada: and to open a communication between the leading men engaged in that opposition and the governor-general, upon such a footing as circumstances might suggest; and, finally, to render the plans then in contemplation subservient to the views of his majesty's government.

"The undersigned undertook the mission which lasted from the month of January to the month of June inclusive, during which period those public acts and legislative resolutions of the assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were passed, which kept the general government of the United States in check, and deterred it from carrying into execution the measures of hostility with which Great Britain was menaced."

The memorial concluded with saying, that "the appointment of judge-advocate-general of the province of Lower Canada, with a salary of 500*l.* a-year, or a consulate in the United States, *sine curia*, would be considered by him as a liberal discharge of any obligation that his majesty's government may entertain in relation to his services."

Then followed some letters from Mr. Ryland, secretary to Sir James Craig, to Mr. Henry, dated Quebec, May, 1809, requesting him to return to Quebec, Mr. Erskine's arrangement having rendered his mission no longer necessary.

Several petitions from Birmingham having been presented to the house of commons, against the orders in council, a committee of the whole house was appointed to take them into consideration. The evidence was printed, of which the following is the substance.

Mr. Thomas Attwood, High-bailiff of Birmingham, was first examined. He stated,—“I am a banker in Birmingham, and connected with the iron trade. The population of Birmingham and the neighbouring manufacturing districts amounts to 400,000, of whom 50,000, at least, are employed in manufacturing iron, besides those who work in brass-foundries, buttons, jewellery, &c. Within these two years, trade has been in a deplorable state. Labourers, who twelve months ago could obtain twenty shillings a week, get now only ten

or twelve shillings, and a great number of workmen are dismissed. Every manufacturer is overloaded with stock, and he cannot sell it at what it cost him. The principal trade of Birmingham is to America, but for the last twelve months there have been no exports to America. The value of the annual exports to America 800,000*l.* or 1,000,000*l.* During the last twelve months there has been a trifling export to Portugal, Spain, Malta, and South America, amounting to about 200,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* There has been recently at Birmingham a considerable extra employment in the manufacture of cast-iron pipes. This must have, during the last twelve months, amounted to nearly 100,000*l.* and had it not been for that resource, the situation of the trade must have been considerably worse. I am informed, that the Americans have erected steel furnaces, and are not likely to want any more steel from England. The manufacturers have, with great reluctance, dismissed many of their men. They have been accumulating stock for the last twelve months. They have thus exhausted the whole of their capital, partly from motives of interest, looking forward to markets opening to the trade, but principally from motives of honorable humanity. I have heard, that many orders have been received from America conditionally, on the repeal of the orders in council; but nails, and some other articles, have been omitted, on the ground of their being now manufactured in America.” The witness ascribed the decay of trade chiefly to the cessation of intercourse with the United States, and though he had heard that machinery had made considerable progress in America, he was of opinion, that their manufactures could not maintain a competition with the British if the markets were open. “Some manufactures which America used to be supplied with from England, are now sent from the continent. The transmission of our manufactures through the northern colonies has failed; and British manufactured goods can now be bought in Canada at less than prime cost.” The whole manufactures of Birmingham the witness estimated at about one million, and one half he supposed used to be exported to America. In answer to the question, what has been the conduct of the labouring manufacturers during the last twelve months? He answered, “the labouring mechanics of Birmingham, and I believe of the whole district, have been looking for the opening of the American intercourse, and have relied upon it, under the hope, that upon the expiration of the restrictions, the difficulties with the United States of America would be made up.” If the non-intercourse act continued to be enforced, the witness was of opinion, that it would create manufactures in America to such an extent, that it would, at last, become a part of the policy of the government of the

United States to protect them, by preventing the importation of British manufactures. He believed very little of the Birmingham hardwares go to the West Indies, perhaps not above 100,000*l.* annually.

William Whitehouse, nail-monger, of West Bromwich, in Staffordshire, about six miles from Birmingham, stated, that the depression in trade commenced about August, 1810, and that it had been growing continually worse since that date. The nail manufactory in his district, when in a flourishing state, employed from 25 to 30,000 persons. The reduction of wages since August, 1810, has been from seven and a half to ten per cent. Since February, 1811, the witness had exported only one lot of goods to America. In the manufactory with which the witness was connected, the hands had been reduced from 1,200 pair to 500 pair. There are considerable orders in the country, to be executed immediately on the intercourse with America being opened. The witness considered the exports to South America increasing trade. About one-fourth of the nails manufactured, he supposed, are exported to North America.

T. Potts, a merchant, residing at Birmingham, being examined, stated, that he had been in business sixteen or eighteen years. Had some knowledge of the nail trade in Birmingham. The wages in this business are so low, that a man can scarcely exist. A rise had taken place, in the expectation of opening the trade with America, but that expectation had been disappointed. Men in the button and plated lines, who would formerly earn from forty to fifty shillings a week, do not now get half those wages. In the town of Birmingham there were from 20 to 25,000 labouring men out of employ. The whole town is different from what it used to be, there is a deficiency in every trade. Distresses are universal. "I think, in the course of two months, that necessity will oblige the merchants to dismiss at least two parts of their men out of three." Witness exported Birmingham manufactures to America: the export was worse than ever. Their goods cannot be shipped from Liverpool: they will not be received in the United States. The shipments began to fall off in 1808; there was no falling off in 1807. "The trade had been uniformly increasing, and we could always anticipate what would suit the market before the orders came, and that enabled us to keep the lower orders in the vicinity of the town constantly employed. The Americans were once considered bad payers, but they have improved progressively every year." Witness had done no business with America since 1811. The attempt to smuggle goods to the United States had been attended by painful results. Goods at Quebec, from Manchester and Birmingham, were cheaper than at the manufacturing towns. The

value of the export from Birmingham, previous to the distresses, was about a million: did not know whether it fell in 1809. Men had emigrated from Birmingham to America.

Joseph Shaw, chairman of the chamber of Foreign commerce of Birmingham, stated, that the hardware export trade to Europe, Turkey, and South America, had decreased since 1807. The trade to the continent had decreased since the orders in council, and was now almost at an end.

James Ryland, a plater of coach-harness, &c. stated, that his business had greatly declined by the American markets being closed.

Richard Spooner, banker, of Birmingham, corroborated the preceding statements respecting the falling off of the trade, and the distresses of the workmen. The increase on their poor-rates in eight years, amounted to 4,500*l.*

William Blakeway, a lamp maker, employed sixty pair of hands at Birmingham. He stated that the trade of his article had fallen off, and the greater part of his stock remained on his hands, the American market being shut—should be obliged to turn off his hands if confined to the home trade of this country.

Several other witnesses from Manchester, Spitalfields, &c. deposed to the same effect.

The following was the prince-regent's declaration respecting the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the orders in council, which was not founded on any document officially communicated from the French government, but on a message which Bonaparte sent to the conservative senate.

"The government of France, having by an official report, communicated by its minister for foreign affairs to the conservative senate, on the 10th day of March last, removed all doubts as to the perseverance of that government in the assertion of principles, and in the maintenance of a system, not more hostile to the maritime rights and commercial interests of the British empire, than inconsistent with the rights and independence of neutral nations; and having thereby plainly developed the inordinate pretensions which that system as promulgated in the decrees of Berlin and Milan, was from the first designed to enforce; his royal highness the prince-regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, deems it proper, upon this formal and authentic republication of the principles of those decrees, thus publicly to declare his royal highness's determination still firmly to resist the introduction and establishment of this arbitrary code, which the government of France openly avows its purpose to impose by force upon the world as the law of nations.

"From the time that the progressive injustice and violence of the French government made it impossible for his majesty any longer to restrain the exercise of the rights of war within their ordi-

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nary limits, without submitting to consequences not less ruinous to the commerce of his dominions, than derogatory to the rights of his crown, his majesty has endeavoured, by a restricted and moderate use of those rights of retaliation, which the Berlin and Milan decrees necessarily called into action, to reconcile neutral states to those measures which the conduct of the enemy had rendered unavoidable; and which his majesty has at all times professed his readiness to revoke, so soon as the decrees of the enemy, which gave occasion to them, should be formally and unconditionally repealed, and the commerce of neutral nations be restored to its accustomed course.

"At a subsequent period of the war, his majesty, availing himself of the then situation of Europe, without abandoning the principle and object of the orders in council of November, 1807, was induced so to limit their operation, as materially to alleviate the restrictions thereby imposed upon neutral commerce. The order in council of April, 1809, was substituted in the room of those of November, 1807, and the retaliatory system of Great Britain acted no longer on every country in which the aggressive measures of the enemy were in force, but was confined in its operation to France, and to the countries upon which the French yoke was most strictly imposed; and which had become virtually a part of the dominions of France.

"The United States of America remained nevertheless dissatisfied; and their dissatisfaction has been greatly increased by an artifice too successfully employed on the part of the enemy, who has pretended, that the decrees of Berlin and Milan were repealed, although the decree effecting such repeal has never been promulgated; although the notification of such pretended repeal distinctly described it to be dependent on conditions, in which the enemy knew Great Britain could never acquiesce; and although abundant evidence has since appeared of their subsequent execution.

"But the enemy has at length laid aside all dissimulation; he now publicly and solemnly declares, not only that those decrees still continue in force, but that they shall be rigidly executed until Great Britain shall comply with additional conditions, equally extravagant; and he further announces the penalties of those decrees to be in full force against all nations which shall suffer their flag to be, as it is termed in this new code, 'denationalized.'

"In addition to the disavowal of the blockade of May, 1806, and of the principles on which that blockade was established, and in addition to the repeal of the British orders in council—he demands an admission of the principles, that the goods of an enemy, carried under a neutral flag, shall be treated as neutral;—that neutral property,

under the flag of an enemy, shall be treated as hostile;—that arms and warlike stores alone (to the exclusion of ship timber and other articles of naval equipment) shall be regarded as contraband of war;—and that no ports shall be considered as lawfully blockaded, except such as are invested and besieged, in the presumption of their being taken, (*en prevention d'être pris*), and into which a merchant ship cannot enter without danger.

"By these and other demands, the enemy in fact requires, that Great Britain, and all civilized nations, shall renounce, at his arbitrary pleasure, the ordinary and indisputable rights of maritime war: that Great Britain, in particular, shall forego the advantages of her naval superiority, and allow the commercial property, as well as the produce and manufactures of France, and her confederates, to pass the ocean in security, whilst the subjects of Great Britain are to be in effect proscribed from all commercial intercourse with other nations; and the produce and manufactures of these realms are to be excluded from every country in the world, to which the arms or the influence of the enemy can extend.

"Such are the demands to which the British government is summoned to submit,—to the abandonment of its most ancient, essential, and undoubted maritime rights. Such is the code by which France hopes, under the cover of a neutral flag, to render her commerce unassailable by sea; whilst she proceeds to invade or to incorporate with her own dominions all states that hesitate to sacrifice their national interests at her command, and, in abdication of their just rights, to adopt a code, by which they are required to exclude, under the mask of municipal regulation, whatever is British from their dominions.

"The pretext for these extravagant demands is, that some of these principles were adopted by voluntary compact in the treaty of Utrecht; as if a treaty once existing between two particular countries, founded on special and reciprocal considerations, binding only on the contracting parties, and which in the last treaty of peace between the same powers had not been revived, were to be regarded as declaratory of the public law of nations.

"It is needless for his royal highness to demonstrate the injustice of such pretensions. He might otherwise appeal to the practice of France herself, in this and in former wars; and to her own established codes of maritime law: it is sufficient that these new demands of the enemy form a wide departure from those conditions on which the alleged repeal of the French decrees was accepted by America; and upon which alone, erroneously assuming that repeal to be complete, America has claimed a revocation of the British orders in council.

"His royal highness, upon a review of all

these circumstances, feels persuaded, that so soon as this formal declaration, by the government of France, of its unabated adherence to the principles and provisions of the Berlin and Milan decrees, shall be made known in America, the government of the United States, actuated not less by a sense of justice to Great Britain, than by what is due to its own dignity, will be disposed to recal those measures of hostile exclusion, which, under a misconception of the real views and conduct of the French government, America has exclusively applied to the commerce and ships of war of Great Britain.

"To accelerate a result so advantageous to the true interests of both countries, and so conducive to the re-establishment of perfect friendship between them; and to give a decisive proof of his royal highness's disposition to perform the engagements of his majesty's government, by revoking the orders in council whenever the French decrees shall be actually and unconditionally repealed; his royal highness the prince-regent has been this day pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, to order and declare:

"That if at any time hereafter the Berlin and Milan decrees shall, by some authentic act of the French government, publicly promulgated, be expressly and unconditionally repealed; then, and from thenceforth, the order in council of the 7th day of January, 1807, and the order in council of the 26th day of April, 1809, shall, without any further order, be, and the same hereby are declared from thenceforth to be wholly and absolutely revoked; and further, that the full benefit of this order shall be extended to any ship or vessel captured subsequent to such authentic act of repeal of the French decrees, although antecedent to such repeal such ship or vessel shall have commenced, and shall be in the prosecution of a voyage, which, under the said orders in council, or one of them, would have subjected her to capture and condemnation; and the claimant of any ship or cargo which shall be captured at any time subsequent to such authentic act of repeal by the French government, shall, without any further order or declaration on the part of his majesty's government on this subject, be at liberty to give in evidence in the high court of admiralty, or any court of vice-admiralty, before which such ship or vessel, or its cargo, shall be brought for adjudication, that such repeal by the French government had been by such authentic act promulgated prior to such capture; and upon proof thereof, the voyage shall be deemed and taken to have been as lawful, as if the said orders in council had never been made; saving, nevertheless, to the captors, such protection and indemnity as they may be equitably entitled to, in the judgement of the said

court, by reason of their ignorance or uncertainty as to the repeal of the French decrees, or of the recognition of such repeal by his majesty's government, at the time of such capture.

"His royal highness, however, deems it proper to declare, that, should the repeal of the French decrees, thus anticipated and provided for, afterwards prove to have been illusory on the part of the enemy; and should the restrictions thereof be still practically enforced, or revived by the enemy, Great Britain will be obliged, however reluctantly, after reasonable notice to neutral powers, to have recourse to such measures of retaliation as may then appear to be just and necessary.

"Westminster, April 21, 1812."

Mr. Madison's complaint of Capt. Henry's mission to the United States became a subject of consideration in the house of lords, May 5, when Lord Holland, after some preliminary observations, moved for the communications from Sir James Craig, relative to the employment of Henry in a mission to the United States, and by reading two other motions, the one for the communications from the secretary of state to Sir George Prevost, respecting the claims for compensation made by Henry, and the other for the instructions sent by the secretary of state to Sir James Craig, relative to the employment of any person on a mission to the United States.

The Earl of Liverpool said, the government here never authorised the employment of Henry, nor did they know of his being employed on the mission alluded to, till long after the transaction was past. His lordship then entered into a detail of the circumstances attending the transaction. Henry, he stated, who had for some years resided in Canada, but who was, in 1808, in the United States, had of his own accord, in that year, opened a correspondence with the government of Canada, giving information of the state of parties and other matters, which was found useful—he subsequently returned to Canada. Towards the latter end of that year the commander-in-chief at Boston issued orders to the troops to be in readiness to march at an hour's notice. Congress also, in December, voted the raising of 50,000 volunteers. There was no doubt that the object of these hostile preparations was the attack of the British North America possessions, and when Mr. Erskine, either in the last day of December, 1808, or the 1st of January, 1809, very properly required an explanation of these hostile preparations, he was informed by Mr. Madison, that from the treatment experienced from both the belligerents, the government of the United States might consider itself as justified in commencing hostilities without further notice. Mr. Erskine, in consequence, very properly sent an express to Sir James Craig,

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informing him of these circumstances, and that there was no doubt of its being the intention of the American government to attack the British North American possessions; and Sir J. Craig had actually sent an express to Sir G. Prevost, at Halifax, to suspend, in consequence, his sailing on an expedition to Martinique. It was under these circumstances of threatened hostility that Sir James Craig employed Henry. There were several interpolations in the papers as published, but he admitted the instructions of Sir J. Craig to be genuine. These instructions, however, had, he contended, been misinterpreted, the object was not to excite discontents, but to obtain information of the state of the discontents in America, with a view to the use that might be made of them in the event of hostilities, which were then expected almost immediately to commence. It was in this expectation of hostilities that the instructions were issued, and that there was no intention of applying them to a period of peace, was evident from Henry being recalled by Sir James Craig, when the arrangement with Mr. Erskine took place. He thought it right also to state, that in April, 1809, the most positive instructions were sent from this country not to employ any person in the United States on any mission

which could excite irritation. He could not find any farther documents respecting Henry until last year, when this man applied for a compensation. He found, on reference to Mr. Ryland, that Henry had been employed as he stated, and had been promised by Sir James Craig an employment in Canada. Several most respectable houses in the Canada trade also had recommended him in the warmest terms; and it was under these circumstances that he had recommended him to Sir George Prevost, to be appointed to some employment. He saw no necessity for the noble lord's motion. Surely they were entitled to expect that the government of the United States, before making such a communication to congress, would have communicated with our minister there, or with their minister here, in order to have the transactions of which they complained explained; and he trusted their lordships would give his majesty's ministers credit for not delaying to put the matter in a right course in the proper channel. Under these circumstances, he could not, consistently with his public duty, consent to the motion.

The house divided, when the numbers were—contents, twenty-seven;—non-contents, seventy-three.

CHAPTER III.

Death and Biographical Sketch of Horne Tooke.—A Key to the Orders in Council.

ABOUT this time the celebrated Horne Tooke died: this remarkable character having commenced his political career with the first American war, certainly demands the present attention of the reader; for, in the period in which he lived, and the sphere which he filled, no man was ever more active or conspicuous.

From the commencement of the reign of his present majesty, to the day of Horne Tooke's death, scarcely had any public occurrence passed in which he had not had a greater share than belonged to his mere private station. He had accordingly been the most active individual in a period of general activity. He had lived in more revolutions of politics and parties than any other man of the day, and in all of them his talents or his intrigue, his good or bad intentions, and his indefatigable spirit and exertions rendered him an actor.

Mr. Tooke was born in an humble station of life; his father is said to have been a poulterer. But as his father, who lived in some of the small streets about Westminster, had the spirit to send

his son to a public school, and afterwards to a college, it is a reasonable conclusion either that he was richer than ordinary, or that he possessed a very superior mind to what usually belongs to his condition.

His father at any rate was sufficiently respectable to be the treasurer of a public charity. This was the Middlesex Hospital, of which Horne Tooke afterwards himself became one of the governors.

Mr. Tooke was sent to Westminster School at a very early age, and is said to have passed through all the forms of that distinguished seminary. This course of itself, in such a mind as that of Horne Tooke, was sufficient to render him the eminent scholar which he afterwards exhibited himself. It is the character of Westminster School, that it puts its pupils in the right way, and imbibes them with a right mind, and therefore they have only to follow in future life the plan which is there traced for them. This is all that any school can do, and it is more we believe than is done by the greater part of them.

To begin well is to ensure a good conclusion. It is related in a memoir of Horne Tooke, inserted in a work published some time since, that he was removed from Westminster to Eton at the usual age. This, however, must be a mistake, as Westminster and Eton are not in the relation of school and college to each other. It is possible that Horne Tooke might have had the advantage of both these eminent schools, but it is more probable that this is an error.

In the year 1754, he was sent to Cambridge, and entered himself of St. John's College. We do not know what was the reputation of this college at the time, but it is certainly a high honor to its name in literature that it has sent forth such a profound scholar as Horne Tooke.

He studied at college with the most exemplary industry, and he acquired the necessary fruit of such assiduity, an early proficiency in learning and philology.

Mr. H. Tooke was educated for the church, and his first prospects are said to have been very promising. He entered into holy orders at the usual age, and immediately obtained the living of Brentford. He had connections whose favor did not stop at this point. The Duke of Newcastle, we believe, from some kind of interest, took him into his patronage, and Horne Tooke obtained a promise, that he should be appointed one of the royal chaplains. Fortunately, however, (for such we must consider it) for the interests of religion, Mr. Horne's star here interposed.

The nation very shortly became convulsed by party dissensions. The English were too easily persuaded that Lord Bute possessed a dangerous and unconstitutional influence. The oppositon, in parliament, remarkably anxious at that time, to adopt any watch-word that might rally the popular affections around them, filled the kingdom with exclamations against the double cabinet, and the "influence behind the throne which controuled the throne itself."—This was the clamour of the day. And the incidental affair of the expulsion of Wilkes, which in ordinary times would have been considered only as an irregularity, and rectified as such, added fuel to the flames, and rendered the country and metropolis one scene of mob, sedition, and clamour.

Mr. Horne immediately embraced the popular cause, and united himself with Wilkes. He visited him at Paris during his exile, and when he failed in his attempt to obtain his return in parliament, in 1768, Mr. Horne warmly adopted his interests, canvassed the town and country for him, opened houses, solicited votes and subscriptions, and ultimately procured him to be returned as the member for Middlesex.

Shortly afterwards a rupture ensued between

these friends. Mr. Tooke did not find Wilkes that violent patriot which he had anticipated. When Wilkes had obtained what he wanted, and was provided for by the liberality of the city, who made him their chamberlain, Wilkes was satisfied, and therefore quiet. Horne Tooke lost his firebrand, and he resented it by a public attack and abuse of him.

Junius, the writer of the letters under that name, imputed this dispute to its just origin: Horne Tooke wrote a letter in reply to him, which appears in the collection of that work. It is certainly an admirable specimen of his talents, and only excites a regret, that such wit, satire, and eloquence, should be accompanied by so little goodness.

Junius replied in an angry declamation, and Horne Tooke rejoined in another, as singular for its boldness, as for its splendor and real eloquence. In this answer, Mr. Tooke first announced himself the champion of those principles which afterwards set Europe in a flame. He employed, amongst others, the following pointed sentence, which, however true in the abstract, no honest man should openly produce as a maxim of action;—"The king, whose actions justify rebellion to his government, deserves death from the hand of every subject, and should such a time arrive, I should be as free to act as any."—Now, though there is nothing erroneous in the bare abstract assertion of this principle, yet it is one of those which tend to weaken the necessary respect and attachment of sovereigns and subjects. Questions of this nature must never be argued. The matter must speak for itself.

Mr. Horne again came forward as the popular advocate in the American war. When the war was commenced by the skirmish at Lexington, Mr. Horne opened a subscription, and advertised in the public papers "for the relief of our unfortunate brethren in America, basely murdered by the British troops." The attorney-general very properly prosecuted him for this insult on the government, and the jury very justly found him guilty.—He was in consequence imprisoned in the King's Bench.

Mr. Horne Tooke had now nothing to hope from ecclesiastical preferment. He therefore, with the most shameless indecency, if not with direct impiety, threw off his clerical gown, and produced himself as a layman. He resigned the living at Brentford, and entered himself of the society of the Inner Temple. He kept his commons regularly, and studied the law as a profession.

The period at length arrived, in which, having kept the necessary terms, he was to be called to the bar. He put in his claim for this nomination. But the benchers, with a feeling which did them honor, unanimously rejected him, on the

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As Mr. Horne Tooke's abilities, and his violence were sometimes of great use to the leaders of parties, he was occasionally much courted and highly considered by them. Mr. Fox declared him to be a man of very eminent use to the commonwealth, and publicly patronised and praised him.

Mr. Tooke came forward as a candidate for Westminster in 1790. Mr. Fox and Lord Hood stood at the same time. On this occasion he kept himself in reserve till the very morning of the election, when he published a hand-bill, in which he declared his purpose. Mr. Tooke did not of course succeed, and he presented in consequence a petition to parliament, in which he treated all parties with the utmost insolence. It was written, however, in his usual style of plain energy and popular eloquence.

Mr. Tooke next appeared as the advocate of the French revolution, and he soon attracted the attention of government upon his movements, and avowed principles. He was arrested as a traitor, and tried by a special commission. The jury acquitted the whole of them, but the popular voice, or at least the best part of the people, though they did not approve of the violence of the accusation, felt only one regret, that they had not been all tried for sedition instead of treason.

Mr. Tooke, in the interval of his political pursuits, published several excellent pieces of literature. His principal work of this kind is the "*Diversions of Purley*," a most profound and learned grammatical treatise.

Mr. Tooke likewise published an attack on his royal highness the prince-regent, and in a pamphlet on the marriage-act, took occasion to speak with his usual contempt of the royal family.

Lord Camelford, an eccentric character, at length procured Mr. Tooke to be returned as member of parliament for the borough of Old Sarum. On Monday, Feb. 16, 1801, he took his seat, and on the 4th of May he was declared ineligible, as having been in holy orders. His seat was in consequence vacated, and a new writ issued.

From this period Mr. Tooke has been only known as the friend and political instructor of Sir Francis Burdett, and whatever might have been the feeling of the country upon the loss of a man of so much faction, bustle, and celebrity, Sir Francis, we believe, had occasion sincerely to regret his death.

Mr. Horne Tooke died at Wimbledon, about twelve o'clock on the night of March 18, 1812, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He had lost the use of his lower extremities, and his dissolution had been for some time expected. Symp-

toms of mortification recently appeared, which soon occasioned his death. He was attended by his two daughters, Dr. Pearson, Mr. Cline, and Sir Francis Burdett. Being informed of his approaching change, he signified, with a placid look, that he was fully prepared, and had reason to be grateful for having passed so long and so happy a life, which he would willingly have had extended if it had been possible. He expressed satisfaction at being surrounded in his last moments by those most dear to him; and his confidence in the existence of a supreme being, whose final purpose was the happiness of his creatures. His facetiousness did not forsake him. When supposed to be in a state of entire insensibility, Sir Francis Burdett mixed up a cordial for him, which his medical friends said it would be to no purpose to administer; but Sir Francis persevered, and raised Mr. Tooke, who opened his eyes, and seeing who offered the draught, took the glass and drank the contents with eagerness. He had previously observed, that he should not be like the man of Strasburgh, who, when doomed to death, requested time to pray, till the patience of the magistrates was exhausted, and then, as a last expedient, begged to be permitted to close his life with his favourite amusement of nine-pins, but who kept howling on, with an evident determination never to finish the game. He desired that no funeral ceremony should be said over his remains, but that six of the poorest men in the parish should have a guinea each for bearing him to the vault in his garden.

From the importance and universal interest which attached at this crisis to the orders in council, we shall conclude this chapter with a full and perspicuous representation of them, and endeavour, by an impartial, compendious, and chronological statement of the several official documents, to bring the whole series of the French, British, and American proceedings in one view.

1. The first of these documents, the Berlin decree, so called because it was issued from the camp near that city on the 21st of November, 1806. It consisted of two parts:

1st, A statement of the wrongs done by England.

2d. Of the measures which these wrongs obliged the emperor to adopt.

The first part stated: "That England had ceased to observe the laws of civilized nations—that she considers the individual of a hostile nation as enemies—that she seizes as prize the property of such individuals—that she blockades commercial ports, bays, and mouths of rivers, and other places not fortified—that she declares places to be in a state of blockade where she has no actual force to enforce the blockade—that this abuse is intended to aggrandize the commerce and

industry of England by means of the commerce and industry of the continent—that those who traffic in English commodities on the continent second her views and render themselves her accomplices—that this conduct of England is worthy the age of barbarism, and is advantageous to her at the expence of every other nation—that it is just to attack her with the same weapons which she employs.”

And in pursuance of this assertion the second part proceeded to decree:—

“That the British islands are in a state of blockade.”

“That all commerce and correspondence with the British isles are prohibited.”

“That letters and packets addressed to England or to Englishmen, or written in English, shall be intercepted.”

“That every British individual whom the troops of France or those of her allies can lay hold of, shall be a prisoner of war.”

“That every warehouse, any commodity, every article of commerce which may belong to a British subject is good prize.”

“That the trade in English goods is prohibited, and every article that belongs to England, or is the produce of her manufactories or colonies, is good prize.”

“That no ship from England or her colonies, or which shall have touched there, shall be admitted into any harbour.”

“That this decree shall be communicated to all our allies whose subjects as well as those of France have been victims of the injustice and barbarity of the English maritime code.”

“And this decree is further stated to be in force, and considered as a fixed and fundamental law of the French empire, as long as England shall adhere to the principles herein complained of.”

The sum of this decree was, that England should be erased from the list of commercial and even civilized nations, until she abandoned her maritime code, which had raised her to her present pitch of superiority over other nations, and that France and her allies and dependants were pledged and required invariably to maintain this, which had been since called the continental system, till England should have been reduced to make these concessions.

2. On the 24th of November, 1806, the above decree was recapitulated in a proclamation from the French minister to the senate of Hamburg, which stated:

“That as several of the citizens of Hamburg were notoriously engaged in trade with England, the Emperor of the French was obliged to take possession of the city in order to execute his decree.”

This threat was the same day executed by Mar-

shal Mortier, at the head of a division of the French army. BOOK XI.

This proclamation and occupation of Hamburg was particularly important, as being the first act of that principle on which France, at this period, proceeded, of not only extending her continental system to all places within her reach, but actually seizing upon neutral countries that she might extend the continental system to them; so that the original violence and injustice against England became the source and pretence of more violence and injustice against all rights and laws of nations, and an excuse for the most outrageous usurpation and hostile seizure of neutral territory that had ever been attempted. CHAP. III. 1812.

3. These proceedings of the government of France produced, on the part of England, the measure which was called Lord Grey's order in council, because his lordship was secretary of state at the time it was issued—7th January, 1807. This order stated:

“That the decrees issued by the French government to prohibit the commerce of neutral nations with the British dominions, or in their produce or manufactures, are in violation of the usages of war.”

“That such attempts on the part of the enemy would give his majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation; and would warrant his majesty in enforcing against all commerce with France, the same prohibition which she vainly hopes to effect against us.”

“That his majesty, though unwilling to proceed to these extremities, yet feels himself bound not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without some step on his part to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice.”

“And that, therefore, it is ordered, that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another belonging to France or her allies, or so far under her controul that British vessels may not freely trade thereat.”

This was, as it expressed itself to be, a mitigated measure of retaliation; one intended rather to call France to a sense of her injustice and the neutrals to a sense of their own duty, than to inflict a vengeance on the enemy adequate to his aggression; but it very properly stated the right in Great Britain to go the whole length of complete retaliation; and it strongly intimated, that if this moderate proceeding should fail of its effect, more effective, but equally justifiable modes of retaliation would be adopted.

Shortly after the publication of this order, Lord Grenville's and Lord Grey's ministry went out of power, and that of the Duke of Portland, which included Mr. Perceval and Mr. Canning, came in. Finding the measures of further retali-

liation threatened in Lord Grey's order of January preceding, were become absolutely necessary from the increasing violence of the French, and the continued supineness of the neutrals,

4. On the 11th of Nov. 1807, the Duke of Portland's administration issued two orders in council; the first of which stated:

"That the orders of the 7th of January, has not effected the desired purpose, either of compelling the enemy to recal his orders, or of inducing neutral nations to interpose against them; but, on the contrary, that they have been recently enforced with increased rigour."

"That his majesty is, therefore, obliged to take further measures for vindicating the just rights and maritime powers of his people, which are not more essential to our own safety than to the independence and general happiness of mankind; and in pursuance of these principles of retaliation, (already asserted in the first order) all the ports of France, and her allies, and all other ports or places in Europe from which the British flag is excluded, shall be considered in a state of blockade; and all their goods and manufactures shall be considered as lawful prize, thus retaliating upon France and her allies their own violence."

"That his majesty would, of course, be justified in making this retaliation, as unqualified and without limit, as the original offence; but that unwilling to subject neutrals to more inconvenience than is necessary, he will permit to neutrals such trade with the enemy's ports, as may be carried on directly with the ports of his majesty's dominions, under several specifications and conditions which are set forth as favorable exceptions to the general rules of blockade."

The second order in council of this date set forth:

"That articles of the growth or manufacture of foreign countries cannot be by law, (namely the navigation act,) imported into Great Britain, except in British ships, or the native shipping of the country itself which produces the goods."

"That in consequence of the former order of this date, which says, that all neutral trade with France must touch at a British port, it is expedient to relax, in some degree, this law, and to permit the shipping of any friendly or neutral country to import into Great Britain the produce or manufactures of countries at war with her."

"That all goods so imported shall be liable to the same duties, and under the same warehousing regulation as if imported according to the navigation act."

The sum of these orders in council is, that France having declared that there should be no trade in communication with England, his majesty resolved that the ports of France, and every port from which, by the controul of France, the British flag was excluded, should have no trade except

to or from a British port; but that his majesty was still desirous to encourage and protect neutral commerce, as far as was consistent with such an opposition to the enemy's measures, as was essential to the safety and prosperity of the British dominions.

Next came the decree, dated Milan, December 17, and published in Paris the 26th of December, 1807, reciting:

"That the ships of neutral and friendly powers are, by the English orders in council of the 11th of November, made liable not only to be searched, but to be detained in England, and to pay a tax rateable per centum on the cargo.

"That, by these acts, the British government denationalizes ships of every nation; and that it is not competent to any sovereign or country to submit to this degradation of the neutral flag, as England would construe such submission into an acquiescence in her right to do so; as she has already availed herself of the tolerance of other governments, to establish the infamous principle that free ships do not make free goods, and to give the right of blockade an arbitrary extension, which infringes on the sovereignty of every state, and it is therefore decreed,

"That every ship, to whatever nation it may belong, which shall have submitted to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or shall have paid any English tax is, for that alone, declared to be denationalized, to have forfeited the protection of its own sovereign, and to have become English property."

"That all such ships, whether entering the ports of France, or her allies, or met at sea, are good prizes."

"That the British islands are in a state of blockade, both by sea and land, and that all vessels sailing from England, or any of her colonies, or the port of any of her allies to England, or her colonies, or the port of an ally, are declared good and lawful prizes."

"That these measures (which are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous system adopted by England, which assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers,) shall cease to have effect with respect to all nations who shall have the firmness to compel the English government to respect their flag. They shall continue to be rigorously enforced as long as that government does not return to the principle of the law of nations, which regulates the relation of civilized states in a state of war. The provisions of the present decree shall be abrogated and null, in fact, as soon as the English abide again by the principles of the law of nations, which are also the principles of justice and honor.

5.—A good deal of discussion arose with America about the operation of these decrees and orders upon the American trade; and in order to

simplify the construction of the latter, and to apply the principle of retaliation more directly against France herself, and with less injury to neutrals, the orders of November, 1807, were superseded by that of the 26th of April, 1809; which declared "the whole coast of France and her dominions, as far northward as the river Ems, and southward to Pesaro and Orbitello in Italy, to be under blockade, and all vessels coming from any port whatever to any French port, liable to capture and condemnation;" the effect of this order was to open all ports, not actually ports of France, even though the British flag should be excluded therefrom, to neutral commerce, and to place France, and France only, in the precise situation in which, by her decrees, she endeavoured to place Great Britain.

7. By a decree of the French government, issued at Fontainebleau on the 19th of October, 1810, it was expressly declared, "that in pursuance of the fourth and fifth articles of the Berlin decrees, all kinds of British merchandize and manufactures which may be discovered in the custom-houses, or other places of France, Holland, the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Hanse Towns, (from the Mayne to the sea,) the kingdom of Italy, the Illyrian provinces, the kingdom of Naples, and in such towns of Spain and their vicinities as may be occupied by French troops, shall be confiscated and burned."

Thus the matter stood; on the side of France the decrees of Berlin and Milan were in force, and to them were opposed the British order of the 26th of April, 1809; and as long as the blockade of England by France remained unrepealed, so long England possessed an undoubted right to persist in her system of retaliation.

It now becomes necessary to explain shortly the conduct of America towards England and France respectively: from which we shall judge whether America acted with a strict impartiality towards the two belligerents, and whether she really had any fair ground of complaint against Great Britain.

8. A very short time before France began to act upon these new principles, a treaty of commerce had been, in 1806, negotiated at London, (between Lords Holland and Auckland on the part of England, and Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney on that of America,) and sent over to America to be ratified: but the Berlin decree having appeared almost at the moment of the signature of this treaty, it was accompanied by a declaration by Lords Holland and Auckland on the part of England:—

"That in consequence of the new and extraordinary measures of hostility on the part of France, as stated in the Berlin decree, Great Britain reserved to herself (if the threats should be executed, and that neutrals should acquiesce

in such usurpations) the right of retaliating on the enemy in such manner as circumstances might require."

9. This treaty, the President of the United States refused to ratify; principally *because the question of impressing seamen was not definitively settled.* The British Government replied, that "this was a subject of much detail, and of considerable difficulty, arising out of the almost impossibility of distinguishing British subjects from Americans;" and, it added, "that it would be highly inexpedient that the general treaty should be lost, or even delayed, on this account; that Great Britain was ready immediately to proceed in a separate negociation in this point; and that, in the mean time, her officers should be ordered to exercise the right of search and impressment with the greatest possible forbearance."

These arguments and this proposition, did not, however, induce the American president to ratify the treaty.

It unfortunately happened (as before intimated in this book) that in June, 1807, the commanding officer of his majesty's ship *Leopard* having understood that some deserters from his ship had been received on-board the American frigate *Chesapeake*, and having in vain required their release from the American captain, attacked the *Chesapeake* at sea, and obliged her to strike; but he then contented himself with taking out of her his own men, and restored the ship to the American commander. An event of this nature called for, and received the immediate disavowal of his majesty's government; the captain was tried, and his admiral superseded; and Mr. Rose was sent, without loss of time, to America to offer reparation, and to state to the American government, "that Great Britain did not pretend to a right to demand by force any sailors whatever from the national ship of a power with which she was on terms of peace and amity." In the mean time the president had issued a proclamation, excluding all English ships of war from the American harbours.

10. Exclusive of this affair of the *Chesapeake*, America appeared, in the spring of 1808, to have considered herself equally aggrieved by the acts of both countries. In this view they laid a general embargo upon all the shipping in their ports, and denied themselves all commercial intercourse whatever with any European state.

11. This act of the American Government was very unpopular throughout the Union, and on the 1st of March, 1809, the non-intercourse law was substituted in its place, by which the commerce of America was opened to all the world except to England and France, and British and French ships of war were equally excluded prospectively from the American ports.

12. In the interval, Mr. Canning had instructed

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Mr. Erskine, his majesty's minister, to offer to America a reciprocal repeal of the prohibitive laws on both sides, upon certain terms; namely, 1st. The enforcement of the non-intercourse and non-importation acts against France. 2dly, The renunciation, on the part of America, of all trade with the enemy's colonies, from which she was excluded during peace. 3dly, Great Britain to enforce the American embargo against trade with France, or powers acting under her decrees.

13. In the mean time, the French government, in a decree dated from Rambouillet, 23d of March, 1810, declared, "that from the 20th of May, 1809, all American vessels which should enter the French ports, or ports occupied by French troops, should be sold and sequestered. This act, however, was not made known till the 14th of May, 1810.

14. Notwithstanding these acts of violence on the part of France, America could not be persuaded that her honor and interests demanded some immediate act of retaliation, and nothing was done till the non-intercourse act expired, when an act of the congress was passed, eventually renewing certain parts of the non-intercourse act in certain events. By this act it was decreed, "that in case either of the belligerents should cease to violate the neutral rights of America before the 2d of February, 1811, the non-importation articles of the non-intercourse act should be revived against the other." By this act, America still contemplated France and England *equally injuring her commerce*; and contented herself with merely complaining, through her minister, of the operation of the Rambouillet decree, though it was, at the same time, characterised by America "as a signal aggression on the principles of justice and good faith."

15. The condition thus offered by America, France determined speciously to accept; but in accepting it to act in such a manner as still to reap the advantages accruing from her decrees, without relieving England from her part of the pressure occasioned by them.

16. As England could not, upon this insidious offer, accept the first part of the alternative offered by France, America, in her turn, accepted the second, and declared that she would cause her flag to be respected: but as there would be some inconvenience in demanding from England the abandonment of her most sacred maritime rights, such as the right of visiting and searching a neutral ship for enemy's property—the right of blockading, by actual force, the ports and harbours and rivers of the enemy's coast, the right of precluding a neutral from carrying on, in time of war, the trade of a belligerent, to which she is not admitted in time of peace—(all of which, and more indeed, was demanded by France, and apparently acceded to by America) the government

and congress of the United States deemed it to be sufficiently conformable to the demands of France, "that they should exclude British ships of war from their ports, and prohibit all importation of British produce;" and France seemed to consent to consider "these restrictions as tantamount to causing the American flag to be respected, and as rescuing the American ships from the imputation of being denationalized." Upon this principle the president proclaimed the renewal of the non-importation articles of the non-intercourse act against Great Britain on the 2d of November, 1810, and the congress enacted the same by law on the 28th of February, 1811. When this act passed, the relations of peace and commercial intercourse were restored between France and America, and French ships were allowed to enter into the American ports, at a time when *France still retained many millions of American property, seized under the Rambouillet decree*, which had had a retrospective effect for the space of twelve months, and when the operation of the burning decree was carried into effect, without any regard whether or not the produce of British industry, so destroyed, had legally become, by purchase or barter, the *bona fide* property of neutral merchants.

With respect to England, who by the act of the 28th of February, 1811, was put upon the footing of an enemy, the only source of complaint which America possessed, was, that the blockade of the French coast was still persisted in and enforced, as the only effectual means of retaliating upon the violent and unjust decrees of the enemy.

17. On the 1st of November, 1811, Mr. Foster, his majesty's minister in America, was at length enabled to bring to a conclusion the differences which had arisen on the Chesapeake affair, without sacrificing the rights of Great Britain, or derogating from the honor of his majesty's crown; but it cannot be said, that the American government accepted the concession and atonement with either dignity or grace.—(See page 887.)

19. While America was thus asserting that the French decrees were repealed, the minister of foreign relations at Paris put an end to all doubt on the subject, by an official report to the emperor, dated the 10th of March, 1812, which set forth—first, an explanation of the maritime laws of the nations, viz.—

"The flag covers merchandize; the goods of an enemy, under a neutral flag, are neutral; and the goods of a neutral, under an enemy's flag, are enemy's goods. The only goods not covered by the flag, is contraband of war; and the only contraband of war are arms and ammunition. In visiting neutrals, a belligerent must send only a few men in a boat; but the belligerent ship must keep out of cannon shot. Neutrals may trade

between one enemy's port to another, and between enemy's and neutral ports. The only ports excepted, are those really blockaded; and ports really blockaded, are those only which are actually invested, besieged, and in danger of being taken. Such are the duties of belligerents, and the rights of neutrals." The report then proceeded to state, that the Berlin and Milan decrees "have rendered the manufacturing towns of Great Britain deserts; distress has succeeded prosperity; and the disappearance of money, and the want of employment, endangers the public tranquillity." And then it denounced, that "until Great Britain recalls her orders in council, and submits to the principles of maritime law above-mentioned, the French decrees must subsist against Great Britain, and such neutrals as should allow their flags to be denationalized." And, finally, the report avowed, that "nothing will divert the French emperor from the objects of these decrees; that he has already, for this purpose, annexed to France, Holland, the Hanse Towns, and the coasts from the Zuyder Zee to the Baltic; that no ports of the continent must remain open, either to English trade or denationalized neutrals; and that all the disposeable force of the French empire shall be directed to every part of the continent, where British and denationalized flags still find admittance; and, finally, this system shall be persevered in, till England, banished from the continent, and separated from all other countries, shall return to the laws of nations recognized by the treaty of Utrecht."

Thus the Berlin and Milan decrees were in full force, and would continue to be so, until England should not only recall her orders in council, but should also abandon all her great maritime rights; and that these decrees would subsist against not England alone, but America, and all other countries which should not unite in an endeavour to overthrow the ancient system of maritime law; and, further, that France considered herself authorized to invade and seize any neutral territory whatsoever, for the sole object of excluding all British trade from the continent; and that all his violent and outrageous usurpations in Holland, Germany, and the shores of the Baltic, had been prompted, and were attempted to be justified, by this motive.

22. In order to bring to a distinct issue the verbal discussion between England and America, and to place the relative measures of England and France clearly before the neutrals, the British government, on the 21st of April, 1812, put forth to the public a declaration and order in council, detailing the present state of the contest between the two belligerents; and stating, "that as soon as the Berlin and Milan decrees are revoked, the orders in council are abrogated;" and

engaging beforehand, "that a proof of the absolute repeal of the French decrees, produced in an admiralty court, shall be held, in fact, to be a satisfactory proof of the absolute revocation of the British orders in council."—(For this declaration see the preceding chapter.)

21. Since this declaration, but before it reached America, an embargo was laid on, by act of congress, for ninety days, from the 4th day of April, 1812.

Thus the matter stood; and, until France repealed her decrees, it was impossible that Great Britain could relinquish the principle of retaliation. The repeal of the orders in council would have had the following effects:—

1. It would restore the American trade; and that portion of manufactures, which are usually consumed in America itself, would immediately revive.

2. It would open to England no other market for any branch of manufacturing whatsoever than the home market of America; for France having a right, by municipal regulations, to exclude British articles from her territory, and to extend, for this purpose, her territory over the whole face of Europe, any article of British produce and manufacture imported by an American, would be liable to be confiscated or burned.

3. France would be relieved from all the pressure she at this time felt. America would supply her with all kinds of raw materials, as well as of colonial produce; and would convey to her, from the distant parts of Europe, all kinds of stores and timber, and the various materials of naval strength. France would have just what trade she pleased to have; she would continue the prohibition, all over Europe, of British manufactures, with a double view: first, to encourage her own; and next, to ruin those of Great Britain. And all inconvenience and pressure being thus removed from her, there would no longer have existed any means or hopes of forcing her to a system more equitable towards Great Britain.

4. America would have become the carrier of the world; she and France would have divided the trade of the globe; and Great Britain, with all her command of the sea, would have had the mortification to have seen the ocean covered with the commerce of France, protected under the American flag.

5. The British shipping interest would have been annihilated, and that of America would have risen up in its stead. The East and West Indies, and the home coasting trade, would alone have remained to England; and the two former could not have been long retained, in competition with a rival whose means of ship-building were inexhaustible; whose flag would have been the only neutral flag in the world; whose ships alone could have traded at the ports of the continent of Eu-

rope; whose rates of freight and insurance would have been proportionably small; in short, who would have had all possible advantages, while Great Britain would have laboured with every possible disadvantage.

6. All British produce and manufacture would have declined and expired, except only those for American or home consumption; because America, which would have brought the produce of all other countries to France, would have returned with the manufacture of France to all other countries. It might have been said, that England would have undersold France: and so she certainly would have done in a fair state of trade; but, excluded from Europe, and rivalled by Ame-

rica, there would have remained neither the means nor motives of commercial enterprize.

7. Nor would the American market itself have been of the advantage to Great Britain as at first imagined; much of the iron-work, and all the linens of Germany, would have soon undersold the similar articles of English or Irish manufacture; and the increased intercourse between America and France, would inevitably have obliged the merchants of the former to take returns in the produce of France, or the continent of Europe; and, by degrees, the natural result of such an intercourse would have been the advancement of manufactures, and the influence of France, and the decline of those of Great Britain.

CHAPTER IV.

The Prince-Regent's second Declaration respecting the Orders in Council.—Letters of Marque and Reprisal issued against England.—Declaration of War by America against England.—Consequences.—Case of the American Ship Snipe.

THE following second declaration, which appeared as a supplement to the London Gazette of Tuesday, June 23, is a further testimony of the pacific disposition of the British government towards the United States:—

“At the court at Carlton-house, the 23d of June, 1812, present, his Royal Highness the Prince-Regent in council.

“Whereas his royal highness the prince-regent was pleased to declare, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, on the 21st day of April, 1812, ‘that if at any time hereafter the Berlin and Milan decrees shall, by some authentic act of the French government, publicly promulgated, be absolutely and unconditionally repealed, then, and from thenceforth, the order in council of the 7th of January, 1807, and the order in council of the 26th of April, 1809, shall, without any farther order, be, and the same are hereby declared from thenceforth to be, wholly and absolutely revoked.’

“And whereas the chargé des affaires of the United States of America, resident at this court, did, on the 20th day of May last, transmit to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, a copy of a certain instrument, then for the first time communicated to this court, purporting to be a decree passed by the government of France, on the 28th day of April, 1811, by which the decrees of Berlin and Milan are declared to be definitely no longer in force, in regard to American vessels.

“And whereas his royal highness the prince-

regent, although he cannot consider the tenour of the said instrument as satisfying the conditions set forth in the said order of the 21st of April last, upon which the said orders were to cease and determine; is nevertheless disposed, on his part, to take such measures as may tend to re-establish the intercourse between neutral and belligerent nations, upon its accustomed principles. His royal highness the prince-regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, to order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that the order in council, bearing date the 7th day of January, 1807, and the order in council, bearing date the 26th day of April, 1809, be revoked, so far as may regard American vessels, and their cargoes, being American property, from the 1st day of August next.

“But whereas by certain acts of the government of the United States of America, all British armed vessels are excluded from the harbours and waters of the said United States, and the armed vessels of France being permitted to enter therein; and the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the said United States is interdicted, the commercial intercourse between France and the said United States having been restored; his royal highness the prince-regent is pleased hereby farther to declare, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that if the government of the said United States shall not, as soon as may be, after

this order shall have been duly notified by his majesty's minister in America to the said government, revoke, or cause to be revoked, the said acts, this present order shall in that case, after due notice signified by his majesty's minister in America to the said government, be thenceforth null and of no effect.

"It is further ordered and declared, that all American vessels, and their cargoes, being American property, that shall have been captured subsequently to the 26th day of May last, for a breach of the aforesaid orders in council alone, and which shall not have been actually condemned before the date of this order; and that all ships and cargoes as aforesaid, that shall henceforth be captured under the said orders, prior to the 1st day of August next, shall not be proceeded against to condemnation till further orders; but shall, in the event of this order not becoming null and of no effect, in the case aforesaid, be forthwith liberated and restored, subject to such reasonable expences on the part of the captors as shall have been justly incurred.

"Provided, that nothing in this order contained, respecting the revocation of the orders herein-mentioned, shall be taken to revive wholly, or in part, the orders in council of the 11th of November, 1807, or any other order not herein-mentioned, or to deprive parties of any legal remedy to which they may be entitled under the order in council of the 21st of April, 1812.

"His royal highness the prince-regent is hereby pleased further to declare, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that nothing in this present order contained, shall be understood to preclude his royal highness the prince-regent, if circumstances shall so require, from restoring, after reasonable notice, the orders of the 7th of January, 1807, and 26th of April, 1809, or any part thereof, to their full effect, or from taking such other measures of retaliation against the enemy as may appear to his royal highness to be just and necessary.

"And the right honorable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judge of the high court of admiralty, and the judges of the courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

"JAMES BULLER."

Before this declaration was known to the United States, it was understood that the American government had authorised the issuing of letters of marque and reprisal against England. In the house of commons, July 10, Mr. Brougham rose, and said, that it was rumoured that the house of representatives had moved a resolution for war with England: he wished to know whether go-

vernment had received any official intelligence from their diplomatic agent in America. If war should take place, it was referable, in his opinion, to the declaration published by the late government in April.

Lord Castlereagh said, that government had received advice from his majesty's minister in America, that a warlike motion, of which the precise nature was not known, had passed the house of representatives, and was carried to the upper house, where the consideration of it was for some time delayed, and the exact result not known.

In the house of lords, July 21, the Duke of Norfolk rose to ask a question before his majesty's ministers left the house, respecting the reports which had recently been in circulation, of a declaration of war on the part of the United States of America against Great Britain. He wished to know whether those reports were true; and, if true, whether his majesty's ministers had any consolation to offer under this unfortunate situation of affairs?

The Earl of Liverpool stated, that his majesty's ministers had received information, through an indirect channel, that the senate of the United States had come to a vote concurring in the bill proposed by the house of representatives, for declaring war against Great Britain; but what measures the president had adopted in consequence of this vote of the senate, his majesty's ministers were at present uninformed. He could not, therefore, at the present moment, enter into any further explanation upon the subject.

At length the following declaration of war, by America, appeared in the British journals:—

Message.—To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

"I communicate to congress certain documents, being a continuation of those heretofore laid before them, on the subject of our affairs with Great Britain.

"Without going beyond the renewal, in 1803, of the war in which Great Britain is engaged, and omitting unrepaid wrongs of inferior magnitude, the conduct of her government presents a series of acts hostile to the United States, as an independent and neutral nation.

"British cruisers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it; not in the exercise of a belligerent right, founded on the law of nations, against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects. British jurisdiction is thus extended to neutral vessels, in a situation where no laws can operate but the law of nations, and the laws of the country to which the vessels belong; and a self-redress is assumed, which if British subjects were wrongfully de-

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tained and alone concerned, is that substitution of force for a resort to the responsible sovereign, which falls within the definition of war. Could the seizure of British subjects, in such cases, be regarded as within the exercise of a belligerent right, the acknowledged laws of war, (which forbid an article of captured property to be adjudged, without a regular investigation before a competent tribunal,) would imperiously demand the fairest trial, where the sacred rights of persons were at issue. In place of such trial, these rights are subjected to the will of every petty commander.

"The practice, hence, is so far from affecting British subjects alone, that under the pretext of searching for these thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public laws, and of their national flag, have been torn from their country, and from every thing dear to them; have been dragged on-board ships of war of a foreign nation, and exposed, under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren.

"Against this crying enormity, which Great Britain would be so prompt to avenge, if committed against herself, the United States have in vain exhausted remonstrances and expostulations. And that no proof might be wanting of their conciliatory dispositions, and no pretext left for continuance of the practice, the British government was formally assured of the readiness of the United States to enter into arrangements, such as could not be rejected, if the recovery of the British subjects were the real and the sole object. The communication passed without effect.

"British cruisers have been in the practice also of violating the rights and the peace of our coasts. They hover over and harass our entering and departing commerce. To the most insulting pretensions they have added lawless proceedings in our very harbours, and have wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction. The principles and rules enforced by that nation, when a neutral nation, against armed vessels of belligerents hovering near her coasts, and disturbing her commerce, are well known. When called on, nevertheless, by the United States, to punish the greater offences committed by her own vessels, her government has bestowed on their commanders additional marks of honor and confidence.

"Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force, and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea: the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets; and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. In aggrava-

tion of these predatory measures, they have been considered as in force from the dates of their notification; a retrospective effect being thus added, as has been done in other important cases, to the unlawfulness of the course pursued. And to render the outrage the more signal, these mock blockades have been reiterated and enforced in the face of official communications from the British government, declaring, as the true definition of a legal blockade, 'that particular ports must be actually invested, and previous warning given to vessels bound to them not to enter.'

"Not content with these occasional expedients for laying waste our neutral trade, the cabinet of Great Britain resorted, at length, to the sweeping system of blockades, under the name of orders in council, which has been moulded and managed as might best suit its political views, its commercial jealousies, or the avidity of British cruisers.

"To our remonstrances against the complicated and transcendent injustice of this innovation, the first reply was, that the orders were reluctantly adopted by Great Britain, as a necessary retaliation on decrees of her enemy proclaiming a general blockade of the British isles, at a time when the naval force of that enemy dared not to issue from his ports! She was reminded, without effect, that her own prior blockades, unsupported by an adequate naval force actually applied and continued, were a bar to this plea; that executed edicts against millions of our property could not be retaliation on edicts confessedly impossible to be executed; that retaliation, to be just, should fall on the party setting the guilty example, not on an innocent party, which was not even chargeable with an acquiescence in it.

"When deprived of this flimsy veil for a prohibition of our trade with Great Britain, her cabinet, instead of a corresponding repeal of a practical discontinuance of its orders, formally avowed a determination to persist in them against the United States, until the markets of her enemy should be laid open to British products; thus asserting an obligation on a neutral power to require one belligerent to encourage, by its internal regulations, the trade of another belligerent, contradicting her own practice towards all nations in peace as well as in war; and betraying the insincerity of those professions which inculcated a belief, that, having resorted to her orders with regret, she was anxious to find an occasion for putting an end to them.

"Abandoning still more all respect for the neutral rights of the United States, and for its own consistency, the British government now demands, as prerequisites to a repeal of its orders, as they relate to the United States, that a formality should be observed in the repeal of the French decrees no wise necessary to their termination, nor exemplified by British usage; and that the French repeal,

besides including that portion of the decrees which operates within a territorial jurisdiction, as well as that which operates on the high seas, against the commerce of the United States, should not be a single special repeal in relation to the United States, but should be extended to whatever other neutral nations unconnected with them may be affected by those decrees.

"And, as an additional insult, they are called on for a formal disavowal of conditions and pretensions advanced by the French government, for which the United States are so far from having been themselves responsible, that, in official explanations, which have been published to the world, and in a correspondence of the American minister at London with the British minister of foreign affairs, such a responsibility was explicitly and emphatically disclaimed.

"It has become indeed sufficiently certain, that the commerce of the United States is to be sacrificed, not as interfering with belligerent rights of Great Britain, not as supplying the wants of their enemies, which she herself supplies, but as interfering with the monopoly which she covets for her own commerce and navigation. She carries on a war against the lawful commerce of a friend, that she may the better carry on a commerce with an enemy, a commerce polluted by the forgeries and perjuries which are for the most part the only passports by which it can succeed.

"Anxious to make every experiment, short of the last resort of injured nations, the United States have withheld from Great Britain, under successive modifications, the benefits of a free intercourse with their market, the loss of which could not but outweigh the profits accruing from her restrictions of our commerce with other nations. And to entitle those experiments to the more favorable consideration, they were so framed as to enable her to place her adversary under the exclusive operation of them. To these appeals her government has been equally inflexible, as if willing to make sacrifices of every sort, rather than yield to the claims of justice, or renounce the errors of a false pride. Nay, so far were the attempts carried to overcome the attachment of the British cabinet to its unjust edicts, that it received every encouragement within the competency of the executive branch of our government, to expect that a repeal of them would be followed by a war between the United States and France, unless the French edicts should also be repealed. Even this communication, although silencing for ever the plea of a disposition in the United States to acquiesce in those edicts, originally the sole plea for them, received no attention.

"If no other proof existed of a predetermination of the British government against a repeal of its orders, it might be found in the correspondence of the minister plenipotentiary of the United

States at London, and the British secretary for foreign affairs, in 1810, on the question whether the blockade of May, 1806, was considered as in force or as not in force. It had been ascertained that the French government, which urged this blockade as the ground of its decree, was willing, in the event of its removal, to repeal that decree; which being followed by alternate repeals of the other offensive edicts, might abolish the whole system on both sides. This inviting opportunity for accomplishing an object so important to the United States, and professed so often to be the desire of both the belligerents, was made known to the British government. As that government admits that an actual application of an adequate force is necessary to the existence of a legal blockade; and it was notorious, that if such a force had ever been applied, its long discontinuance had annulled the blockade in question, there could be no sufficient objection on the part of Great Britain to a formal revocation of it; and no imaginable objection to a declaration of the fact that the blockade did not exist. The declaration would have been consistent with her avowed principles of blockade, and would have enabled the United States to demand from France the pledged repeal of her decrees; either with success, in which case the way would have been opened for a general repeal of the belligerent edicts; or without success, in which case the United States would have been justified in turning their measures exclusively against France. The British government would, however, neither rescind the blockade, nor declare its non-existence, nor permit its non-existence to be inferred and affirmed by the American plenipotentiary. On the contrary, by representing the blockade to be comprehended in the orders in council, the United States were compelled so to regard it in their subsequent proceedings.

"There was a period when a favorable change in the policy of the British cabinet was justly considered as established. The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty here proposed an adjustment of the differences more immediately endangering the harmony of the two countries. The proposition was accepted with a promptitude and cordiality corresponding with the invariable professions of this government. A foundation appeared to be laid for a sincere and lasting reconciliation. The prospect, however, quickly vanished. The whole proceeding was disavowed by the British government, without any explanation which could at that time repress the belief that the disavowal proceeded from a spirit of hostility to the commercial rights and prosperity of the United States. And it has since come into proof, that at the very moment when the public minister was holding the language of friendship, and inspired confidence in

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the sincerity of the negotiation with which he was charged, a secret agent of his government was employed in intrigues, having for their object a subversion of our government, and a dismemberment of our happy union.

"In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain towards the United States, our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the savages on one of our extensive frontiers—a warfare which is known to spare neither age nor sex, and to be distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity. It is difficult to account for the activity and combinations which have for some time been developing themselves among the tribes in constant intercourse with the British traders and garrisons, without connecting their hostility with that influence, and without recollecting the authenticated examples of such interpositions heretofore furnished by the officers and agents of that government.

"Such is the spectacle of injuries and indignities which have been heaped on our country; and such the crisis which its unexampled forbearance and conciliatory efforts have not been able to avert. It might, at least, have been expected, that an enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligations, or invited by friendly dispositions on the part of the United States, would have found in its true interests alone a sufficient motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high seas; that an enlarged policy would have favored the free and general circulation of commerce, in which the British nation is at all times interested; and which, in times of war, is the best alleviation of its calamities to herself, as well as the other belligerents; and more especially that the British cabinet would not, for the sake of a precarious and surreptitious intercourse with hostile markets, have persevered in a course of measures which necessarily put at hazard the invaluable market of a great and growing country, disposed to cultivate the mutual advantages of an active commerce.

"Other councils have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance, and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence, committed on the great and common highway of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels freighted with the products of our soil and industry, on returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations, confiscated by prize-courts, no longer the organs of public law, but the instruments of arbitrary edicts; and their unfortunate crews dispersed and lost, or forced, or inveigled, in British ports, into British fleets; whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions, which

have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.

"We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States—and on the side of the United States, a state of peace towards Great Britain.

"Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpations, and these accumulating wrongs; or, opposing force to force, in defence of their natural rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer of events; avoiding all connections which might entangle it in the contests or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an honorable re-establishment of peace and friendship, is a solemn question, which the constitution wisely confides to the legislative department of the government. In recommending it to their early deliberations, I am happy in the assurance that the decision will be worthy the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, a free, and a powerful nation.

"Having presented this view of the relations of the United States with Great Britain, and of the solemn alternative growing out of them, I proceed to remark, that the communications last made to congress, on the subject of our relations with France, will have shown that since the revocation of her decrees as they violated the neutral rights of the United States, her government has authorised illegal captures by its privateers and public ships, and that other outrages have been practised on our vessels and our citizens. It will have been seen also, that no indemnity had been provided, or satisfactorily pledged, for the extensive spoliations committed under the violent and retrospective order of the French government against the property of our citizens seized within the jurisdiction of France.

"I abstain at this time from recommending to the consideration of congress, definitive measures with respect to that nation, in the expectation that the result of unclosed discussions between our minister plenipotentiary at Paris and the French government, will speedily enable congress to decide with greater advantage on the course due to the rights, the interests, the honor of our country.

"JAMES MADISON.

"Washington, June 1, 1812."

The following is the act which was read in a secret sitting of the two houses on the 1st of June, and which gave rise to the motion that placed the two countries in a state of war:—

"An act, declaring war between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their territories.

"Be it enacted, by the senate and house of

representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, that war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their territories; and that the President of the United States be and he is hereby authorised to use the whole land and naval forces of the United States to carry the same into effect; and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions of letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.—June 18, 1812.—Approved.

“JAMES MADISON.”

In consequence of the above declaration of war, orders were issued, July 31, from the admiralty, to all commanding officers of the navy, to detain and send in all American vessels whatever. An embargo was at the same time laid on all American vessels in the river, and an order to a similar effect was sent off to all the out-ports.

This war against Great Britain had several opponents in the United States. Mr. Randolph, in an interesting address to his constituents, thus concluded;—

“Having learned, from various sources, that a declaration of war would be attempted on Monday last with closed doors, I deemed it my duty to endeavour, by an exercise of my constitutional functions, to arrest this heaviest of all possible calamities, and avert it from our unhappy country. I accordingly made the effort of which I now give you the result, and of the success of which you will already have been informed before these pages reach you. I pretend only to give the substance of my unfinished arguments. The glowing words—the language of the heart—have passed away with the occasion that called them forth: they are no longer under my controul. My design is simply to submit to you the views which have induced me to consider a war with England, under existing circumstances, as comporting neither with the interest nor the honor of the American people; but as an idolatrous sacrifice of both, on the altar of French rapacity, perfidy, and ambition. France has for years past offered us terms of undefined commercial arrangement, at the price of a war with England, which hitherto we have not wanted firmness and virtue to reject. The price is now to be paid.

“We are tired of holding out; and, following the example of the nations of continental Europe, entangled in the artifices, or awed by the power of the destroyer of mankind, we are prepared to become instrumental to his projects of universal

dominion. Before these pages meet your eye, the last republic of the earth will have enlisted under the banners of the tyrant, and become a party of his cause. The blood of American freemen must flow, to cement his power,—to aid in stifling the last struggles of afflicted and persecuted man,—to deliver up into his hands the patriots of Spain and Portugal, to establish his empire over the ocean, and over the land that gave our forefathers birth,—to forge our own chains; and yet, my friends, we are told, as we were told in the days of the mad ambition of Mr. Adams, ‘that the finger of heaven points to war.’ Yes, the finger of heaven does point to war. It points to war, as it points to the mansion of eternal misery and torture,—as to a flaming beacon, warning us of that vortex which we may not approach but with certain destruction. It points to desolated Europe, and warns us of the chastisement of those nations who have offended against the justice, and almost beyond the mercy of heaven. It announces the wrath to come upon those who, ungrateful for the bounty of Providence,—not satisfied with peace, liberty, security, plenty at home,—fly, as it were, into the face of the most high, and tempt his forbearance.

“To you I can speak with freedom, and it becomes me to do so; nor shall I be deterred by the cavils and the sneers of those who hold as ‘foolishness’ all that favours not of worldly wisdom, from expressing fully and freely these sentiments, which it has pleased God, in his mercy, to engrave upon my heart. These are no ordinary times. The state of the world is unexamined. The war of the present day is not like that of our revolution, or any which preceded it, at least, in modern times. It is a war against the liberty and happiness of mankind: it is a war, of which the whole human race are the victims, to gratify the pride and lust of power of a single individual.

“I beseech you, put it to your own bosoms, how far it becomes you as freemen, as christians, to give your aid and sanction to this impious and bloody warfare against your brethren of the human family. To such among you, if any such there be, who are insensible to motives not more dignified and manly than they are intrinsically wise, I would make a different appeal. I adjure you, by the regard which you have for your own security and property, for the liberties and inheritance of your children, by all that you hold dear and sacred, to interpose your constitutional powers, to save your country and yourselves from a calamity, the issue of which it is not given to human foresight to divine.

“Ask yourselves, if you are willing to become the virtual allies of Bonaparte? Are you willing, for the sake of annexing Canada to the Northern States, to submit to that overgrowing system of

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taxation, which sends the European labourer supperless to bed?—to maintain, by the sweat of your brow, armies, at whose hands you are to receive a future master? Suppose Canada ours, is there any one among you who would ever be, in any respect, the better for it, the richer, the freer, the happier, the more secure? And is it for a boon like this, that you join in the warfare against the liberties of man in the other hemisphere, and put your own in jeopardy?"

Mr. Foster is said to have recommended that the war, in the first instance, should not be pursued with vigour on the part of the British, under the hope that conciliation would be the result, as soon as the real intentions of the British government should be ascertained. It was not supposed, that, of the American army, more than 1,000 men were in a fit state to undergo the discipline, and undertake the duties of war; and that Sir George Prevost, with 8,000 men, might easily penetrate into the interior of the republic. Immediately after war was declared, Mr. Foster demanded and received his passports.

About this time (July 31) Sir William Scott pronounced the judgment of the admiralty-court in the case of the American ship *Snipe*, the arguments upon which had lasted for several days. "The captor had contended, that the ship was liable to condemnation, under the orders in council, she having been taken, on the 28th of March, 1812, entering the river of Bourdeaux; while, on the other hand, the claimants contended, that those orders in council had ceased to operate before the capture, on account of a French decree, bearing date the 28th of April, having repealed the Berlin and Milan decrees, to which those orders had only been retaliatory measures, which the British government were pledged to annul from the date of the repeal of the French decrees. As the claimants contended that the Berlin and Milan decrees were actually repealed by the French decree of 1811, it was for them to prove that those decrees were so repealed, and that they were repealed in such a manner, as to impose an obligation on other nations to take notice of such a repeal. This sort of evidence, which was only to be got in the enemy's country, was perfectly accessible to the claimants (if any such evidence existed), but was not accessible to the captors. The Berlin and Milan decrees had been ushered into the world with the greatest solemnity, and published in the French official papers. There was no one who could doubt their existence or authenticity. If those decrees were intended to be repealed, why were they not repealed in a manner equally authentic and official? In the said month of March, they were, however, officially spoken of by the French government as not only being in existence, but as fundamental laws of the empire. If that word

carried any meaning, it must imply that the French government would not abandon those decrees. Those decrees had been promulgated to the world in the most authentic and public manner; and if there had been any intention of repealing them, it might be expected, on every principle of good faith and honest policy, that the revocation should be made equally public, or, at least, that it should be made public to all those whom it might concern. The British government, however, by no means recognized the authenticity of the instrument put into their hands on the 20th of May, or acknowledged that paper as a *bona fide* decree of repeal, bearing the date prefixed to it; but revoked the orders in council, as a measure of conciliation to America. The date of this paper was neither subsequent to his majesty's declaration of the 21st of April, nor had it been publicly promulgated, nor had it been acted upon. To meet the terms of the declaration of April, it ought to have been a repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees generally, and not merely with respect to America. It ought to have been unconditional, and its authenticity regularly proved. This was, in fact, the title-deed under which the parties claimed: and its authenticity was, therefore, the first thing to be proved by them. The paper had no appearance of authenticity on the face of it, as it bore date in April, 1811, and had never been produced or heard of till May, 1812.

"An untrue date being found attached to it was a falsification of a fatal nature, when the deception was evidently intended for the purpose of fraud. There was every reason to believe that the instrument never had existence, until the French government had received the declaration of the 21st of April. There was no individual who ventured to assert any knowledge of its previous existence. In the warm controversy which had taken place between America and this country on the subject, the correspondence on our part consisted very much of a demand for the production of any authentic document repealing those decrees. No such document was known by the American minister; no such document was known to the tribunals, or prize-courts of France; or to those persons who were principally affected by it. He would be doing a great injustice, indeed, to Mr. Russel, if he were to attribute his silence, upon this head, to any thing but his complete ignorance of the existence of such a document: he was the American minister in France, at the date of this decree, and yet he had never made any allusion to such a document, in answer to the many pressing solicitations which had been made to him to procure evidence of the repeal. When the ruler of France chose to send this paper into the world, antedated by above a year, it was evidently one of those exorbitant de-

mands which that person is in the habit of making on the credulity of mankind. The court would not now admit farther proof of such a document having been in existence; such proof could only be sought in the *officina fraudis*, whence the fabrication first issued, with every stain of inbred corruption on its front. It appeared that the French ruler left the question of restitution of American vessels to be determined by his special pleasure. Now this country did demand, and had a right to demand, that there should be a clear and definite rule of law, acting in a clear and definite manner; and that matters of this sort should not be left in a state of uncertainty, or perpetual fluctuation. It, therefore, appeared to him, that there was no evidence that any legal

revocation of those decrees had taken place; and that the instrument relied upon by the claimants, as their title-deed, had no marks of authenticity about it, but was evidently fabricated for a particular purpose. He should determine on the case before him, and on all those that depended on the same principle, that the instrument, purporting to be a French decree, dated in April, 1811, did not take those cases out of the general operation of the law, as described in the orders in council; and that, therefore, those vessels captured under them, before the 20th of May, 1812, could not be discharged from their operation. It was only to the vessels captured after the 20th of May, that the revocation of the orders in council applied."

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CHAPTER V.

The Conduct of the United States retaliated.—Commencement of Hostilities by an American Squadron.—Gallant Conduct of the Belvidera English Frigate.—Captures of several American Privateers.—Posture of Affairs on the Canadian Lines.—Disturbances at Baltimore.—Murder of General Lingan.—Interesting Extract from Hanson's Letter.

As the conduct of America demanded retaliation, the following resolutions took place at the court at Carlton-house, October 13, his royal highness the prince-regent present in council.

"Whereas, in consequence of information having been received of a declaration of war by the government of the United States of America against his majesty, and of the issue of letters of marque and reprisal by the said government against his majesty, and his subjects, an order in council, bearing date the 31st of July last, was issued, directing that American ships and goods should be brought in, and detained till further orders. And whereas his royal highness the prince-regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, forebore, at that time, to direct letters of marque and reprisal to be issued against the ships, goods, and citizens of the said United States of America, under the expectation that the said government would, upon the notification of the order in council of the 23d of June last, forthwith recal and annul the said declaration of war against his majesty, and also annul the said letters of marque and reprisal:

"And whereas the said government of the United States of America, upon due notification to them of the said order in council of the 23d of June last, did not think fit to recal the said declaration of war and letters of marque and reprisal, but have proceeded to condemn, and per-

sisted in condemning, the ships and property of his majesty's subjects as prize of war, and have refused to ratify a suspension of arms agreed upon between Lieutenant-general Sir George Prevost, his majesty's governor-general of Canada, and General Dearborn, commanding the American forces in the northern provinces of the United States, and have directed hostilities to be recommenced in that quarter:

"His royal highness the prince-regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and with the advice of his majesty's privy-council, has hereby pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and citizens of the United States of America, and others inhabiting within the territories thereof (save and except any vessels to which his majesty's license has been granted, or which have been directed to be released from the embargo, and have not terminated the original voyage, on which they were detained and released), so that as well his majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissioned by letters of marque, or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the government of the United States of America, or the citizens thereof, or others inhabiting within

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the territories thereof, and bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions; and to that end his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draught of a commission, and present the same to his royal highness the prince-regent, at this board, authorising the commissioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisals to any of his majesty's subjects, or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the government of the United States of America, or the citizens thereof, or others inhabiting within the countries, territories, or dominions thereof (except as aforesaid); and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draught of a commission, and present the same to his royal highness the prince-regent, at this board, authorising the said commissioners, for executing the office of lord-high-admiral, to will and require the high court of admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same; and according to the course of admiralty, and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods, as shall belong to the government of the United States of America, or the citizens thereof, or to others inhabiting within the countries, territories, and dominions thereof (except as aforesaid); and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare and lay before his royal highness the prince-regent, at this board, a draught of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of admiralty, in his majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draught of instructions, for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purpose above-mentioned.

"His royal highness the prince-regent is nevertheless pleased hereby to declare, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that nothing in this order contained shall be understood to recal or affect the declaration which his majesty's naval commander on the American station has been

authorised to make to the government of the United States of America—namely, that his royal highness, animated by a sincere desire to arrest the calamities of war, has authorised the said commander to sign a convention, recalling and annulling, from a day to be named, all hostile orders issued by the respective governments, with a view of restoring, without delay, the relations of amity and commerce between his majesty and the United States of America.

"From the court at Carlton-house, the 13th of October, 1812.

"CASTLEREAGH.

N. VANSITTART.

CHARLES LONG.

LIVERPOOL.

BATHURST.

MELVILLE.

SIDMOUTH."

The American government having fitted out a fleet, with all possible dispatch, hostilities were commenced by an action with the *Belvidera* English frigate, which little vessel gallantly resisted an American squadron. The following account of this engagement was written by an officer on-board his majesty's ship *Belvidera*, dated Halifax, June 27.

"You will perceive by reports, which doubtless have reached England, that our little vessel can do something for her country. The event has been fortunate, and a source of joy and happiness to us.—On the 23d, at day-light, five sail were seen in chase of a merchantman, all standing before the wind. We chased, and discovered them to be men-of-war. The tables were soon turned, by our being chased: at twelve o'clock, the headmost ship, the *President*, was within gun-shot and an half; the *United States* within two gun-shots; and the *Essex* about three gun-shots. At half-past twelve, the *President* topped his spritsail-yard to windward. We then expected a shot, but all remained quiet; piped to dinner. The *President* was at some distance till three o'clock, when she began to draw on us, having got the wind first; the whole of us being before the wind: at about ten minutes before four, she then being three cables' length from us, she gave us a shot right through the rudder coat, which damaged the rudder; two more shots were fired, the second of which killed one man, and wounded several others. This shot being of a bad quality, it split into about fifty pieces. One of these men, who died twenty-four hours after of his wounds, had his arms amputated high up, and would have lived, had not two of his ribs been fractured, and driven into his lungs; notwithstanding which, after his wounds were dressed, he wanted to go on deck to have another shot at the cowards (so he termed them.) The rest of the wounded have merely flesh-wounds, except one, who has a large splinter in the knee, but will not lose the limb. Our captain, officers, and men, were cool and determined. The fine

fellows asked the captain, if they should give it them.

"Poor Captain Byron has received a violent contusion in the upper and inside part of the thigh, which by the surgeon's account will turn to an abscess, and will be well in about a fortnight. The President's commander is a coward—he might have been alongside of us had he chosen it. He gave us seven or eight broadsides, independent of his bow guns; we tickled him with four, and only four stern-chasers, which were well applied to his bows; they were thrown into confusion, and I doubt not that many of the yankeys have left off messing. Our stern is cut much with their grape, but that did not kill any men. Six shots struck our counter; one went through our main-top-mast, and another through our cross-jack yard, from their trying to disable us in our rigging, and we to hull them. The annexed is a statement of our weight of metal, as compared with that of our American antagonists:—Belvidera, twenty-six eighteen-pounders, two nine-pounders, fourteen thirty-two-pounders, forty-two guns.—President frigate, mounting sixty-four guns, twelve and twenty-four-pounders; Constitution, fifty-four guns; United States, fifty-four guns; Essex, not certain; Argus, twenty guns."

His majesty's ship *Acasta* captured the American privateer brig *Curlew*, pierced for twenty guns, but having only sixteen on-board, with a complement of one hundred and seventy-two men. The sloop *Colibri* captured the American ship privateer *Catherine*, from Boston, out eight days, a beautiful and well-equipped ship, pierced for sixteen guns, mounting fourteen long six-pounders, and a complement of eighty-eight men, commanded by Francis A. Burnham; she had one man killed, and one wounded; her men ran below, which accounts for their suffering so small a loss. The sloop *Emulous* captured the American privateer brig *Gossamer*, of fourteen carriage-guns, with one hundred men; she left Boston on the 24th of August, had made one capture, the ship *Mary Anne* of Greenock, from Jamaica bound to Quebec.

On the other hand, his majesty's ship *Alert* was captured by the American frigate *Essex*, (Aug. 13.) The captain of the *Essex* ingeniously employed the *Alert* as a cartel, by which expedient, she was secure from re-capture; otherwise she would probably have been re-taken before she had reached the American port St. John's, Newfoundland.

The British armed ship *Queen Charlotte*, who had been lying at Fort Erie, left her moorings soon after the declaration of war was received, and proceeded up the lake; and afterwards lay at Fort Malden, the great depôt of Indian supplies. His majesty's sloop of war *Hunter* went up the straits of Mackina, passed into Lake Mi-

chigau, and captured an American merchant-vessel.

General Brock, president of the parliament of Upper Canada, acting governor of the province and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Upper Canada, was early in July at Newark, superintending the various defences on the river. This able and experienced officer came from Little York soon after hearing the declaration of war, and it was believed, with a serious intention of attacking Fort Niagara; but, contrary to what had been reported, he made no demand of a surrender.

Expecting a descent from the American army, the Canadians had, for several days, been removing their families and effects from the river into the interior. At Newark, Queenston, and other villages on the river, there were no inhabitants left, except a few civil officers and soldiers. An immense quantity of specie, plate, &c. from various parts of the province, had also been boxed up, and destined for Quebec.

The British had about six or seven hundred regular troops stationed between the lakes, from Fort George to Fort Erie. These men were generally those who had seen service in various parts of the world. The militia of the province were ordered out *en masse*.

The British had more than one hundred pieces of flying, field, and garrison artillery, in the different defences on the Niagara river. Fort Erie had been strengthened considerably. There was also a small battery on the point below Chip-pawa, mounted with two pieces of heavy artillery, calculated to play upon the store-house and mills of Schlosser. Below the falls there was a small stone battery, near the bank of the river, where the lower ladder formerly stood. A rifleman who had deserted from the other side, and crossed the river immediately below the falls, on a pine log, stated, that but a little way from the battery up the river, a field-piece was stationed in the bushes in order to fire into Schlosser village. On the hill about half a mile from the stone battery, were placed two eighteen-pounders. The ladders on both sides of the river were taken up. During a thick foggy morning, four British soldiers, who stood as sentinels on the river, near Fort St. George, swam over to the American shore: three of them brought over their arms.

An American force having crossed the river under General Hull, hostilities commenced on the borders of Canada. At this time war was an employment so new to the people of the United States, that the humble operations of General Hull and his army were given with the most minute detail; and the driving in of a few advanced-posts actually delivered in a tone of triumph not unworthy a German campaign. The American force, composed entirely of the neighbouring militia,

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passed the river on the night of the 11th of July, at the town of Sandwich, two miles below Detroit; the British out-posts having been withdrawn the night before. On the 13th, the standard of the United States was erected in Canada, and a proclamation published, inviting the Canadian militia to retire to their homes, and promising peaceable and friendly treatment to the inhabitants on condition of neutrality. Considerable fear seemed to have been entertained of the junction of the Indians with the British; and the proclamation declared, that if they were once brought forward, no quarter was to be given. The next operation was to be an attack on Fort Malden, a work represented as of considerable strength. The passage of the river gave rise to an affair between the advance of the Americans, amounting to 300, and the British and Indians. On the first sight of their enemy, the Indians fled into a wood, and the British followed them, with the loss of one or two killed: but down to the 22d, no movement appeared to have been made; and General Hull, by building block-houses, and forming entrenched camps, seemed to be labouring under some apprehensions for his own security.

Great riots were now occasioned by the publication of a journal called the "Federal Republican." A mob was excited to assassinate the publisher and editors. About nine o'clock at night, an attempt was made to destroy Mr. Hanson's house in South Charles-street.

The editors having anticipated the attack, had removed all the furniture, and had collected a number of their friends from the federal counties, among whom were Generals Lee and Langan, of Virginia and Georgetown. The mob could make no impression on the house, only breaking the windows with stones. Every time they attacked they were fired upon, and two were killed, and a number wounded. Towards morning, about forty infantry, and twenty horsemen, assembled and lined the street in front of the house, at which time the greatest part of the noble defenders of the house issued out in the rear, while those more immediately concerned remained, and told General Striker and the mayor, that they were willing to deliver themselves up to the civil authority, provided their safety was guaranteed by the general and the mayor. This was done; and the troops being formed into a hollow square, they opened the door, and were marched to jail. The following gentlemen went to prison:—Wm. Schroeder, John Thompson, General Harry Lee (of Virginia), W. B. Bend, Otho Sprigg, Henry Kennedy, Charles Kigore, Henry Nelson, John E. Hall, George Winchester, Peregrine Warfield, Alexander C. Hanson (editor), George Richards, Edward Gwynn, David Hoffman, Horatio Biglow, Ephraim Gaither, Wm. Gaither, Jacob Schley, Mark U. Pringle, Daniel Murray, Richard S. Crabb, James

Lingan. About the time the troops assembled, the mob had procured a 4-pounder to fire on the house, but were prevented from using it by the military. The troops had been ordered out for the protection of the prison, and to keep the peace of the city; but, to their disgrace, they refused. The next day the mob forced the jail, and fell with the fury of cannibals on twenty-six unarmed prisoners, and beat them with clubs until no signs of life remained, when they left them, thinking they had fully completed the bloody deed: providentially they all, in a short time, showed signs of life, except General Lingan, who never recovered: he was a man of great influence in his county, having been formerly collector of the customs at Georgetown, to which office he had been appointed by General Washington, of whom he was a favorite, and who used frequently to visit him. He was about seventy years of age when his skull was split open.

Mr. Thompson was reserved for a public spectacle. After beating him, they put him into a cart, and rolled him in tar and feathers, set the feathers in a blaze, and at last lodged him in the watch-house. They still kept him confined, with his tar and feathers on him. The mayor and other influential characters of the party endeavoured to get him from them, but without effect. General Harry Lee died, and little hopes were entertained of the lives of others. Mr. Hanson, with three or four others, jumped amongst the mob, in the lobby of the prison, and escaped.

A general and unbounded indignation at the inhuman murder of General Lingan pervaded Montgomery and other parts of the state. The mangled corpse of this general had been thrown out of prison on the earth, where it lay exposed till the middle of the next day, when it was obtained and buried by a relative. Many of the citizens put on mourning for him, declaring they would not lay it aside until his death was properly avenged.

At this time Johnson, the Mayor of Baltimore, issued a proclamation in the *Bonaparte*an style, threatening, "summarily to punish the riotous and ill-disposed." The following interesting extract of a letter from A. C. Hanson, dated near Baltimore, August 3, will best convey to the reader's conception the then distracted state of affairs:—

"Next to the death of General Lingan, whose exit was noble and truly characteristic, the panic prevailing among the federalists, in and near Baltimore, has smitten my heart more severely than all the wrongs and sufferings inflicted by the blind and ferocious agents of malignant, cowardly, blood-thirsty enemies, sheltering themselves for a time behind an irresponsible banditti.—My wounds, it is true, are numerous and severe, but they reach not my mind, nor give a moment's un-

easiness or grief, but the gloom and despondency pervading the body of federalists within the sphere of Baltimore influence, inflame my very brain, and are as a thousand daggers aimed at my heart. The late scenes in the emporium of Maryland, originating demonstrably at Washington, and made by many a party question, I consider merely the commencement of a long series of struggles, to terminate happily or unfortunately for the country, as men of respectability, property, and talents, perform the parts assigned them by patriotism. If they look on quietly, or rather fly their posts, and permit a hundredth part of the population of any given place, and that too composed of pickpockets, footpads, foreign vagabonds, and privateersmen, to usurp the government, they may blame themselves when *their* property, persons, and families, are disposed of by the same rules of 'summary adjudication.'

"Of my friends and fellow-martyrs, when I say they would vie with the picked men of Leonidas, facts will attest the truth of the assertion. Although they had not slept for thirty-six hours, to the last moment, they were cheerful, conversable, and sometimes gay. Not even when the forcing of the jail-door was announced by the savage yell of the mob, nor when they came to the door of the apartment in which we were confined, was there a look, a whisper, or motion of the body, expressive of any thing but cool, collected courage, and contempt of death. A different conduct was not to be expected of men, who had embarked in such a cause, with a perfect knowledge of all the consequences, though they never could have anticipated being delivered over to the executioner, through the inhuman treachery of the civil authorities.

The liberty of the press, the security of property and person, the rights, civil and political, belonging to the meanest citizen, the very principles and privileges, for the assertion and defence of which the war of independence was declared, we had pledged ourselves to maintain, and at the risk of our lives, and at every extremity not forbidden by the laws. With the mob and civil authority united against us, the contest was indeed unequal.—However, my situation allows me to add but little.

"All my partners in persecution and suffering, whom I have seen or heard from since the massacre, agree in ascribing their injuries to the same men. The names of the mayor, General Stricker, and John Montgomery, are first on the catalogue of the perfidious, barbarous monsters; and it will appear, that the advice of the latter, dictated by cowardice, produced the catastrophe.

"My writing to you is more of an experiment than otherwise, and I cannot dictate, as no one will be my amanuensis, the doctors and nurses all uniting in their vows, that I shall not write or talk, and I can do neither without danger.

"I have six wounds on the head, either of which are sufficiently severe to induce an inflammation of the brain, without great care. Both collar-bones are hurt. The extremity of the spinal bone injured, and excessively painful. The breast bruised, and now painful. The fore-finger of the right hand broken, and the whole hand injured, having been twice stabbed, once through, with a pen-knife; and the nose broken.—These are the injuries I have received, but they do not give me half the pain that the despondency of my political friends inflicts."

CHAPTER VI.

Extracts from a Memorial addressed to the President of the United States.—List of American Privateers taken and destroyed by his Majesty's Vessels.—Ineffectual Attempts of Commodore Rodgers' upon the Belvidera.—Ridiculous Compliments paid to Captain Hull, for the Capture of La Guerriere.—Honorable Acquittal of Captain Ducrest.—Attack on Canada.—Gallantry of the English.—President's Message to Congress.

ABOUT 1,500 of the inhabitants of the county of Rockingham, in New Hampshire, addressed a memorial to the President of the United States on the 5th of August, from which the following are extracts:—

"We have witnessed, with sincere and deep regret, a system of policy pursued by the general government, from the embargo of 1807 to the

present time, tending most obviously, in our view, to the destruction of the commerce of these states.

"The alarm excited in our minds by the favorite and long-continued 'Restrictive System,' is raised still higher by the late declaration of war against Great Britain; an event which, we believe, in the present defenceless circumstances

of the country, will be productive of evils of incalculable magnitude.

"The impressment of our seamen, which forms the most plausible and popular of the alleged causes of war, we believe to have been the subject of great misrepresentation. The number of these cases has been extravagantly exaggerated. Every inquiry on the subject strengthens our conviction, that the reputed number bear little relation to the true number. We are among those to whom instances of impressment, if they did actually exist to any considerable extent, must be known; yet we cannot find them out. Some of the members of this meeting have been constantly employed in commercial pursuits, and have had ships on the ocean from the peace of 1783, until the ocean became unnavigable, as to us, by the embargo of 1807; and yet, during all that time, have never suffered the loss of one native American seaman by impressment. Other members of this meeting have, as masters of vessels, long inhabited, as it were, on the seas, and have been visited hundreds of times by British ships of war, and never had an American seaman taken from them by impressment.

"If so many of our seafaring fellow-citizens were actually in bondage, they must have been taken from the inhabitants of the Atlantic coast. They would be from among our brethren, sons, relations, and friends.

"It is well worthy of notice, that the greatest apparent feeling on this subject of impressments, and the greatest disposition to wage war on that account, are entertained by the representatives of those states which have no seamen at all of their own; while those sections of the community, in which more than three-fourths of the mariners of the United States have their homes, are, by great majorities, against that war, among the professed objects of which, the release of impressed seamen forms so principal a figure.

"It is well known that England pretends to no right of impressing our seamen. She insists only that she has a right to the service of her own subjects, in time of war, even though found serving on-board the merchant-ships of other nations. This claim we suppose to be neither unfounded nor novel. It is recognized by the public law of Europe, and of the civilized world. Writers of the highest authority maintain, that the right belongs to all nations. For the same reason, say they, that the father of a family may demand the aid of his children to defend himself and his house, a nation may call home her subjects to her defence and protection in time of war.

"But if this were not so, is our nation to plunge into a ruinous war, in order to settle a question of relative right between the government of a foreign nation and the subjects of that government? Are we to fight the battles of British seamen?

Nay more—are we to espouse their cause, in opposition to the cause of our native mariners?

"Fatal, indeed, would it be to the important interests of the navigating states, if the consequence of this war should be, that the American flag shall give the American character to all who sail under it, and thus invite thousands of foreign seamen to enter into our service, and thrust aside our own native citizens.

"England has always professed a willingness to adjust this subject by amicable arrangement. She has repeatedly called on us to do our part towards effecting such adjustment. She has reminded us of the facility, we may say the falsity, with which American protections are obtained; of the frequent instances in which Irishmen, and even men that cannot speak a word of our language, are found with American protections in their pockets. She has expressly and officially offered to prohibit, by severe laws, all impressment from American vessels, if the American government would enact laws prohibiting American officers from granting protections or certificates of citizenship to British subjects. She has, also, through her minister, offered to restore *every native seamen* that our government could name, as being under impressment. For years preceding the declaration of war, our government has been, in a manner, silent on this subject. When the arrangement was made with Mr. Erskine, the present administration themselves did not consider any existing difficulties on the subject of impressment as insuperable obstacles to peace.

"The blockade, and orders in council,—the other causes of war, bear no better examination than the subject of impressment. The blockade, now so grievous to be endured, we know was regarded, at the time it was laid, as a measure favourable to our interest. We know this, upon the express declaration of Mr. Monroe, then our minister in England. We have his own words, that it would be regarded "in a favorable light," and that it "promised to be highly satisfactory to our commercial interests."

"By what train of reasoning this favor is now turned into an injury of such magnitude as to justify war, we are utterly at a loss to comprehend.

"We are equally unsatisfied with the arguments used, to prove that the decrees of France were repealed in November, 1810. Against such supposed repeal of the French decrees, we have the express declaration of the French government itself, as late as March, 1812, alleging that those decrees did then exist. We have also had daily evidence of their operation, in the destruction of our property; and some members of this meeting have convictions of the existence and operation of those decrees, down to the very moment of our declaration of war; which convictions being produced by great and repeated personal losses, in

the seizures, detention, confiscation, and burnings, under those very decrees, are not likely to be removed, by any ingenious comments on the terms of an ambiguous, deceptive, and fallacious instrument like the Duke of Cadore's letter.

"The conduct of France, in relation to the repeal of her edicts, exhibits to our view a scene of the most contemptible fraud and juggling that ever disgraced the court of any nation.

"The British orders in council, we are informed, are now revoked. We cannot but lament, that the declaration of war was forced and hurried, as if to put us beyond the benefit of favorable events. Every attempt at postponement was ineffectual; and the question was taken, at a moment, when, perhaps, a month's delay would have removed the principal ground of complaint, and averted the awful calamity.

"But although we lament the present war, on all accounts, yet do we deprecate it most of all, as we view in it, as we fear, the harbinger of French alliance.

"On the subject of any French connection, either close or more remote, we have made up our minds. We will, in no event, assist in uniting the republic of America with the military despotism of France. We will have no connection with her principles or her power. If her armed troops, under whatever name or character, should come here, we shall regard them as enemies. No pressure, domestic or foreign, shall ever compel us to connect our interests with those of the house of Corsica; or to yoke ourselves to the triumphal car of the conqueror and the tyrant of Europe."

The following list of American privateers, taken and destroyed by his majesty's ships and vessels, on the Halifax station, between July 1 and August 25, was transmitted by Vice-admiral Sawyer to G. W. Croker, esq. in a letter bearing the latter date.

Active schooner, of two guns and twenty men, captured by the Spartan, Captain Brenton, 16th of July, 1812, off Cape Sable.

Fair Trader schooner, of one gun and twenty men, captured by the Indian, Captain Jane, and Plumper, Lieutenant Bray, 16th of July, 1812, Bay of Fundy.

Argus schooner, of one gun and twenty-three men, captured by the Plumper, Lieutenant Bray, 17th July, 1812, Bay of Fundy.

Friendship schooner, of one gun and eight men, captured by the Plumper, Lieutenant Bray, 18th of July, 1812, Bay of Fundy.

Actress sloop, of four guns and fifty-three men, captured by the Spartan, Captain Brenton, 18th of July, 1812, off Cape St. Mary.

Intention schooner, of one gun, three swivels, twenty-nine men, captured by the Spartan, Captain Brenton, 19th of July, 1812, off Annapolis.

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Gleaner sloop, of six guns, and forty men, captured by the Colibri, Captain Thompson, 23d of July, 1812, off Cape Sable.

Curlew brig, of sixteen guns, 172 men, and 270 tons, captured by the Acasta, Captain Kerr, 24th July, 1812, lat. 44. 15. N. long. 62. 30. W. pierced for twenty guns, off Cape Sable.

Catherine ship, of fourteen guns and eighty-eight men, captured by the Colibri, Captain Thompson, 26th of July, 1812, off Cape Sable.

Gossamer brig, of fourteen guns and 100 men, captured by the Emulous, Captain Mulcaster, 30th of July, 1812, off Cape Sable.

Morning Star schooner, of one gun, four swivels, fifty men, and seventy tons, captured by the Maidstone, Captain Burdet, and Spartan, Captain Brenton, 1st of August, 1812, Bay of Fundy; burnt by the boats in a creek called Bailly's Mistake.

Polly schooner, of one gun, four swivels, forty men, and sixty tons, captured by the Maidstone, Captain Burdet, and Spartan, Captain Brenton, 1st of August, 1812, Bay of Fundy; burnt by the boats in a creek called Bailly's Mistake.

Commodore Barry, a revenue-cutter, of six guns, pierced for ten guns, captured by the Maidstone, Captain Burdet, and Spartan, Captain Brenton, 3d of August, 1812, Bay of Fundy; attacked in Little River, and brought out by the boats; the chief part of the crew escaped.

Madison schooner, of two guns, captured by the Maidstone, Captain Burdet, and Spartan, Captain Brenton, 3d of August, 1812, Bay of Fundy; attacked in Little River, and brought out by the boats; the chief part of the crew escaped.

Olive schooner, of two guns, captured by the Maidstone, Captain Burdet, and Spartan, Captain Brenton, 3d of August, 1812, Bay of Fundy; attacked in Little River and brought out by the boats; the chief part of the crew escaped.

Spence schooner, of two guns, captured by the Maidstone, Captain Burdet, and Spartan, Captain Brenton, 3d of August, 1812, Bay of Fundy; attacked in Little River, and brought out by the boats; the chief part of the crew escaped.

Polly schooner, of four guns and thirty-five men, captured by the Colibri and Statera, 11th of August, 1812, entrance of Bay of Fundy.

Buckskin schooner, of one gun, three swivels, and thirty-two men, captured by the Colibri and Statera, 11th of August, 1812, off Cape Sable.

Dolphin schooner, of one gun, one swivel, and twenty-eight men, captured by the Earl Moira, tender to Guerriere, 12th of August, off Shelburne.

Regulator schooner, of one gun and forty men, captured by the Colibri, Captain Thomson, 12th of August, 1812, off Cape Sable.

Dolphin schooner, of two guns and forty-eight

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men, captured by the Colibri, and Maidstone, 13th of August, 1812, off Cape Sable.

Lewis schooner, of six guns and thirty men, captured by the Hope, tender to the Africa, 14th of August, 1812, off Halifax.

Pythagoras schooner, of three guns and thirty-five men, captured by the Bream, Lieutenant Timpson, 9th of August, 1812, off Shelburne, after an action of twenty-minutes; enemy had two men wounded.

Bunker's Hill schooner, of seven guns and seventy-two men, captured by the Belvidera, 21st of August, 1812, Sambro light-house, N. W. 242 miles.

Mr. Madison depended much upon the services of Commodore Rodgers, who, in the affair with the Little Belt, had proved himself a bitter enemy to Great Britain. He was appointed to cruise with several vessels under his command, but according to his own accounts, was unsuccessful in his attempts. We shall subjoin the commodore's letter to the secretary of the navy, and an extract from his journal.

*"United States Frigate President,
Boston, September 1, 1812.*

"Sir,—I had the honor yesterday of informing you of the arrival of the squadron, and have now to state the result and particulars of our cruise.

"Previous to leaving New York on the 21st of June, I heard that a British convoy had sailed from Jamaica for England, on or about the 20th of the preceding month; and on being informed of the declaration of war against Great Britain, I determined, in the event of Commodore Decatur joining me with the United States, Congress, and Argus, as you had directed, to go in pursuit of them. The United States, Congress, and Argus, did join me on the 21st; with which vessels, this ship, and the Hornet, I accordingly sailed in less than an hour after I received your orders of the 18th of June, accompanied by your official communication of the declaration of war.

"On leaving New York I shaped our course south-easterly; in the expectation of falling in with vessels, by which I should hear of the before-mentioned convoy, and the following night met with an American brig, which gave me the sought-for information. The squadron now crowded sail in pursuit; but, the next morning, was taken out of its course by the pursuit of a British frigate, that I since find was the Belvidera, relative to which I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed extract from my journal. After repairing, as far as possible, the injury done by the Belvidera to our spars and rigging, we again crowded all sail, and resumed our course in pursuit of the convoy, but did not receive farther intelligence of it until the 29th of June, on the western edge of the Bank of Newfoundland, where we spoke an Ame-

rican schooner, the master of which reported, that he had two days before passed them, in lat. 43. long. 55. steering to the eastward. I was surprised to find that the convoy was still so far to the eastward of us, but was urged, however, as well by what I considered my duty, as by inclination, to continue the pursuit. On the 1st of July, a little to the eastward of Newfoundland Bank, we fell in with quantities of cocoa-nut shells, orange-peels, &c. which indicated that the convoy were not far distant, and we pursued it with zeal, although frequently taken out of our course by vessels it was necessary to chase, without gaining any farther intelligence until the 9th of July, in lat. 45. 30. long. 23. we captured the British private armed brig Dolphin, of Jersey, and was informed by some of her crew that they had seen the convoy the preceding evening; the weather was not clear at the time, but that they had counted thirty-five sail; and that the force charged with its protection consisted of one two-decker, a frigate, a sloop of war, and a brig. This was the last intelligence I received of the before-mentioned convoy, although its pursuit was continued until the 13th of July, being then within eighteen and twenty hours sail of the British channel.

"From this we steered for the island of Madeira, passed close by it on the 21st of July; thence near the Azores, and saw Corvo and Flores; thence steered for the Banks of Newfoundland; and from the latter place (by the way of Cape Sable) to this port, it having become indispensably necessary, by the time we reached our own coast, to make the first convenient port in the United States, owing, I am sorry to say, to that wretched disease, the scurvy, having made its appearance on-board of the vessels, most generally to a degree seriously alarming.

"From the western part of the banks of Newfoundland, to our making the island of Madeira, the weather was such, at least six days out of seven, as to obscure from our discovery every object that we did not pass within four or five miles of; and indeed, for several days together, the fog was so thick as to prevent our seeing each other, even at cable's length asunder, more than twice or thrice in the twenty-four hours.

"From the time of our leaving the United States until our arrival here, we chased every vessel we saw; and you will not be a little astonished when I inform you, that, although we brought to every thing we did chase, with the exception of four vessels, we only made seven captures, and one recapture.

"It is truly an unpleasant task to be obliged to make a communication thus barren of benefit to our country; the only consolation I individually feel on the occasion being derived from knowing, that our being at sea obliged the enemy to concentrate a considerable portion of his most

active force, and thereby prevented his capturing an incalculable amount of American property, that would otherwise have fallen a sacrifice.

"I am aware of the anxiety you must have experienced at not hearing from me for such a length of time; but this, I am sure, you will not attribute in any degree to neglect, when I inform you, that not a single proper opportunity occurred, from the time of leaving the United States until our return.

"The four vessels we chased, and did not come up with, were—the *Belvidera*; a small pilot-boat schooner, supposed to be an American privateer; the hermaphrodite-brig privateer *Yankee*, which we lost sight of in a fog, but whose character we afterwards learnt; and a frigate, supposed to be British, which we chased on the 28th ult. near the shoal of George's Bank, and should certainly have come up with, had we have had the advantage of two hours more day-light.

"On-board of the several vessels of the squadron, there are between 80 and 100 prisoners, taken from the vessels we captured during our late cruise. The government not having any agent for prisoners here, I shall send them to Commodore Bainbridge, to be disposed of in such manner as best appears with the interest of the United States, and which, I hope, may meet your approbation.—With great respect,

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN RODGERS.

"The Hon. Paul Hamilton, Secretary
of the Navy, Washington."

"List of Vessels captured, re-captured, and destroyed."

"July 2.—Brig *Traveller*, 277 tons, J. Amory, master, of Newcastle, E. ten men, bound from the Bay of Fundy, owned by Geo. Watson, Mat. Dunn, Geo. Dunn, and John Stoker; cargo of timber—burnt.

"July 4.—Brig *Duchess of Portland*, six guns, eleven men, of Newcastle, E. bound to Newcastle N. in ballast—burnt.

"July 9.—Brig *Dolphin*, 241 tons, twelve guns, and twenty-three men, Philip Cobbet, of Jersey, England, bound from Jersey to Newfoundland, in ballast, and some cargo, owned by Winter and Nicoll—sent into the United States.

"July 24.—Ship *John*, of Lancaster, sixteen guns, and thirty men, bound from London to Martinique, in ballast—sent into the United States.

"Aug. 2.—Brig *Argo*, 165 tons, ten guns, and sixteen men, Wm. Middleton, master, of London, laden with cotton, fustic, and about 8,000 dollars in gold—ordered for the United States.

"Aug. 17.—Schooner *Adeline*, of London, ten

men, bound from Hayti to London, laden with coffee—ordered for the United States.

"Aug. 25.—Schooner *Betsey*, of Marblehead, from Naples, laden with honey, recaptured from the *Guerriere*, who had ordered her for Halifax; four men and a midshipman (prize-master)—ordered her for the United States.

"JOHN RODGERS."

After describing the first ineffectual attempts of the President upon the *Belvidera*, the American commander thus proceeded in his journal:—

"I now endeavoured, by altering course half a point to port, and wetting our sails, to gain a more effectual position on his starboard quarter, but soon found myself losing ground. After this, a similar attempt was made at his larboard quarter, but without any better success, as the wind, at this time, was very light, and both ships sailing so nearly alike, that by making an angle of only half a point from the course she steered, enabled him to augment his distance. No hope was now left of bringing him to close action, except that derived from being to windward, and the expectation that the breeze might favor us first: I accordingly gave orders to steer directly after him, and to keep our bow-chace guns playing on his spars and rigging, until our broadside would more effectually reach him. At five, finding from the advantage his stern-guns gave him, that he had done considerable injury to our sails and rigging, and being within point-blank shot, I gave orders to put our helm to starboard, and fire our main-deck guns. This broadside did some further damage to his rigging, and I could perceive that his fore-topsail yard was wounded; but the sea was so very smooth, and the wind so light, that the injury done was not such as materially to affect his sailing. After this broadside, our course was instantly renewed in his wake (under a galling fire from his stern-chase guns, directed at our spars and rigging), and continued until half-past six; at which time, being within reach of his grape, and finding our sails, rigging, and several spars, particularly the main-yard (which had little left to support it, except the lifts and braces), very much disabled, I again gave orders to lull across his stern, and give him a couple of broadsides.

"The enemy, at this time, finding himself so hardly pressed, and seeing, while in the act of firing, our head-sails to left, and supposing that the ship had, in a measure, lost the effect of her helm, he gave a broad yawl, with the intention of bringing his broadside to bear. Finding the President answered the helm too quick for his purpose, he immediately re-assumed his course, and precipitately fired his four after main-deck guns, on the starboard side, although they did not bear upon us at the time by twenty-five to thirty

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degrees, and he now commenced lightening his ship, by throwing overboard all his boats, waste anchors, &c. and by this means was enabled, by a quarter before seven, to get so far a-head as to prevent our bow-chase guns doing execution; and I now perceived, with more mortification than words can express, that there was little or no chance left of getting within gun-shot of the enemy again. Under every disadvantage of disabled spars, sails, and rigging, I, however, continued the chase with all the sail we could set, till half-past eleven, *p. m.*; when, perceiving he had gained upwards of three miles, and not the slightest prospect left of coming up with him, I gave up the pursuit, and made the signal to the other ships, as they came up, to do the same.

"During the first of the chase, while the breeze was fresh, and sailing by the wind, I thought the whole of the squadron gained upon the enemy. It was soon discoverable, however, the advantage he acquired by sailing large, and this, I conceive, he must have derived, in so great a degree, by starting his water, as I could perceive, upwards of an hour before we came within gun-shot, water running out of his scuppers.

"While in chase, it was difficult to determine whether our own situation, or that of the other vessels of the squadron, was the most unpleasant. The superior sailing of the *President* was not such (off the wind), as to enable us to get upon the broadside of the enemy; the situation of the others was not less irksome, as not even the headmost, which was the *Congress*, was able, at any time, to get within less than two gun-shots distant, and even at that but for a very little time.

"In endeavouring to get alongside of the enemy, the following persons were killed and wounded: sixteen of whom were killed and wounded by the bursting of our own gun."

[Here follow the names of the killed and wounded, being in all three killed, and nineteen wounded; among the latter was Commodore Rodgers himself.]

In consequence of the capture of his majesty's ship *La Guerriere*, great honors were paid to Captain Hull, who was hailed as a Lord Nelson: pieces of plate were voted to him, public dinners given in celebration of him, addresses of thanks presented to him, and songs of triumph composed upon him; the battle was represented at the American theatres; and his portrait, by Stuart, exhibited for money.

On the 2d of October, a court-martial was held on-board his majesty's ship *Africa*, at Halifax, for the trial of Captain Dacres, and the surviving officers and crew of his majesty's late ship *La Guerriere*, for the surrender of that ship to the United States frigate *Constitution*, on the 19th of August: Vice-admiral Sawyer, president; Cap-

tain Sir J. P. Beresford, vice-president; B. Broke, J. Bastard, and C. Gill, members.—After a mature consideration, the court came to the following opinion:—

"That the surrender of the *Guerriere* was proper, in order to preserve the lives of her remaining crew, and that her being in that lamentable situation was from the accident of her masts going, which was occasioned more by their defective state, than from the fire of the enemy, though so greatly superior in guns and men. The court do, therefore, unanimously and honorably acquit the said Captain Dacres, the officers and crew of his majesty's late ship *La Guerriere*, and they are hereby honorably acquitted accordingly.

"The court, at the same time, feel themselves called upon to express the high sense they entertain of the conduct of the ship's company in general, when prisoners, but more particularly of those who withstood the attempts made to shake their loyalty, by offering them high bribes to enter into the land and sea-service of the enemy, and they will represent their merits to the commander-in-chief?"

Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Newfoundland, transmitted to J. W. Croker, esq. a list of thirty-three American vessels detained, and two English vessels (taken by American privateers) recaptured by the squadron under his command.

The American schooner *Providence* was captured, September 12, by his majesty's ship *Domonica*.

His majesty's forces, aided by the militia and Indians, stationed on the Niagara frontier, completely repelled an attempt of the Americans to invade Upper Canada, and took 900 of the enemy's army. Their commander, Brigadier-general Wadsworth, surrendered himself on the field of battle, to Major-general Sheaffe. The gallant Major-general Brock fell early, at the head of the flank companies of the 49th regiment, while nobly encouraging them to sustain their position, in opposition to an infinitely superior force, until the reinforcements he had ordered to advance to their support should arrive. The following was Major-general Sheaffe's account of this battle:—

"*Fort George, Oct. 18.*

"Sir,—I have the honor of informing your excellency, that the enemy made an attack, with a considerable force, this morning before day-light, on the position of Queenstown. On receiving intelligence of it, Major-general Brock immediately proceeded to that post, and I am excessively grieved in having to add, that he fell whilst gallantly cheering his troops to an exertion for maintaining it. With him the position soon was lost;

but the enemy was not allowed to retain it long. Reinforcements having been sent up from his post, composed of regular troops, militia and Indians, a movement was made to turn his left, while some artillery, under the able direction of Captain Wolcroft, supported by a body of infantry, engaged his attention in front. This operation was aided too by the judicious position which Norton, and the Indians with him, had taken on the woody brow of the high ground above Queenstown. A communication being thus opened with Chipawa, a junction was formed with succours that had been ordered from that post. The enemy was then attacked, and after a short but spirited conflict, was completely defeated. I had the satisfaction of receiving the sword of their commander, Brigadier-general Wadsworth, on the field-of-battle; and many officers, with upwards of 900 men, were made prisoners, and more may yet be expected. A stand of colours, and one six-pounder, were also taken. The action did not terminate till nearly three o'clock in the afternoon, and their loss in killed and wounded must have been considerable. Ours I believe to be comparatively small in numbers; no officer was killed besides Major-general Brock, one of the most gallant and zealous officers in his majesty's service, whose loss cannot be too much deplored; and Lieutenant-colonel Mac Donell, provincial aid-de-camp, whose gallantry and merit rendered him worthy of his chief.

"Captains Dennis and Williams, commanding the flank companies of the 49th regiment, which were stationed at Queenstown, were wounded, bravely contending at the head of their men, against superior numbers; but I am glad to have it in my power to add, that Captain Dennis fortunately was able to keep the field, though with pain and difficulty; and Captain Williams's wound is not likely to deprive me long of his services.

"I am particularly indebted to Captain Holcroft, of the royal-artillery, for his judicious and skilful co-operation with the guns and howitzers under his immediate superintendence; the well-directed fire from which contributed materially to the fortunate results of the day.

"Captain Derinzy, of the 41st regiment, brought up the reinforcement of that corps from Fort George, and Captain Bullock led that of the same regiment from Chipawa; and under their command those detachments acquitted themselves in such a manner, as to sustain the reputation which the 41st regiment had already acquired in the vicinity of Detroit.

"Major-general Brock, soon after his arrival at Queenstown, had sent down orders for battering the American fort Niagara; Brigadier-general

Major Evans, who was left in charge of Fort George, directed the operations against it with so much effect as to silence its fire, and to force the troops to abandon it; and by its prudent precautions he prevented mischief of a most serious nature, which otherwise might have been effected, the enemy having used heated shot in firing at Fort George. In these services he was most effectually aided by Colonel Clans, (who remained in the fort at my desire,) and by Captain Vigoreux, of the royal engineers. Brigadier-major Evans also mentions the conduct of Captains Powell and Cameron, of the militia artillery, in terms of commendation.

"Lieutenant Crowther, of the 41st regiment, had charge of two three-pounders that had accompanied the movement of our little corps, and they were employed with very good effect.

"Captain Clegg, of the 49th regiment, aid-de-camp to our lamented friend and general, afforded me most essential assistance; and I found the services of Lieutenant Fowlers, of the 41st regiment, assistant deputy quarter-master-general, very useful. I derived much aid too from the activity and intelligence of Lieutenant Kerr, of the Glencary fencibles, whom I employed in communicating with the Indians and other flanking parties.

"I was unfortunately deprived of the aid, experience, and ability of Lieutenant-colonel Myers, deputy quarter-master-general, who had been sent up to Fort Erie a few days before, on duty which detained him there.

"Lieutenant-colonels Butler and Clarke, of the militia, and Captains Hatt, Durand, Rowe, Applegarth, James Crooks, Cooper, Robert Hamilton, Mac Ewen, and Duncan Cameron, and Lieutenants Richardson, and Thomas Butler, commanding flank companies of the Lincoln and York militia, led their men into action with great spirit. Major Merritt, commanding the Niagara dragoons, accompanied me and gave me much assistance with part of his corps. Captain A. Hamilton, belonging to it, was disabled from riding, and attached himself to the guns under Captain Holcroft, who speaks highly of his activity and usefulness. I beg leave to add, that volunteers Shaw, Thomson, and Jarvis, attached to the flank companies of the 49th regiment, conducted themselves with great spirit; the first wounded, and the last taken prisoner; I beg leave to recommend these young men to your excellency's notice. Norton is wounded, but not badly; he and the Indians particularly distinguished themselves, and I have very great satisfaction in assuring your excellency, that the spirit and good conduct of his majesty's troops, of the militia and of the other provincial corps, were eminently conspicuous on this occasion.

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"I have not been able to ascertain yet the number of our troops or of those of the enemy engaged; ours, I believe, did not exceed the number of the prisoners we have taken; and their advance, which effected a landing, probably amounted to 1,300 or 1,400 men.

"I shall do myself the honor of transmitting to your excellency further details, when I shall have received the several reports of the occurrences which did not pass under my own observation, with the return of the casualties, and those of the killed and wounded, and of the ordnance taken.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) "R. H. SHEAFFE, major-general.
"To his Excellency Sir G. Prevost, Bart. &c."

Major-general Roger Hall Sheaffe was appointed to the command of the troops in the upper province, and to administer the civil government of the same. He humanely consented to a cessation of offensive hostility, on the solicitation of Major-general Van Ranseller, for the purpose of allowing the Americans to remove the bodies of the slain and wounded.

It was stated, by private accounts, that the Americans who crossed over in the night, consisted of about 1,500 men: the whole of whom were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and about 500 more, who attempted to cross afterwards, were drowned. The total numbers engaged on the side of the English, did not exceed 700 men, and their loss was not more than fifty killed and wounded. Major-general Sir Isaac Brock was a native of Guernsey.

On the opening of the imperial parliament, November 30, the prince-regent in his speech thus alluded to this victory:

"The declaration of war by the government of the United States of America, was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation, that the amicable relations between the two nations would not long be interrupted. It is with sincere regret that I am obliged to acquaint you, that the conduct and pretensions of that government have hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement. Their measures of hostility have been principally directed against the adjoining British provinces, and every effort has been made to seduce the inhabitants of them from their allegiance to his majesty. The proofs, however, which I have received of loyalty and attachment from his majesty's subjects in North America, are highly satisfactory. The attempts of the enemy to invade Upper Canada have not only proved abortive, but, by the judicious arrangements of the governor-general, and by the skill and decision with which the military operations have been conducted, the forces of the enemy assembled for that pur-

pose in one quarter have been compelled to capitulate, and in another have been completely defeated."

On the 4th of November, the President of the United States had communicated the following message to the congress:

"Fellow-citizens of the senate and house of representatives,—On our present meeting, it is my first duty to invite your attention to the providential favors which our country has experienced in the unusual degree of health dispensed to its inhabitants, and in the rich abundance with which the earth has rewarded the labours bestowed on it. In the successful cultivation of other branches of industry, and in the progress of general improvement favorable to the national prosperity, there is just occasion also for our mutual congratulations and thankfulness.

"With these blessings are naturally mingled the pressures and vicissitudes incidental to the state of war, into which the United States have been forced by the perseverance of a foreign power, in its system of injustice and aggression. Previous to its declaration, it was deemed proper, as a measure of precaution and forecast, that a considerable force should be placed in the Michigan territory, with a general view to its security; and, in the event of war, to such operations in the uppermost Canada as would intercept the hostile influence of Great Britain over the savages; obtain the command of the lake, on which that part of Canada borders; and maintain co-operating relations with such forces as might be most conveniently employed against other parts.

"Brigadier-general Hull was charged with this provisional service, having under his command a body of troops, composed of regulars and of volunteers from the state of Ohio: having reached his destination, after his knowledge of the war, and possessing discretionary authority to act offensively, he passed into the neighbouring territory of the enemy, with a prospect of an easy and victorious progress. The expedition, nevertheless, terminated unfortunately, not only in a retreat to the town and fort of Detroit, but in the surrender of both, and of the gallant corps commanded by that officer. The causes of this painful reverse will be investigated by a military tribunal. A distinguishing feature in the operations which preceded and followed this adverse event, is the use made by the enemy of the merciless savages under their influence. Whilst the benevolent policy of the United States invariably recommended peace, and promoted civilization amongst that wretched portion of the human race, and was making exertions to dissuade them from taking either side in the war, the enemy has not scrupled to call to his aid their ruthless ferocity, armed with the horrors of those instruments of carnage and torture which are known to spare neither age nor sex. In this

outrage against the laws of honorable war, and against the feelings sacred to humanity, the British commanders cannot resort to a plan of retaliation; for it is committed in the face of our example. They cannot mitigate it by calling it a self-defence against men in arms, for it embraces the most shocking butcheries of defenceless families; nor can it be pretended that they are not answerable for the atrocities perpetrated, since the savages are employed with the knowledge, and even with menaces, that their fury could not be controuled. Such is the spectacle which the deputed authorities of a nation, boasting its religion and morality, have not been restrained from presenting to an enlightened age.

"The misfortune at Detroit was not, however, without a consoling effect. It was followed by signal proofs, that the national spirit rises according to the pressure on it. The loss of an important post, and of the brave men surrendered with it, inspired every where new ardour and determination. In the states and districts least remote, it was no sooner known, than every citizen was eager to fly with his arms at once to protect his brethren against the blood-thirsty savages let loose by the enemy on an extensive frontier; and to convert a partial calamity into a source of invigorated efforts. This patriotic zeal, which it was necessary rather to limit than excite, has embodied an ample force from the states of Kentucky and Ohio, and from parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It is placed, with the addition of a few regulars, under the command of Brigadier-general Harrison, who possesses the entire confidence of his fellow-soldiers; among whom are citizens,—some of them volunteers in the ranks,—not less distinguished by their political stations than by their personal merits.

"The greater portion of this force is proceeding on its destination towards the Michigan territory, having succeeded in relieving an important frontier post, and in several incidental operations against hostile tribes of savages, rendered indispensable by the subserviency into which they had been seduced by the enemy; a seduction the more cruel, as it could not fail to impose a necessity of precautionary severities against those who yielded to it.

"At a recent date, an attack was made on a post of the enemy, near Niagara, by a detachment of the regular and other forces, under the command of Major-general Van Rensselaer, of the militia of the State of New York. The attack, it appears, was ordered in compliance with the ardour of the troops, who executed it with distinguished gallantry, and were for a time victorious; but not receiving the expected support, they were compelled to yield to reinforcements of British regulars and savages. Our loss has been considerable, and is deeply to be lamented. That

of the enemy, less ascertained, will be the more self, as it includes among the killed the commanding-general, who was also governor of the province; and was sustained by veteran troops, from inexperienced soldiers, who must daily improve in the duties of the field.

"Our expectation of gaining the command of the Lakes, by the invasion of Canada, from Detroit, having been disappointed, measures were instantly taken to provide on them a naval force superior to that of the enemy. From the talents and activity of the officer charged with this object, every thing that can be done may be expected. Should the present season not admit of complete success, the progress made will ensure for the next a naval ascendancy, where it is essential, to a permanent peace with, and a controul over the savages.

"Among the incidents to the measures of the war, I am constrained to advert to the refusal of the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to furnish the required detachments of militia towards the defence of the maritime frontier. The refusal was founded on a novel and unfortunate exposition of the provisions of the constitution relating to the militia. The correspondence, which will be before you, contain the requisite information on the subject. It is obvious, that if the authority of the United States, to call into service and command the militia for the public defence can be thus frustrated, even in a state of declared war, and of course under apprehensions of invasion preceding war, they are not one nation for the purpose most of all requiring it, and that the public safety may have no other resource than those large and permanent military establishments which are forbidden by the principles of our free government, and against the necessity of which the militia were meant to be a constitutional bulwark.

"On the coasts, and on the ocean, the war has been as successful as circumstances, inseparable from its early stages, could promise. Our public ships and private cruizers, by their activity, and, where there was occasion, by their intrepidity, have made the enemy sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their side. Our trade, with little exception, has safely reached our ports, having been much favored in it by the course pursued by a squadron of our frigates, under the command of Commodore Rodgers; and in the instance in which skill and bravery were more particularly tried with those of the enemy, the American flag had an auspicious triumph. The frigate Constitution, commanded by Captain Hull, after a close and short engagement, completely disabled and captured a British frigate; gaining for that officer, and all on-board, a praise which cannot be too liberally bestowed—not merely for

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the victory actually achieved, but for that prompt and cool exertion of commanding talents, which, giving to courage its highest character, and to the force applied its full effect, proved that more could have been done in a contest requiring more.

"Anxious to abridge the evils from which a state of war cannot be exempt, I lost no time, after it was declared, in conveying to the British government the terms on which its progress might be arrested, without waiting the delays of a formal and final pacification: and our chargé d'affaires at London was, at the same time, authorised to agree to an armistice, founded upon them. These terms required, that the orders in council should be repealed, as they affected the United States, without a revival of the blockades, violating acknowledged rules; that there should be an immediate discharge of American seamen from British ships, and a stop to impressments from American ships, with an understanding that an exclusion of the seamen of each nation, from the ships of the other, should be stipulated; and that the armistice should be improved into a definitive and comprehensive adjustment of depending controversies.

"Although a repeal of the orders, susceptible of explanations meeting the views of this government, had taken place before this pacific advance was communicated to that of Great Britain, the advance was declined, from an avowed repugnance to a suspension of the practice of impressment during the armistice, and without any intimation that the arrangement proposed, with respect to seamen, would be accepted. Whether the subsequent communications from this government, affording an occasion for reconsidering the subject, on the part of Great Britain, will be viewed in a more favorable light, or received in a more accommodating spirit, remains to be known. It would be unwise to release our measures, in any respect, on a presumption of such a result.

"The documents from the department of state, which relate to this subject, will give a view also of the propositions for an armistice, which have been received here,—one of them from the authorities at Halifax and in Canada; the other from the British government itself, through Admiral Warren; and of the grounds upon which neither of them could be accepted.

"Our affairs with France retain the posture which they held at my last communication to you.

"Notwithstanding the authorised expectation of an early as well as favorable issue of the discussions on foot, these have been procrastinated to the latest date. The only intervening occurrence meriting attention, is the promulgation of a French decree, purporting to be a definitive repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees. This proceed-

ing, although made the ground of the repeal of the British orders in council, is rendered, by the time and manner of it, liable to many objections.

"The final communications from our special minister to Denmark, afford further proofs of the good effects of his mission, and of the amicable disposition of the Danish government. From Russia we have the satisfaction to receive assurances of continued friendship, and that it will not be affected by the rupture between the United States and Great Britain. Sweden, also, professes sentiments favorable to subsisting harmony.

"With the Barbary powers, excepting that of Algiers, our affairs remain on the ordinary footing. The consul-general residing with that regency has suddenly, and without cause, been banished, together with all the American citizens found there. Whether this was the transitory effect of capricious despotism, or the first act of predetermined hostility, is not ascertained. Precautions were taken by the consul on the latter supposition.

"The Indian tribes, not under foreign instigations, remain at peace, and receive the civilising attentions which have proved so beneficial to them.

"With a view to that vigorous prosecution of the war, to which our national faculties are adequate, the attention of congress will be particularly drawn to the insufficiency of the existing provisions for filling up the military establishment. Such is the happy condition of our country, arising from the facility of subsistence, and the high wages for every species of occupation, that notwithstanding the augmented inducements provided at the last session, a partial success only has attended the recruiting service. The deficiency has been necessarily supplied, during the campaign, by other than regular troops, with all the inconveniences and expences incident to them. The remedy lies in establishing more favorably, for the private soldier, the proportion between his recompence, and the term of his enlistment: and it is a subject which cannot too soon, or too seriously, be taken into consideration. The same insufficiency has been experienced in the provisions for volunteers, made by an act of the last session. The recompence for the service required in this case, is still less attractive than in the other; and although patriotism alone has sent into the field some valuable corps of that description, those alone, who can afford the sacrifice, can reasonably be expected to yield to the impulse. It will merit consideration also, whether, as auxiliary to the security of our frontier, corps may not be advantageously organized, with a restriction of their services to particular districts convenient to them; and whether the local or occasional services of marines, or others in the seaport towns, under a similar organization, would

not be a proper addition to the means of their defence. I recommend a provision for an increase of the general-officers of the army, the deficiency of which has been illustrated by the number and distance of separate commands, which the cause of the war and the advantage of the service have required: and I cannot press too strongly on the earliest attention of the legislature, the importance of the reorganization of the staff-establishment, with a view to render more distinct and definite the relations and responsibilities of its several departments: that there is room for improvements, which will materially promote both economy and success, in what appertains to the army and the war, is equally inculcated by the examples of other countries, and by the experience of our own.

"A revision of the militia-laws, for the purpose of rendering them more systematic, and better adapting them to emergencies of the war, is at this time particularly desirable. Of the additional ships, authorised to be fitted for service, two will be shortly ready to sail; a third is under repair, and delay will be avoided in the repair of the residue. Of the appropriations for the purchase of materials for ship-building, the greater part has been applied to that object, and the purchases will be continued with the balance. The enterprising spirit which has characterized our naval force, and its success, both in restraining insults and depredations on our coasts, and in reprisals on the enemy, will not fail to recommend an enlargement upon it.

"There being reason to believe that the act, prohibiting the acceptance of British licenses, is not a sufficient guard against the use of them, for purposes favorable to the interests and views of the enemy, further provisions on that subject are highly important. Nor is it less so, that penal enactments should be provided for cases of corrupt and perfidious intercourse with the enemy, not amounting to treason, nor yet embraced by any statutory provisions.

"A considerable number of American vessels, which were in England when the revocation of the orders in council took place, were laden with British manufactures, under an erroneous impression that the non-importation act would immediately cease to operate, have arrived in the United States. It did not appear proper to exercise, on unforeseen cases of such magnitude, the ordinary powers vested in the treasury department, to mitigate forfeitures, without previously affording congress an opportunity of making on the subject such provisions as they may think proper. In their decisions they will, doubtless, equally consult what is due to equitable considerations, and to the public interest.

"The receipts in the treasury, during the year ending on the 30th of September last, have ex-

ceeded sixteen millions and an half of dollars; which have been sufficient to defray all the demands on the treasury to that day, including a necessary reimbursement of near three millions of the principal of the public debt. In these receipts are included a sum of near 8,850,000, received on account of the loans, authorised by the acts of last session. The whole sum actually obtained on loan, amounts to eleven millions of dollars: the residue of which being receivable subsequent to the 30th of September, will, together with the current revenue, enable us to defray all the expences of this year.

"The duties on the late unexpected importations of British manufactures, will render the revenue of the ensuing year more productive than could have been anticipated. The situation of our country, fellow-citizens, is not without its difficulties, though it abounds in animating considerations, of which the view here presented of our pecuniary resources is an example. With more than one nation we have serious and unsettled controversies,—and with one powerful in the means and habits of war, we are at war. The spirit and strength of this nation are, nevertheless, equal to the support of all its rights, and to carry it through all its trials. They can be met in that confidence. Above all, we have the inestimable consolation of knowing, that the war in which we are actually engaged, is a war neither of ambition nor vain-glory; that it is waged, not in violation of the rights of others, but in the maintenance of our own; that it was preceded by a patience without example, under wrongs accumulating without end; and that it was, finally, not declared, until every hope of averting it was extinguished, by the transfer of the British sceptres into new hands, clinging to former councils, and until declarations were reiterated, in the last hour, through the British envoy here, that the hostile edicts against our commercial rights, and our maritime independence, would not be revoked; nay, that they could not be revoked, without violating the obligations of Great Britain to other powers, as well as to her own interests. To have shrunk, under such circumstances, from manly resistance, would have been a degradation, blasting our best and proudest hopes. It would have struck us from the high rank where the virtuous struggles of our fathers had placed us, and have betrayed the magnificent legacy which we hold in trust for future generations. It would have acknowledged, that on the element which forms three-fourths of the globe we inhabit, and where all independent nations have equal and common rights, the American people were not an independent people, but colonists and vassals!

"It was at this moment, and with such an alternative, that war was chosen. The nation felt the necessity of it, and called for it. The appeal

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was accordingly made, in a just cause, to the just and powerful Being who holds in his hands the chain of events, and the destiny of nations. It remains only, that faithful to ourselves, entangled with no connections with the views of other powers, and ever ready to accept peace from the hand

of justice, we prosecute that war with united council, and with the ample faculties of the nation, until peace be so obtained, and as the only means, under the divine blessing, of speedily obtaining it.

"JAMES MADISON."

CHAPTER VII.

An Indian Town destroyed.—His Royal Highness the Prince-regent's Declaration in answer to the American Manifesto, relative to the War between Great Britain and the United States.—Madison re-elected President.—His Speech.

A DETACHMENT from General Hopkins's army, under Colonel Russell, of the 7th United States' regiment, succeeded in surprising one of the Poria towns. With 400 men, the colonel, by rapid marches, approached the town, shot a straggling Indian, assailed and carried the town. It was defended by about 150 warriors, who left twenty-five dead, and who fled to a swamp where their squaws and children had previously secreted themselves. The Americans took four prisoners, sixty horses laden with the baggage of the Indians, and seven scalps which were taken in September, near fort Harrison. The town and every thing in it was destroyed, which could not be brought away, and among it several Indians who had been wounded during the fall. Seven hundred Indians of the neighbouring towns had marched to meet General Hopkins, leaving the above 150 in charge of the women and children. The Marshal of the United States, for the district of South Carolina, had detained in custody twelve British subjects as hostages for the lives of six American seamen, who had been taken out of the privateer Sarah Ann, at Nassau, New Providence, and sent to Jamaica to be tried for treason.

The following declaration of the prince-regent, in answer to the American manifesto, relative to the war between Great Britain and the United States, appeared in a supplement to the London Gazette, January 9, 1813.

"The earnest endeavours of the prince-regent to preserve the relations of peace and amity with the United States of America having unfortunately failed, his royal highness, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, deems it proper publicly to declare the causes and origin of the war, in which the government of the United States have compelled him to engage.

"No desire of conquest, or other ordinary motive of aggression, has been, or can be, with any colour of reason, in this case imputed to Great

Britain. That her commercial interests were on the side of peace, if war could have been avoided without the sacrifice of her maritime rights, or without an injurious submission to France, is a truth which the American government will not deny.

"His royal highness does not, however, mean to rest on the favorable presumption to which he is entitled. He is prepared, by an exposition of the circumstances which have led to the present war, to show that Great Britain has throughout acted towards the United States of America with a spirit of amity, forbearance, and conciliation; and to demonstrate the inadmissible nature of those pretensions which have at length unhappily involved the two countries in war.

"It is well known to the world, that it has been the invariable object of the ruler of France to destroy the power and independence of the British empire, as the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of his ambitious designs.

"He first contemplated the possibility of assembling such a naval force in the channel as, combined with a numerous flotilla, should enable him to disembark in England an army sufficient, in his conception, to subjugate this country; and through the conquest of Great Britain he hoped to realize his project of universal empire.

"By the adoption of an enlarged and provident system of internal defence, and by the valour of his majesty's fleets and armies, this design was entirely frustrated; and the naval force of France, after the most signal defeats, was compelled to retire from the ocean.

"An attempt was then made to effectuate the same purpose by other means—a system was brought forward, by which the ruler of France hoped to annihilate the commerce of Great Britain, to shake her public credit, and to destroy her revenue; to render useless her maritime superiority, and so to avail himself of his continental

ascendancy, as to constitute himself, in a great measure, the arbiter of the ocean, notwithstanding the destruction of his fleets.

"With this view, by the decree of Berlin, followed by that of Milan, he declared the British territories to be in a state of blockade; and that all commerce or even correspondence with Great Britain was prohibited. He decreed that every vessel and cargo, which had entered, or was found proceeding to a British port, or which, under any circumstances, had been visited by a British ship of war, should be lawful prize: he declared all British goods and produce, wherever found, and however acquired, whether coming from the mother country or from her colonies, subject to confiscation: he further declared to be denationalized, the flag of all neutral ships that should be found offending against these his decrees; and he gave to this project of universal tyranny, the name of the continental system.

"For these attempts to ruin the commerce of Great Britain, by means subversive of the clearest rights of neutral nations, France endeavoured in vain to rest her justification upon the previous conduct of his majesty's government.

"Under circumstances of unparalleled provocation, his majesty had abstained from any measure which the ordinary rules of the law of nations did not fully warrant. Never was the maritime superiority of a belligerent over his enemy more complete and decided. Never was the opposite belligerent so formidably dangerous in his power, and in his policy to the liberties of all other nations. France had already trampled so openly and systematically on the most sacred rights of neutral powers, as might well have justified the placing her out of the pale of civilized nations. Yet in this extreme case, Great Britain had so used her naval ascendancy, that her enemy could find no just cause of complaint: and, in order to give to these lawless decrees the appearance of retaliation, the ruler of France was obliged to advance principles of maritime law unsanctioned by any other authority than his own arbitrary will.

"The pretexts for these decrees were, first, that Great Britain had exercised the rights of war against private persons, their ships and goods; as if the only object of legitimate hostility on the ocean were the public property of a state, or as if the edicts and the courts of France itself had not at all times enforced this right with peculiar rigour; secondly, that the British orders of blockade, instead of being confined to fortified towns, had, as France asserted, been unlawfully extended to commercial towns and ports, and to the mouths of rivers; and, thirdly, that they had been applied to places, and to coasts, which neither were, nor could be, actually blockaded. The last of these charges is not founded on fact;

whilst the others, even by the admission of the American government, are utterly groundless in point of law.

"Against these decrees, his majesty protested and appealed—he called upon the United States to assert their own rights, and to vindicate their independence, thus menaced and attacked; and as France had declared, that she would confiscate every vessel which should touch in Great Britain, or be visited by British ships of war, his majesty, having previously issued the order of January, 1807, as an act of mitigated retaliation, was at length compelled, by the persevering violence of the enemy, and the continued acquiescence of neutral powers, to revisit upon France, in a more effectual manner, the measure of her own injustice, by declaring, in an order in council, bearing date the 11th of November, 1807, that no neutral vessel should proceed to France or to any of the countries from which, in obedience to the dictates of France, British commerce was excluded, without first touching at a port in Great Britain, or her dependencies. At the same time, his majesty intimated his readiness to repeal the orders in council, whenever France should rescind her decrees, and return to the accustomed principles of maritime warfare; and at a subsequent period, as a proof of his majesty's sincere desire to accommodate, as far as possible, his defensive measures to the convenience of neutral powers, the operation of the orders in council was, by an order issued in April, 1809, limited to a blockade of France, and of the countries subjected to her immediate dominion.

"Systems of violence, oppression, and tyranny, can never be suppressed, or even checked, if the power against which such injustice is exercised be debarred from the right of full and adequate retaliation: or, if the measures of the retaliating power are to be considered as matters of just offence to neutral nations, whilst the measure of original aggression and violence are to be tolerated with indifference, submission, or complacency.

"The government of the United States did not fail to remonstrate against the orders in council of Great Britain. Although they knew that these orders would be revoked, if the decree of France, which had occasioned them, were repealed; they resolved at the same moment to resist the conduct of both belligerents, instead of requiring France, in the first instance, to rescind her decrees. Applying most unjustly the same measure of resentment to the aggressor and to the party aggrieved, they adopted measures of commercial resistance against both—a system of resistance which, however varied in the successive acts of embargo, non-intercourse, or non-importation, was evidently unequal in its operation, and principally levelled against the su-

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perior commerce, and maritime power of Great Britain.

"The same partiality towards France was observable in their negotiations, as in their measures of alleged resistance.

"Application was made to both belligerents for a revocation of their respective edicts; but the terms in which they were made were widely different.

"Of France was required a revocation only of the Berlin and Milan decrees, although many other edicts, grossly violating the neutral commerce of the United States, had been promulgated by that power. No security was demanded, that the Berlin and Milan decrees, even if revoked, should not under some other form be re-established: and a direct engagement was offered, that upon such revocation the American government would take part in the war against Great Britain, if Great Britain did not immediately rescind her orders. Whereas no corresponding engagement was offered to Great Britain, of whom it was required, not only that the orders in council should be repealed, but that no others of a similar nature should be issued, and that the blockade of May, 1806, should be also abandoned. This blockade, established and enforced according to accustomed practice, had not been objected to by the United States at the time it was issued. Its provisions were on the contrary represented by the American minister, resident in London at the time, to have been so framed, as to afford, in his judgment, a proof of the friendly disposition of the British cabinet towards the United States.

"Great Britain was thus called upon to abandon one of her most important maritime rights; by acknowledging the order of blockade in question, to be one of the edicts which violated the commerce of the United States, although it had never been so considered in the previous negotiations—and although the president of the United States had recently consented to abrogate the non-intercourse act, on the sole condition of the orders in council being revoked; thereby distinctly admitting these orders to be the only edicts which fell within the contemplation of the law under which he acted.

"A proposition so hostile to Great Britain, could not but be proportionably encouraging to the pretensions of the enemy. As by their alleging that the blockade of May, 1806, was illegal, the American government virtually justified, so far as depended on them, the French decrees.

"After this proposition had been made, the French minister for foreign affairs, if not in concert with that government, at least in conformity with its views, in a dispatch, dated the 5th of August, 1810, and addressed to the American minister resident at Paris, stated that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, and that their

operation would cease from the 1st day of November following, provided his majesty would revoke his orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade; or that the United States would cause their rights to be respected; meaning thereby, that they would resist the retaliatory measures of Great Britain.

"Although the repeal of the French decrees thus announced was evidently contingent, either on concessions to be made by Great Britain, (concessions to which it was obvious Great Britain could not submit,) or on measures to be adopted by the United States of America; the American president at once considered the repeal as absolute. Under that pretence the non-importation act was strictly enforced against Great Britain, whilst the ships of war, and merchant-ships of the enemy, were received into the harbours of America.

"The American government, assuming the repeal of the French decrees to be absolute and effectual, most unjustly required Great Britain, in conformity to her declarations, to revoke her orders in council. The British government denied that the repeal, which was announced in the letter of the French minister for foreign affairs, was such as ought to satisfy Great Britain; and, in order to ascertain the true character of the measure adopted by France, the government of the United States was called upon to produce the instrument, by which the alleged appeal of the French decrees had been effected. If these decrees were really revoked, such an instrument must exist, and no satisfactory reason could be given for withholding it.

"At length, on the 21st of May, 1812, and not before, the American minister in London did produce a copy, or at least what purported to be a copy, of such an instrument.

"It professed to bear date the 28th of April, 1811, long subsequent to the dispatch of the French minister of Foreign affairs of the 5th of August, 1810, or even the day named therein, viz. the 1st of November following, when the operation of the French decrees was to cease. This instrument expressly declared that these French decrees were repealed in consequence of the American legislature having, by their act of the 1st of March, 1811, provided that British ships and merchandize should be excluded from the ports and harbours of the United States.

"By this instrument, the only document produced by America as a repeal of the French decrees, it appears, beyond a possibility of doubt or cavil, that the alleged repeal of the French decrees was conditional, as Great Britain had asserted, and not absolute or final, as had been maintained by America: that they were not repealed at the time they were stated to be repealed by the American government: that they were

not repealed in conformity with a proposition simultaneously made to both belligerents; but that in consequence of a previous act on the part of the American government, they were repealed in favor of one belligerent, to the prejudice of the other: that the American government having adopted measures restrictive upon the commerce of both belligerents, in consequence of edicts issued by both, rescinded these measures, as they affected that power which was the aggressor, whilst they put them in full operation against the party aggrieved, although the edicts of both powers continued in force; and, lastly, that they excluded the ships of war belonging to one belligerent, whilst they admitted into their ports and harbours the ships of war belonging to the other, in violation of one of the plainest and most essential duties of a neutral nation.

"Although the instrument thus produced was by no means that general and unqualified revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees which Great Britain had continually demanded, and had a full right to claim; and although this instrument, under all the circumstances of its appearance at that moment, for the first time, was open to the strongest suspicions of its authenticity; yet, as the minister of the United States produced it, as purporting to be a copy of the instrument of revocation, the government of Great Britain, desirous of reverting, if possible, to the ancient and accustomed principles of maritime war, determined upon revoking, conditionally, the orders in council. Accordingly, in the month of June last, his royal highness the prince-regent was pleased to declare in council, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that the orders in council should be revoked, as far as respected the ships and property of the United States, from the 1st of August following. This revocation was to continue in force, provided the government of the United States should, within a time to be limited, repeal their restrictive laws against British commerce. His majesty's minister in America was expressly ordered to declare to the government of the United States, that 'this measure had been adopted by the prince-regent in the earnest wish and hope, either that the government of France, by further relaxations of its system, might render perseverance on the part of Great Britain, in retaliatory measures, unnecessary; or, if this hope should prove delusive, that his majesty's government might be enabled, in the absence of all irritating and restrictive regulations on either side, to enter, with the government of the United States, into amicable explanations, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, if the necessity of retaliatory measures should unfortunately continue to operate, the particular measures to be acted upon by Great Britain

could be rendered more acceptable to the American government, than those hitherto pursued.'

"In order to provide for the contingency of a declaration of war on the part of the United States, previous to the arrival in America of the said order of revocation, instructions were sent to his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, accredited to the United States (the execution of which instructions, in consequence of the discontinuance of Mr. Foster's functions, were, at a subsequent period, entrusted to Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren), directing him to propose a cessation of hostilities, should they have commenced; and, further, to offer a simultaneous repeal of the orders in council, on the one side, and of the restrictive laws on British ships and commerce, on the other.

"They were also respectively empowered to acquaint the American government, in reply to any inquiries with respect to the blockade of May, 1806, whilst the British government must continue to maintain its legality, 'that, in point of fact, this particular blockade had been discontinued for a length of time, having been merged in the general retaliatory blockade of the enemy's ports, under the orders in council; and that his majesty's government had no intention of recurring to this, or to any other of the blockades of the enemy's ports, founded upon the ordinary and accustomed principles of maritime law, which were in force previous to the orders in council, without a new notice to neutral powers, in the usual form.'

"The American government, before they received intimation of the course adopted by the British government, had, in fact, proceeded to the extreme measure of declaring war, and issuing 'letters of marque,' notwithstanding they were previously in possession of the report of the French minister for foreign affairs, of the 12th of March, 1812, promulgating anew the Berlin and Milan decrees as fundamental laws of the French empire, under the false and extravagant pretext, that the monstrous principles therein contained were to be found in the treaty of Utrecht, and were therefore binding upon all states. From the penalties of this code no nation was to be exempt which did not accept it, not only as the rule of its own conduct, but as a law, the observance of which it was also required to enforce upon Great Britain.

"In a manifesto, accompanying their declaration of hostilities, in addition to the former complaints against the orders in council, a long list of grievances was brought forward; some trivial in themselves, others which had been mutually adjusted, but none of them such as were ever before alleged by the American government to be grounds for war.

"As if to throw additional obstacles in the way of peace, the American congress at the same time passed a law prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain, of such a tenor as deprived the executive government, according to the president's own construction of that act, of all power of restoring the relations of friendly intercourse between the two states, so far, at least, as concerned their commercial intercourse, until congress should reassemble.

"The President of the United States has, it is true, since proposed to Great Britain an armistice; not, however, on the admission that the cause of war, hitherto relied on, was removed, but on condition that Great Britain, as a preliminary step, should do away a cause of war, now brought forward as such, for the first time, namely, that she should abandon the exercise of her undoubted right of search, to take from American merchant-vessels British seamen, the natural-born subjects of his majesty; and this concession was required upon a mere assurance, that laws would be enacted by the legislature of the United States, to prevent such seamen from entering into their service; but, independent of the objection to an exclusive reliance on a foreign state, for the conservation of so vital an interest, no explanation was, or could be afforded by the agent, who was charged with this overture, either as to the main principles upon which such laws were to be founded, or as to the provisions which it was proposed they should contain.

"This proposition having been objected to, a second proposal was made, again offering an armistice, provided the British government would secretly stipulate to renounce the exercise of this right in a treaty of peace. An immediate and formal abandonment of its exercise, as preliminary to a cessation of hostilities, was not demanded; but his royal highness the prince-regent was required, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, secretly to abandon what the former overture had proposed to him publicly to concede.

"This most offensive proposition was also rejected, being accompanied, as the former had been, by other demands of the most exceptionable nature, and especially of indemnity for all American vessels detained and condemned under the orders in council, or under what were termed illegal blockades—a compliance with which demands, exclusive of all other objections, would have amounted to an absolute surrender of the rights on which those orders and blockades were founded.

"Had the American government been sincere in representing the orders in council as the only subject of difference between Great Britain and the United States, calculated to lead to hostilities, it might have been expected, so soon as the revocation of those orders had been officially made

known to them, that they would have spontaneously recalled their 'letters of marque,' and manifested a disposition immediately to restore the relations of peace and amity between the two powers.

"But the conduct of the government of the United States by no means corresponded with such reasonable expectations.

"The orders in council of the 23d of June being officially communicated in America, the government of the United States saw nothing in the repeal of the orders in council, which should of itself restore peace, unless Great Britain were prepared, in the first instance, substantially to relinquish the right of impressing her own seamen, when found on-board American merchant-ships.

"The proposal of an armistice, and of a simultaneous repeal of the restrictive measures on both sides, subsequently made by the commanding officer of his majesty's naval forces on the American coast, were received in the same hostile spirit by the government of the United States. The suspension of the practice of impressment was insisted upon, in the correspondence which passed on that occasion, as a necessary preliminary to a cessation of hostilities: negotiation, it was stated, might take place without any suspension of the exercise of this right, and also without any armistice being concluded; but Great Britain was required previously to agree, without any knowledge of the adequacy of the system which could be substituted, to negotiate upon the basis of accepting the legislative regulations of a foreign state as the sole equivalent for the exercise of a right which she has felt to be essential to the support of her maritime power.

"If America, by demanding this preliminary concession, intends to deny the validity of that right, in that denial Great Britain cannot acquiesce; nor will she give countenance to such a pretension, by acceding to its suspension, much less to its abandonment, as a basis on which to treat. If the American government has devised, or conceives it can devise, regulations which may safely be accepted by Great Britain, as a substitute for the exercise of the right in question, it is for them to bring forward such a plan for consideration. The British government has never attempted to exclude this question from amongst those on which the two states might have to negotiate: it has, on the contrary, uniformly professed its readiness to receive and discuss any proposition on this subject, coming from the American government: it has never asserted any exclusive right, as to the impressment of British seamen from American vessels, which it was not prepared to acknowledge, as appertaining equally to the government of the United States, with respect to American seamen when found on-board British merchant-ships. But it cannot, by acceding to such a basis in the

first instance, either assume, or admit that to be practicable, which, when attempted on former occasions, has always been found to be attended with great difficulties; such difficulties as the British commissioners, in 1806, expressly declared, after an attentive consideration of the suggestions brought forward by the commissioners on the part of America, they were unable to surmount.

"Whilst this proposition, transmitted through the British admiral, was pending in America, another communication, on the subject of an armistice, was unofficially made to the British government in this country. The agent from whom this proposition was received, acknowledged that he did not consider that he had any authority himself to sign an agreement on the part of his government. It was obvious that any stipulations entered into, in consequence of this overture, would have been binding on the British government, whilst the government of the United States would have been free to refuse or accept them, according to the circumstances of the moment. This proposition was therefore necessarily declined.

"After this exposition of the circumstances which preceded, and which have followed the declaration of war by the United States, his royal highness the prince-regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, feels himself called upon to declare the leading principles by which the conduct of Great Britain has been regulated in the transactions connected with these discussions.

"His royal highness can never acknowledge any blockade whatsoever to be illegal, which has been duly notified, and is supported by an adequate force, merely upon the ground of its extent, or because the port or ports blockaded are not at the same time invested by land.

"His royal highness can never admit, that neutral trade with Great Britain can be constituted a public crime, the commission of which can expose the ships of any power whatever to be denationalized.

"His royal highness can never admit, that Great Britain can be debarred of its right and just and necessary retaliation, through the fear of eventually affecting the interest of a neutral.

"His royal highness can never admit, that in the exercise of the undoubted, and hitherto undisputed, right of searching neutral merchant-vessels in time of war, the impressment of British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag. Neither can he admit, that the taking such seamen from on-board such vessels can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure, or a justifiable cause of war.

"There is no right more clearly established, than the right which a sovereign has to the allegiance of his subjects, more especially in time of

war. Their allegiance is no optional duty, which they can decline and resume at pleasure. It is a call which they are bound to obey; it began with their birth, and can only terminate with their existence.

"If a similarity of language and manners may make the exercise of this right more liable to partial mistakes, and occasional abuse, when practised towards vessels of the United States, the same circumstances make it also a right with the exercise of which, in regard to such vessels, it is more difficult to dispense.

"But if to the practice of the United States to harbour British seamen be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign, by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own territory as within it, it is obvious, that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain, and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose to danger the very foundation of our maritime strength.

"Without entering minutely into the other topics which have been brought forward by the government of the United States, it may be proper to remark, that whatever the declaration of the United States may have asserted, Great Britain never did demand that they should force British manufactures into France; and she formally declared her willingness entirely to forego, or modify, in concert with the United States, the system by which a commercial intercourse with the enemy had been allowed under the protection of licenses; provided the United States would act towards her, and towards France, with real impartiality.

"The government of America, if the difference between states are not interminable, has as little right to notice the affair of the Chesapeake. The aggression, in this instance, on the part of a British officer, was acknowledged, his conduct was disapproved, and a reparation was regularly tendered by Mr. Foster on the part of his majesty, and accepted by the government of the United States.

"It is not less unwarranted in the allusion to the mission of Mr. Henry; a mission undertaken without the authority, or even knowledge, of his majesty's government, and which Mr. Foster was authorized formally and officially to disavow.

"The charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States is equally void of foundation. Before the war began, a policy the most opposite had been uniformly pursued, and proof of this was tendered by Mr. Foster to the American government.

"Such are the causes of war which have been put forward by the government of the United States. But the real origin of the present contest

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will be found in that spirit which has long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States: their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavours to enflame the people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their ungenerous conduct towards Spain, the intimate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations. It is through the prevalence of such councils that America has been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain.

"And under what conduct, on the part of France, has the government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of the year 1800 between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes in every harbour subject to the controul of the French arms: the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnations under the Rambouillet decree, antedated or concealed to render it the more effectual; the French commercial regulations which render the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant-ships at sea, long after the alleged repeal of the French decrees—all these acts of violence, on the part of France, produce from the government of the United States, only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission, or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of a legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations.

"This disposition of the government of the United States—this complete subserviency to the ruler of France—this hostile temper towards Great Britain—are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government.

"Against this course of conduct, the real cause of the present war, the prince-regent solemnly protests. Whilst contending against France, in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain but of the world, his royal highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin, from their common interest, from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States were the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny.

"Disappointed in this, his just expectation, the prince-regent will still pursue the policy which the British government has so long and invariably maintained, in repelling injustice, and in supporting the general rights of nations; and, under the favor of Providence, relying on the justice of his cause, and the tried loyalty and firmness of

the British nation, his royal highness confidently looks forward to a successful issue to the contest in which he has thus been compelled most reluctantly to engage.

"Westminster, Jan. 9, 1813."

James Madison having been chosen president, and Eddridge Gerry, vice-president of the United States for the ensuing four years, from the 4th of March, 1813; the former having attended, at twelve o'clock on the above day, the capitol, for the purpose of taking the oath of office, delivered to the vast concourse of people assembled on the occasion, the following speech:

"About to add the solemnity of an oath to the obligations imposed by a second call to the station in which my country has here before placed me, I find, in the presence of this respectable assembly, an opportunity of publicly repeating my profound sense of so distinguished a confidence, and of the responsibility united with it. The impressions on me are strengthened by such an evidence, that my faithful endeavours to discharge my duties have been favorably estimated; and by a consideration on the momentous period at which the trust has been renewed. From the weight and magnitude now belonging to it, I should be compelled to sink if I had less reliance on the support of an enlightened and generous people, and feel less deeply a conviction that the war with a powerful nation, which forms so prominent a feature in our situation, is stamped with that justice which invites the smiles of heaven on the means of conducting it to a successful termination.

"May we not cherish this sentiment without presumption, when we reflect on the characters by which this war is distinguished?

"It was not declared on the part of the United States until it had been long made on them in reality, though not in name; until arguments and expostulations had been exhausted; until a positive declaration had been received that the wrongs provoking it would not be discontinued, nor until this appeal could no longer be delayed without breaking down the spirit of the nation, destroying all confidence in itself and in its political institutions; and either perpetuating a state of disgraceful suffering, or regaining, by more costly sacrifices, and more severe struggles, our lost rank and respect among the independent powers.

"On the issue of the war are staked our national sovereignty on the high seas, and security of an important class of citizens, whose occupations give the proper value to those of every other class. Not to contend for such a stake, is to surrender our equality with other powers on the element common to all; and to violate the sacred title which every member of the society has to its protection.

"I need not call into view, the unlawfulness of the practice by which our mariners are forced, at the will of every cruising officer, from their own vessels into foreign ones, nor paint the outrages inseparable from it. The proofs are in the records of each successive administration of our government—and the cruel sufferings of that portion of the American people have found their way to every bosom, not dead to the sympathies of human nature.

"As the war was just in its origin, and necessary and noble in its objects, we can reflect with a proud satisfaction, that in carrying it on no principle of justice or honor, no usage of civilized nations, no precept of courtesy, or humanity, have been infringed. The war has been waged on our part with scrupulous regard to all these obligations, and in a spirit of liberality which was never surpassed.

"How little has been the effect of this example on the conduct of the enemy? They have retained, as prisoners of war, citizens of the United States, not liable to be so considered under the usages of war.

"They have refused to consider as prisoners of war, and threatened to punish as traitors, and deserters, persons emigrating without restraint to the United States; incorporated by naturalization into our political family, and fighting under the authority of their adopted country, in open and honorable war, for the maintenance of its rights and safety. Such are the avowed principles of a government which is in the practice of naturalizing, by thousands, citizens of other countries, and not only of permitting, but compelling them to fight its battles against their native country.

"They have not, it is true, taken into their own hands the hatchet and the knife, devoted to indiscriminate massacre; but they have let loose the savages armed with these cruel instruments; have allured them into their service, and carried them into battle by their sides, eager to glut their savage thirst with the blood of the vanquished, and to finish the work of torture and death on maimed and defenceless captives. And, what was never seen before, British commanders have extorted victory over the unconquerable valour of our troops, by presenting to the sympathy of their chief awaiting massacre from their savage associates.

"And now we find them, in further contempt of the modes of honorable warfare, supplying the place of a conquering force, by attempts to disorganize our political society, to dismember our confederated republic. Happily, like others, those will recoil on the authors; but they mark the degenerate councils from which they emanate, and, if they did not belong to a series of unexampled inconsistencies, might excite the greater

wonder, as proceeding from a government which founded the very war in which it has been so long engaged, on a charge against the disorganizing and insurrectional policy of its adversary.

"To render the justice of the war on our part more conspicuous, the reluctance to commence it was followed by the earliest and strongest manifestations of a disposition to arrest its progress. The sword was scarcely out of the scabbard before the enemy was apprised of the reasonable terms on which it would be re-sheathed. Still more precise advances were repeated, and have been received in a spirit forbidding every reliance not placed in the military resources of the nation.

"These resources are amply sufficient to bring the war to an honorable issue. Our nation is, in number, more than half that of the British Isles. It is composed of a brave, a free, a virtuous, and an intelligent people. Our country abounds in the necessities, the arts, and comforts of life. A general prosperity is visible in the public countenance. The means employed by the British cabinet to undermine it, have recoiled on themselves; have given to our national faculties a more rapid development; and, draining or diverting the precious metals from British circulation and British vaults, have poured them into those of the United States. It is a propitious consideration, that an unavoidable war should have found this seasonable facility for the contributions required to support it. When the public voice called for war, all knew, and still know, that without them, it could not be carried on through the period which it might last; and the patriotism, the good sense, and the manly spirit of our fellow-citizens are pledges for the cheerfulness with which they will bear each his share of the common burden. To render the war short, and its success sure, animated and systematic exertions alone are necessary; and the success of our arms now may long preserve our country from the necessity of another resort to them. Already have the gallant exploits of our naval heroes proved to the world our inherent capacity to maintain our rights on one element. If the reputation of our arms has been thrown under clouds on the other, presaging flashes of heroic enterprise assure us, that nothing is wanting to correspondent triumphs there also, but the discipline and habits which are in daily progress."

This speech was well calculated to excite the feelings of the vulgar; but all Mr. Madison's arguments had been already, and indeed incontrovertibly, answered by the memorial of about 1,500 of the inhabitants of the United States, extracts of which have been given in the commencement of the preceding chapter. The president, it seems, had studied the *Bonaparte*an style: "they have let loose the savages armed

with the hatchet and the knife;" but he was not aware that he was railing at the then French emperor, who had invited Turks, &c. to join him in his ambitious views. Canada was at this time in the

possession of the English: it was originally taken by them in 1628; restored to France, 1631; and again taken September 13, 1759.

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarks.—Capture of the Frolic, by the Americans.—Of the Macedonian.—Retreat of General Dearborn from Champlain.—Repulse of the American General Smyth.—Blockade of the Chesapeake and Delaware by the British.—Capture of the Java by the Constitution.—Defeat and Capture of General Winchester and his Army.—Defeat of the Americans at Ogdenburg.—Capture of York by General Dearborn.—Surrender of Mobile to the Americans.—Loss of the Peacock.—Blockade of New York, Charleston, &c.—Successes of Admiral Cockburn, in the Bay of Chesapeake.—Proceedings in the British Parliament relative to the War with the United States.

THE loss and disgrace which the American arms sustained in Canada were in some degree balanced by their continued success on the element which had long been the theatre of triumph to their adversaries. The strength of the navy of the United States consisted in a few frigates, of the rate corresponding to the largest British; but in size, weight of metal, and number of men, almost equal to ships of the line-of-battle. This difference seems not to have been known, or not attended to, in the British navy, the officers of which, with their habitual readiness to meet an enemy, would certainly never decline an encounter when the nominal force was any thing near a parity. Indeed, the superiority of British skill and valour, in engaging with other enemies, had often compensated the difference of force; but the American navy were manned by sailors, many of whom were unfortunately British, and many more had been trained in British service. The Americans, in manning their navy, not only took care to select able seamen, but almost doubled the usual compliment; while the crews of the British were mostly ordinary seamen.

On the 18th of October his majesty's armed brig *Frolic*, conveying the homeward-bound trade from the bay of Honduras, while in the act of repairing damages to her masts and sails received in a violent gale on the preceding night, descried a vessel which gave chase to the convoy. She proved to be the United States sloop of war *Wasp*, which the *Frolic* gallantly brought to action, though in her crippled state, in order to save her convoy. She soon, however, became so unmanageable, that the *Wasp* was enabled to take a raking position, whilst the *Frolic* could not get a gun to bear. The result was, that every indivi-

dual officer being wounded, and not more than twenty of the crew remaining unhurt, the enemy boarded, and made prize of the brig. Before the day closed, however, his majesty's ship *Poictiers* coming up, not only recaptured the *Frolic*, but took the *Wasp*.

On the 25th of October, a very severe action took place between the Macedonian frigate, Captain Carden, and the United States frigate, Commodore Decatur, which terminated in the capture of the former. The following is Captain Carden's account of this action, dated on-board the United States, at sea, 28th of October, 1812.

"Sir,—It is with the deepest regret I have to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's late ship *Macedonian* was captured on the 25th instant by the United States' ship *United States*, Commodore Decatur commander: the detail is as follows:—

"A short time after daylight, steering N. W. by W. with the wind from the southward, in lat. 29 deg. N. and long. 29 deg. 30 min. W. in the execution of their lordships' orders, a sail was seen on the lee-beam, which I immediately stood for, and made her out to be a large frigate under American colours: at nine o'clock I closed with her, and she commenced the action, which we returned; but from the enemy keeping two points off the wind, I was not enabled to get as close to her as I could have wished. After an hour's action, the enemy backed and came to the wind, and I was then enabled to bring her to close battle; in this situation I soon found the enemy's force too superior to expect success, unless some very fortunate chance occurred in our favour; and with this hope I continued the battle to two hours

and ten minutes, when, having the mizen-mast shot away by the board, topmasts shot away by the caps, main-yard shot in pieces, lower masts badly wounded, lower rigging all cut to pieces, a small proportion only of the foresail left to the fore-yard, all the guns on the quarter-deck and fore-castle disabled but two, and filled with wreck, two also on the main-deck disabled, and several shot between wind and water, a very great proportion of the crew killed and wounded, and the enemy comparatively in good order, who had now shot a-head, and was about to place himself in a raking position, without our being enabled to return the fire, being a perfect wreck, and unmanageable log; I deemed it prudent, though a painful extremity, to surrender his majesty's ship; nor was this dreadful alternative resorted to till every hope of success was removed even beyond the reach of chance, nor till, I trust, their lordships will be aware every effort had been made against the enemy by myself, my brave officers and men; nor should she have been surrendered whilst a man lived on-board, had she been manageable. I am sorry to say, our loss is very severe: I find, by this day's muster, thirty-six killed, three of whom lingered a short time after the battle; thirty-six severely wounded, many of whom cannot recover; and thirty-two slightly wounded, who may all do well:—total, one hundred and four.

"The truly noble and animating conduct of my officers, and the steady bravery of my crew, to the last moment of the battle, must ever render them dear to their country.

"My first lieutenant, David Hope, was severely wounded in the head towards the close of the battle, and taken below; but was soon again on deck, displaying that greatness of mind and exertion, which, though it may be equalled, can never be excelled; the third lieutenant, John Bulford, was also wounded, but not obliged to quit his quarters: second lieutenant Samuel Mottley, and he, deserve my highest acknowledgments. The cool and steady conduct of Mr. Walker, the master, was very great during the battle, as also that of Lieutenants Wilson and Magill, of the marines.

"On being taken on-board the enemy's ship, I ceased to wonder at the result of the battle. The United States is built with the scantling of a seventy-four gun-ship, mounting thirty long 24-pounders (English ship-guns) on her main-deck, and twenty-two 42-pounders carronades, with two long 24-pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, howitzer-guns on her tops, and a travelling carronade on her upper-deck, with a complement of 478 picked men.

"The enemy has suffered much in her masts, rigging, and hull above and below water: her

loss in killed and wounded I am not aware of, but I know a lieutenant and six men have been thrown overboard.

"Enclosed you will be pleased to receive the names of the killed and wounded on-board the Macedonian; and have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN S. CARDEN.

"To J. W. Croker, Esq.
Admiralty."

In these several defeats sustained by the British navy, no honor was lost, since every thing was done in defence that could be effected by courage and conduct against superior force. The unusual circumstance, however, of English ships striking to foreign of a similar class, produced as much mortification on one side as triumph on the other.

The American government, notwithstanding its failures by land, persisted in its purpose of invading Canada. On the 10th of November, the Americans sent out seven sail of armed vessels from Sackett's harbour, on Lake Ontario, manned by the crew of one of the American frigates, and commanded by some of their naval officers, having on-board a considerable detachment of troops, for the purpose of carrying the port of Kingston by surprise, and of destroying his majesty's ship *Royal George*, then lying there. The vigilance and military skill of Colonel Vincent, however, who commanded at Kingston, frustrated their designs; and after many hours of ineffectual cannonade, the American flotilla hauled off, and on the following day returned into port. The British general, Sir George Prevost, having received information of the advance of the enemy under General Dearborn with their whole force of regulars and militia encamped at Plattsburgh, from that place to the village at Champlain, about six miles from the province line, with the avowed purpose of penetrating to Montreal, directed the brigade of troops at Montreal, consisting of two companies of the royals, seven companies of the 8th or king's, four companies of the Montreal volunteer militia, and the fifth battalion of the embodied Canadian militia, with one troop of volunteer cavalry, and a brigade of light artillery, the whole under the command of Colonel Baynes, to cross the St. Lawrence and advance to the support of Major-general De Rottenburgh, whose front was threatened by this movement of the enemy: the troops crossed with uncommon expedition on the evening of the 19th, and reached La Prairie that night.

Immediately upon the alarm being given that the enemy were advancing, the sedentary militia flocked in from all quarters, with a zeal and alacrity which cannot be too much praised. The enemy, after their advance to Champlain, made

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several reconnoissances beyond the lines into the province; one in particular, on the night of the 19th, with a detachment of cavalry, and a body of about 1,000 of their regular infantry, the whole under the command of Lieut-col. Pike, who was esteemed, in the United States, an able officer; but falling in unexpectedly with a small part of voyageurs and Indians, one of the British advanced-pickets, by whom they were fired upon, they were thrown into the greatest confusion, and commenced a fire upon each other, which was attended with a loss of about fifty of their men in killed and wounded, when they dispersed. The picket made good their retreat unmolested, and without a man being hurt.

Nothing more occurred in this quarter during the remainder of the year. General Dearborn, seeing the vigorous preparations of Sir George Prevost to receive him, was afraid to advance any further; and, on the 22d of November, he commenced a retreat with his whole army, which he conducted upon Plattsburg, Burlington, and Albany, where he took up his winter-quarters.

On the 28th of November a partial action took place, in which the main body of the Americans, under Brigadier-general Smyth, was repulsed with loss, in an attempt to force the Niagara frontier, between Chippawa and fort Erie, by a small division of British, under Lieutenant-colonel Bishopp.

On the 26th of December a public notice was issued by the prince-regent, that the ports and harbours of the Chesapeake and Delaware were placed in a state of blockade.

Before the year closed, the Americans obtained another triumph over the British navy, in the capture of his majesty's frigate *Java*, Captain Lambert, on the 29th of December. The *Java* was bound to the East Indies, and off the coast of Brazil met with the American frigate *Constitution*, where a very severe action ensued, in the course of which Captain Lambert having received a mortal wound, and the ship being rendered quite unmanageable, from the damages she had sustained in her masts and rigging, Mr. Chads, the first lieutenant, who succeeded to the command, was under the disagreeable necessity of striking his colours. This unfortunate event was communicated to the admiralty, by Mr. Chads, in the following manner:—

United States Frigate Constitution, off St. Salvador, Dec. 31, 1812.

"Sir,—It is with deep regret that I write you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's ship *Java* is no more, after sustaining an action, on the 29th instant, for several hours, with the American frigate *Constitution*, which resulted in the capture and ultimate destruction of his majesty's ship. Cap-

tain Lambert being dangerously wounded in the height of the action, the melancholy task of writing the detail devolves on me.

"On the morning of the 29th instant, at eight, a. m. off St. Salvador, (coast of Brazil,) the wind at north-east, we perceived a strange sail; made all sail in chase, and soon made her out to be a large frigate; at noon prepared for action, the chase not answering our private signals, and tacking towards us under easy sail; when about four miles distant she made a signal, and immediately tacked and made all sail away upon the wind. We soon found we had the advantage of her in sailing, and came up with her fast, when she hoisted American colours; she then bore about three points on our lee-bow. At fifty minutes past one, p. m. the enemy shortened sail, upon which we bore down upon her; at ten minutes past two, when about half a mile distant, she opened her fire, giving us a larboard-broadside, which was not returned till we were close on her weather-bow. Both ships now manœuvred to obtain advantageous positions, our opponent evidently avoiding close action, and firing high to disable our masts, in which he succeeded too well, having shot away the head of our bowsprit with the jib-boom, and our running rigging so much cut as to prevent our preserving the weather-gage.

"At five minutes past three, finding the enemy's raking-fire extremely heavy, Captain Lambert ordered the ship to be laid on-board, in which we should have succeeded, had not our fore-mast been shot away at this moment, the remains of our bowsprit passing over his taffrail; shortly after this the main-top-mast went, leaving the ship totally unmanageable, with most of our starboard guns rendered useless from the wreck lying over them.

"At half-past three our gallant captain received a dangerous wound in the breast, and was carried below; from this time we could not fire more than two or three guns until a quarter past four, when our mizen-mast was shot away; the ship then fell off a little, and brought many of our starboard guns to bear; the enemy's rigging was so much cut that he could not now avoid shooting a-head, which brought us fairly broadside and broadside. Our main-yard now went into the slings, both ships continued engaged in this manner till thirty-five minutes past four, we frequently on fire in consequence of the wreck lying on the side engaged. Our opponent now made sail a-head out of gun-shot, where he remained an hour repairing his damages, leaving us an unmanageable wreck, with only the main-mast left, and that tottering. Every exertion was made by us during this interval to place the ship in a state to renew the action. We succeeded in clearing the wreck of our masts from our guns, a sail was set on the stumps of the fore-mast and bowsprit, the weather

half of the main-yard remaining aloft, the main-tack was got forward in the hope of getting the ship before the wind, our helm being still perfect: the effort unfortunately proved ineffectual, from the main-mast falling over the side, from the heavy rolling of the ship, which nearly covered the whole of our star-board guns. We still waited the attack of the enemy, he now standing towards us for that purpose; on his coming nearly within hail of us, and from his manœuvre perceiving he intended a position a-head, where he could rake us without a possibility of our returning a shot. I then consulted the officers, who agreed with myself, that our having a great part of our crew killed and wounded, our bowsprit and three masts gone, several guns useless, we should not be justified in wasting the lives of more of those remaining, who, I hope their lordships and the country will think have bravely defended his majesty's ship. Under these circumstances, however reluctantly, at fifty minutes past five, our colours were lowered from the stump of the mizen-mast, and we were taken possession of, a little after six, by the American frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, who, immediately after ascertaining the state of the ship, resolved on burning her, which we had the satisfaction of seeing done as soon as the wounded were removed. Annexed I send you a return of the killed and wounded, and it is with pain I perceive it so numerous; also a statement of the comparative force of the two ships, when I hope their lordships will not think the British flag tarnished, although success has not attended us. It would be presumptuous in me to speak of Captain Lambert's merits, who, though still in danger from his wound, we entertain the greatest hopes of his being restored to the service and his country.

"It is most gratifying to my feelings to notice the gallantry of every officer, seaman, and marine, on-board: in justice to the officers, I beg leave to mention them individually. I can never speak too highly of the able exertions of Lieutenants Hevingham and Buchanan, and also of Mr. Robinson, master, who was severely wounded, and Lieutenants Mercer and Davis, of the royal marines, the latter of whom also was severely wounded. To Captain John Marshal, R. N. who was a passenger, I am particularly obliged for his exertions and advice throughout the action. To Lieutenant Aplin, who was on the main-deck, and Lieutenant Saunders, who commanded on the fore-castle, I also return my thanks. I cannot but notice the good conduct of the mates and midshipmen, many of whom are killed, and the greater part wounded. To Mr. T. C. Jones, surgeon, and his assistants, every praise is due, for their unwearied assiduity in the care of the wounded. Lieutenant-general Hislop, Major Walker, and Captain Wood, of his staff, the latter

of whom was severely wounded, were solicitous to assist and remain on the quarter-deck. I cannot conclude this letter, without expressing my grateful acknowledgments, thus publicly, for the generous treatment Captain Lambert and his officers have experienced from our gallant enemy, Commodore Bainbridge and his officers.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"H. D. CHADS, first lieutenant of his majesty's late ship *Java*.

"P. S. The *Constitution* has also suffered severely both in her rigging and men, having her fore and mizen-masts, main top-mast, both maintop sail-yards, spanker-boom, gaff, and trysail-mast badly shot, and the greatest part of the standing rigging very much damaged, with ten men killed, the commodore, fifth lieutenant, and forty-six men wounded, four of whom are since dead."

Force of the two Ships.

JAVA.

28 long 18-pounders.

16 carronades, 32-pounders.

2 long 9-pounders.

—
46 guns.

Weight of metal, 1034lbs.

Ship's company and supernumeraries, 377.

CONSTITUTION.

32 long 24-pounders.

22 carronades, 32-pounders.

1 carronade, 18-pounder.

—
55 guns.

Weight of metal, 1490.

Crew, 480.

The gallant Captain Lambert died, in consequence of his wounds, a few days after the action, and was interred, with all military honors, in Fort St. Pedro.

The following extract of a letter from New York will shew in what manner these successes operated upon the minds of the Americans.

"The unexpected success of the navy has much roused the spirit of the nation, and produced a disposition in all parties to foster and increase it. The fashionable doctrine now is, that an American ship of war is more than a match for a British one of equal force. The idea of protecting British seamen against the allegiance they owe to their country, is getting exploded by all parties; and the only difficulty is to hit upon an expedient that will be satisfactory to the British government, in securing to them the services of those people, in place of the very obnoxious mode of impressment."

The success of the Americans, by sea, seems to have inspired them with so much confidence, that they determined to try the issue of another

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attack on Canada. Accordingly, Brigadier-general Winchester, with a division of the American forces, consisting of more than 1,000 men, being the right-wing of Major-general Harrison's army, advanced, in January, 1813, to the attack of Detroit, and obtained possession of Frenchtown, twenty-six miles from that place. But on the 22d, however, he was completely defeated by Colonel Proctor, who commanded in the Michigan territory, with a force which he had hastily collected upon the approach of the enemy, consisting of a small detachment of the 10th royal veteran battalion, three companies of the 41st regiment, a party of the royal Newfoundland fencibles, the sailors belonging to the Queen Charlotte, and 150 of the Essex militia, and about 600 Indians; the result of the action was the surrender of Brigadier-general Winchester, with 500 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the American army, and with a loss on their part of nearly the like number in killed and wounded. For the details of this affair, which reflects the highest credit upon Colonel Proctor, for the promptitude, gallantry, and decision which he manifested upon this occasion, we must refer to the following letter, which he transmitted to Major-general Sheaffe, dated Sandwich, January 25:

"Sir,—In my last dispatch I acquainted you that the enemy was in the Michigan territory, marching upon Detroit, and that I therefore deemed it necessary that he should be attacked without delay, with all and every description of force within my reach. Early in the morning of the 19th, I was informed of his being in possession of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, 26 miles from Detroit, after experiencing every resistance that Major Reynolds, of the Essex militia, had it in his power to make, with a three-pounder well served and directed by Bombardier Kitson, of the royal artillery, and the militia, three of whom he had well trained to the use of it. The retreat of the gun was covered by a brave band of Indians, who made the enemy pay dear for what he obtained. This party, composed of militia and Indians, with the gun, fell back eighteen miles to Brown's town, the settlement of the brave Wyandots, where I directed my force to assemble. On the 21st instant, I advanced twelve miles to Swan-creek, from whence we marched to the enemy, and attacked him at break of day on the 22d instant; and after suffering, for our numbers, a considerable loss, the enemy's force posted in houses and enclosures, and which, from dread of falling into the hands of the Indians, they most obstinately defended, at length surrendered at discretion; the other part of their force, in attempting to retreat by the way they came, were, I believe, all, or with very few exceptions, killed by the Indians. Brigadier-general Winchester was taken in the

pursuit by the Wyandot chief, Roundhead, who afterwards surrendered him to me. You will perceive that I have lost no time; indeed, it was necessary to be prompt in my movements, as the enemy would have been joined by Major-general Harrison in a few days. The troops, the marine, and the militia, displayed great bravery, and behaved uncommonly well. Where so much zeal and spirit were manifested, it would be unjust to attempt to particularize any; I cannot, however, refrain from mentioning Lieutenant-colonel St. George, who received four wounds in a gallant attempt to occupy a building which was favorably situated for annoying the enemy; together with Ensign Kerr, of the Newfoundland regiment, who, I fear, is very dangerously wounded. The zeal and courage of the Indian department were never more conspicuous than on this occasion, and the Indian warriors fought with their usual bravery. I am much indebted to the different departments, the troops having been well and timely supplied with every requisite the district could afford. I have fortunately not been deprived of the services of Lieutenant Troughton, of the royal artillery, and acting in the quarter-master-general's department, although he was wounded, to whose zealous and unwearied exertions I am greatly indebted, as well as to the whole of the royal artillery, for their conduct in this affair. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, and cannot but lament that there are so many of both; but of the latter I am happy to say a large proportion will return to their duty, and most of them in a short time. I also enclose a return of the arms and ammunition which have been taken, as well as of the prisoners, whom you will perceive to be equal to my utmost force, exclusive of the Indians. It is reported that a party, consisting of 100 men, bringing 500 hogs for General Winchester's force, has been completely cut off by the Indians, and the convoy taken. Lieutenant McLean, my acting brigade-major, whose gallantry and exertions were conspicuous on the 22d instant, is the bearer of this dispatch, and will be able to afford you every information respecting our situation.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) "HENRY PROCTOR."

The loss of the British, in this action, was twenty-four killed, and 158 wounded.

The Americans posted at Ogdenburg, near the river St. Lawrence, having availed themselves of the frozen state of that river to make frequent predatory incursions upon the inhabitants on the Canadian border, Sir George Prevost, arriving, on the 21st of February, at Prescott, opposite the enemy, directed an attack of his position at Ogdenburgh, which took place on the following day, under the command of Major Macdonald, of the

Glengarry light-infantry fencibles, at the head of about 480 regulars and militia. The following is Major Macdonald's account of this affair:—

"I this morning, about seven o'clock, crossed the river St. Lawrence, upon the ice, and attacked and carried, after a little more than an hour's action, his position in and near the opposite town of Ogdensburgh, taking eleven pieces of cannon, and all his ordnance, marine, commissariat, and quartermaster-general's stores, four officers and seventy prisoners, and burning two armed schooners and two large gun-boats, and both his barracks. My force consisted of about 480 regulars and militia, and was divided into two columns: the right, commanded by Captain Jenkins, of the Glengarry light-infantry fencibles, was composed of his own flank-company, and about seventy militia; and from the state of the ice, and the enemy's position in the old French fort, was directed to check his left, and interrupt his retreat, whilst I moved on with the left column, consisting of 120 of the king's regiment, forty of the royal Newfoundland corps, and about 200 militia, towards his position in the town, where he had posted his heavy field-artillery. The depth of the snow in some degree retarded the advance of both columns, and exposed them, particularly the right, to a heavy cross-fire from the batteries of the enemy, for a longer period than I had expected; but pushing on rapidly after the batteries began to open upon us, the left column soon gained the right bank of the river, under the direct fire of his artillery and line of musketry, posted on an eminence near the shore;—moving on rapidly my advance, consisting of the detachment of the royal Newfoundland and some select militia, I turned his right with the detachment of the king's regiment, and after a few discharges from his artillery, took them with the bayonet, and drove his infantry through the town, some escaping across the Black river into the fort, but the majority fled to the woods, or sought refuge in the houses, from whence they kept such a galling fire, that it was necessary to dislodge them with our field-pieces, which now came up from the bank of the river, where they had stuck on landing, in the deep snow.

"Having gained the high ground on the brink of the Black river, opposite the fort, I prepared to carry it by storm; but the men, being quite exhausted, I procured time for them to recover breath, by sending in a summons, requiring an unconditional surrender. During these transactions, Captain Jenkins had gallantly led on his column, and had been exposed to a heavy fire of seven guns, which he bravely attempted to take with the bayonet, though covered with 200 of the enemy's best troops: advancing as rapidly as the deep snow, and the exhausted state (in consequence) of his men would admit, he ordered a charge, and had not proceeded many paces, when

his left arm was broken to pieces by a grape-shot; but still undauntedly running on with his men, he almost immediately afterwards was deprived of the use of his right arm by a discharge of case-shot; still heroically disregarding all personal consideration, he nobly ran on, cheering his men, to the assault, till exhausted by pain and loss of blood, he became unable to move. His company gallantly continued the charge, under Lieutenant M'Auley; but the reserve of militia not being able to keep up with them, they were compelled, by the great superiority of the enemy, to give way, leaving a few on a commanding position, and a few of the most advanced in the enemy's possession, nearly about the time that I gained the height above-mentioned. The enemy hesitating to surrender, I instantly carried his eastern battery, and by it silenced another which now opened again, and ordering on the advance the detachment of the king's and the Highland company of militia, under Captain Eustace, of the king's regiment, he gallantly rushed into the fort; but the enemy retreating by the opposite entrance, escaped into the woods, which I should effectually have prevented, if my Indian warriors had returned sooner from a detached service on which they had, that morning, been employed. I cannot close this statement without expressing my admiration of the gallantry and self-devotion of Captain Jenkins, who has lost one arm, and is in danger of losing the other. I must also report the intrepidity of Captain Lelievre, of the Newfoundland regiment, who had immediate charge of the militia under Colonel Fraser; of Captain Eustace, and the other officers of the king's regiment, and particularly of Lieutenant Ridge, of that corps, who very gallantly led on the advance; and of Lieutenant M'Auley and Ensign M'Donnell, of the Glengarry regiment; as also Lieutenant Ganguen, of the royal engineers; and of Ensign M'Kay, of the Glengarry light-infantry; and of Ensign Kerr, of the militia, each of whom had charge of a field-piece; and of Lieutenant Impey, of the militia, who has lost a leg. I was also well supported by Captain Fraser and the other officers and men of the militia, who emulate the conspicuous bravery of all the troops of the line. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded. The enemy had 500 men under arms, and must have sustained a considerable loss.

(Signed) "G. MACDONALD."

On the other hand, the city of York, the capital of Upper Canada, was captured by the Americans in April. General Dearborn, with a force of nearly 3,000 men, states, in a letter to the secretary at war, that arriving, by water, at the place in the morning of the 27th of April, he began landing the troops under a heavy fire. The British commander in York was General Sheaffe, whose

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force is stated at 700 regulars and militia, and 100 Indians. These he had stationed in the woods near the landing-place, and a spirited resistance was kept up, till the landing of General Pike with 7 or 800 men, and the approach to the shore of the remainder of the assailants, induced the British to retreat to their works. When the Americans had advanced within sixty rods of the main work of the town, an explosion took place from a magazine, which killed and wounded about 100 of the Americans and forty of the British. General Pike lost his life on this occasion, and was much regretted by the Americans as a brave and skilful officer.

In the mean time, Commodore Chauncey had worked into the harbour with his flotilla, and opened a fire upon the British batteries. It now became evident that the numbers of the British were inadequate to the task of defending York any longer against the vast superiority of force brought against it. General Sheaffe, therefore, soon after the explosion, marched out of the place with the regulars, and left the commander of the militia to capitulate. In consequence, all resistance immediately ceased, and the terms of surrender were agreed upon, by which all the military and naval men and officers, (about 300 in number) were made prisoners of war. Before the surrender, a large ship on the stocks and much naval stores had been set fire to, but a considerable quantity of military stores and provisions remained undamaged. The Americans, however, were forced to evacuate York in the following month.

This period was marked by an act of hostility on the part of the Americans against the Spaniards, which, at any other time, would probably have involved the two countries in a state of war. This was the capture of the fortress of Mobile, in West Florida. The Americans alleged, that this place was within the limits of the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, and which the Spaniards had hitherto retained on various pretexts. A detachment from General Harrison's army was therefore sent against it, which made a landing on the 12th of April. The commander advancing to the fort with scaling-ladders prepared for an assault, summoned the Spanish garrison to evacuate the place, with which requisition they complied, and were embarked for Pensacola. A numerous artillery and a considerable quantity of ammunition were found in the fortress.

In addition to the losses which the British navy had sustained by sea, in the commencement of the contest with the Americans, must be added, that of the destruction of the sloop of war *Peacock*, of eighteen guns. Captain Lawrence, of the American sloop of war *Hornet*, in his account of this unfortunate action, states, that in cruising from the coast of Surinam to that of Demerara, after making the latter, on the morning of the

24th of February, he discovered a vessel at anchor, apparently an English brig of war. On beating round a bank, in order to get to her, he descried another sail on his weather-quarter, edging down to him. This proved to be the *Peacock*; and after some manœuvring to get the weather-gage, in which the American succeeded, the action commenced about half-past five, *p. m.* Captain Lawrence ran his antagonist close on-board on the starboard-quarter, and kept up so heavy a fire, that in less than fifteen minutes, by his own account, but by that of some English who escaped, after an action of forty-five minutes, she surrendered, by hoisting a signal of distress. On sending a lieutenant on-board the *Peacock*, it was found that her commander, Captain Peake, was killed, and many other officers and men killed and wounded, and that the ship was sinking fast, having six feet water in her hold. Notwithstanding every endeavour to keep her afloat till the prisoners were removed, she went down, carrying with her thirteen of her crew, and three American sailors. Four of her men had previously taken her stern-boat, and got to land. The *Peacock* was considered as one of the finest vessels of her class, and appears to have entered into action with confidence of success. The *Hornet*, however, was of somewhat superior force, and her fire was described as truly formidable.

In order to destroy the trade of the Americans, a public ratification was issued by the prince-regent on the 30th of March, that necessary measures had been taken for blockading the ports and harbours of New York, Charleston, Port Royal, Savannah, and the river Mississippi. These were additional to the blockades of the Chesapeake and Delaware.

Admiral Sir J. B. Warren, being of opinion that a flotilla of small vessels might be usefully employed in penetrating the rivers at the head of Chesapeake bay, detached in April Rear-admiral Cockburn with a light squadron for that purpose. This officer made a successful attempt by the *Fantome* and *Mohawk* on French-town, a considerable distance up the Elk river, where was a depôt of stores. A resistance was made by a six-gun battery, but it was abandoned, and the town and stores left to their fate. The latter, consisting of flour and army necessities, together with five vessels, were burnt. In a few days afterwards, Admiral Cockburn attacked Havre-de-Grace, a place at the entrance of the Susquehanna, where the Americans had erected a battery. The attack was made by two divisions of seamen and marines, who drove the enemy from the battery and town, set fire to some houses of the latter, and then proceeded to a cannon-foundry at some distance, which they entirely destroyed, with a number of guns, and also took one hundred and thirty stand of arms. He afterwards made an attack upon George-town, and Frede-

rick's-town. A body of four hundred militiamen, by whom they were defended, was soon dispersed, and the villages were destroyed, with the exception of the houses of some peaceable inhabitants who took no part in the hostilities. Some other places, in which there were no public stores or property, and no preparations made for resistance, were spared, and thus the expedition terminated. It was of no other consequence than as it might impress the minds of the people in those parts with a desire for the termination of hostilities.

The events of this war excited a considerable degree of interest in England, and, early in the year, ministers called the attention of parliament to the subject.

On the 18th of February, Lord Castlereagh rose in the House of Commons, and made a speech on the subject of the negotiations with America which had been laid before the house, concerning which, he said, that the chief point towards which their attention would be directed, was, whether it had been in the power of ministers, by any exertion, to have prevented the much-to-be-deprecated war in which we were now engaged. After expressing the great concern he himself felt at this occurrence, he said, that the question before the house was simply this, whether in this war justice was or was not on the side of Great Britain? and the proposition he meant to ground on their decision in the affirmative, was, that an address should be presented to the prince-regent, calling upon him to direct a vigorous prosecution of the war, with assurance of support from parliament. He then entered on a kind of commentary upon the regent's declaration, which will be found in our last chapter, in which all the arguments were repeated concerning the justice of the measures on the part of Great Britain that led to the hostile termination, which had been so often advanced during the negotiations. One circumstance of fact produced by his lordship may deserve to be recorded. The Americans, in their complaints against this country, had assumed, that Great Britain had impressed 15 or 20,000 of her citizens. But, upon particular enquiry by the admiralty, it had appeared, that out of 145,000 seamen employed in the British service in January 1811, the whole number claiming to be American subjects was 3,500; and, as it had been found that of the individuals advancing such claim, only about one in four could make it good upon examination, the real number would be reduced to 16 or 1700. He asked, then, if the house could believe that for such a consideration as 1700 sailors his majesty's government would irritate the feelings of a neutral nation, or violate public justice. After stating the particulars of the negotiations preceding the declaration of war, with a view of shewing that the British ministry had not been wanting in temper and

due forbearance, and also that they had not been deficient in proper precautions against a possible hostile termination; his lordship concluded with moving, "that an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince-regent, to acquaint his royal highness that we have taken into our consideration the papers laid before us by his royal highness's command, relative to the late discussions with the government of the United States of America: that whilst we deeply regret the failure of the endeavours of his royal highness to preserve the relations of peace and amity between this country and the United States, we entirely approve of the resistance which has been opposed by his royal highness to the unjustifiable pretensions of the American government, being satisfied that those pretensions could not be admitted without surrendering some of the most ancient, undoubted, and important rights of the British empire; that, impressed as we are with these sentiments, and fully convinced of the justice of the war in which his majesty has been compelled to engage, his royal highness may rely on our most zealous and cordial support in every measure which may be necessary for prosecuting the war with vigour, and for bringing it to a safe and honourable termination."

Mr. Ponsonby, after premising that he conceived the house was bound at present to support the crown in the prosecution of the war, observed, that from the papers laid before the house, three particular stages of negotiation were apparent. The first stage was, the overture made by Mr. Russell to the noble lord for an armistice, with the understanding, that during its continuance there was to be a negotiation between this country and America on the subject of impressment, and that, while it was pending, the right of impressment should be waived. This overture, he allowed, could not be admitted. The second was, the proposition that though no formal recognition of a suspension of the disputed right should take place, yet a secret understanding of that kind should be preserved between the two countries, till the matter in controversy was decided. This, also, he should have concurred with the noble lord in rejecting. The third stage presented a third overture, which, as he understood it, was made by Mr. Monroe to Sir John Warren, namely, that the question of impressment being the principal subject of dispute, an agreement on which might put an end to the war, the American government was willing to negotiate upon it *flagrante bello*, whilst this country was continuing to exercise its accustomed controul. Against this proposal he thought there could be no objection; for, though, in the prince-regent's declaration, as a reason against such a negotiation, it was observed that it would be commenced on the basis of receiving a legislative provision from a foreign

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state, in the place of a right which Great Britain had long been accustomed to exercise; yet it did not appear to him that this right was abandoned merely by entering into a negociation on the subject. The right honorable gentleman enlarged upon this point, and asked, was the war to be eternal? but if a treaty was ever to be made, it must be by means of negociation upon this very subject. He then touched upon the naval successes of America since the commencement of the war, which he could not but think showed some want of foresight and preparation in the ministers.

Mr. Baring said, that he did not believe that the noble lord's assertion was correct, that the American declaration of war had any connection with the state of France or Russia; and in his opinion the cause of the war was solely in the orders-of-council; and he appealed to Mr. Foster, the late ambassador to that country, and now sitting in the house, whether an earlier repeal of these orders would not have prevented the war. Now, however, the subject of impressment was the only obstacle to peace, and a most important one it was. He was sensible how much the safety of the country would be endangered by a surrender of the right without a sufficient substitute, and was aware of the great difficulty of finding such a substitute. He thought, however, that Mr. Russell's proposal ought to have been rejected in a more conciliatory manner, and the door not to have been shut against future negociation, with a phrase about maritime rights. The noble lord had stated that there were about 1,600 American seamen in our service; but had not noticed that there were at least ten times as many of British seamen in the service of America; which he mentioned, to show that it was even more for our interest than for that of America to court negociation on this point. He observed, that though there might be only 1,600 American seamen detained for life in our navy, it was no captious ground of complaint: it was a matter not to be settled by a balance of numbers, nor ought it to be regarded in that light. He then adverted to the conduct of the war, and held, that with our naval establishment we ought to have blockaded the whole American coast.

Mr. Foster then rose, and in reply to the appeal of the last speaker, said that he could not affirm that the revocation of the orders-in-council, previously to the commencement of hostilities, would have had the effect of averting them. Their repeal might have weighed something with the government, but he did not think that the government was sufficiently master of the congress to be able to do what it thought most beneficial for the country. He could not agree with the opinion of the honorable gentleman, that there was no party in America friendly to France: the revolution had made a strong impression there; and

although the subsequent turn of affairs might have detached the better part from them, they were yet a powerful party. There was also an anti-anglican party, who took every opportunity to foment animosity against Great Britain. There were no fewer than six united Irishmen in the congress, distinguished by their inveterate enmity to this country. Mr. F. made many observations on the state of parties in America, and on its effect in producing the measures which had led to hostilities. The war, he said, was carried in congress by that rancorous faction against the English, who persuaded others to join them through fear that a difference might break up the democratic party; and in the senate the war measure was carried by the opponents of government, who were desirous of making it unpopular.

Mr. Whitbread was glad to have heard from the honorable gentleman, that neither Mr. Monroe or Mr. Madison seemed to him to be actuated solely by a spirit of hostility towards this country. The latter person had been much reviled by the noble lord and others for his attachment to the politics of France, but it now appeared that the war had been produced by causes beyond his controul. He could not consider America as being wholly to blame in the production of the war; and he was justified by a review of the history and progress of the preceding negociations to ascribe to the conduct of our own government the existing rupture between the two countries. On this point, Mr. W. entered into various particulars; and with respect to the American practice of naturalizing British-born subjects, and denationalizing them, he observed that there were two acts upon our statute-books by which every foreigner who served two years in any vessel, military or merchant, was entitled to every protection of a natural-born subject of this realm: and he apprehended that if an American had served two years in our navy, and the vessel in which he sailed was boarded by an American armed ship, which should claim him, he would be entitled to the protection of this country, and our government would have a right to refuse to give him up. Mr. W. then strongly reprehended the attempts to attribute the conduct of America on this occasion to French influence, and denied that she had ever declared in favour of France. If truth must be spoken, she had always been in the right in all her disputes with us until, by the declaration of war, she had changed her situation, and he hoped that this advantage which she had given us would be used on our parts with wisdom and discretion.

Mr. Canning, in a long and eloquent speech, in which he was frequently greeted with cheers, undertook the defence of the British government in its proceedings previous to the late negocia-

tions, and in the negociations themselves. With respect to the English acts relative to foreign sailors, referred to by Mr. W. he said that he had understood them only as granting municipal privileges to such persons, and by no means as impairing their native allegiance to their own sovereigns; and therefore that there was no similitude between these enactments and the pretensions of America in their naturalizations. With regard to the right of search, he repeated the arguments used in the regent's declaration against first abandoning a right of which we are in lawful possession, and then trusting to negociation for its restoration, or the substitution of an equivalent. But the topic on which he principally employed his eloquence, was an invective against the American government for having taken the time when great Britain was deeply engaged in the glorious struggle for the emancipation of Europe from tyranny, to impede her exertions, and league itself with the oppressor. Having thus declared his sentiments concerning the general grounds of the dispute between the two countries, he assumed his part of a censor of the present administration, by remarking on their want of vigour and decision in the measures which had followed the declaration of war.

After Mr. Croker had made some observations in defence of the conduct of the admiralty, and had stated some facts in proof of the misrepresentations and unfair proceedings of the Americans relative to the impressing of seamen; and a few words had been added by other members; the question was put, and carried without opposition.

A similar address being moved in the house of lords by Earl Bathurst, on Feb. 18th, the day for taking into consideration the papers relative to the war with America, a debate ensued, in which the arguments employed were so perfectly similar to those above reported, that it is unnecessary to particularize them. The address was carried without a division.

In the house of lords, on the 14th of May, the Earl of Darnley rose to call the attention of their lordships to our naval disasters. He said, he had hoped that during the interval between giving his notice and bringing forward his motion, something would have occurred to compensate the past disasters; but, on the contrary, another unfortunate event had been reported, attended with circumstances still more melancholy than the former ones. He alluded to the action between the British sloop of war *Peacock*, and the American brig *Hornet* of equal force. He should not now enter upon any question concerning the course or policy of the war, but it could not be disputed that ministers must have been long aware that war, sooner or later, must take place. This being the case, how were we prepared to

meet it? With respect to Canada, the events there had greatly added to our military reputation, but they were events entirely unexpected. It was, however, with regard to our naval force that he should confine his inquiries. It appeared that from April to July in the last year, there were on the Halifax station, under Admiral Sawyer, exclusive of smaller vessels, one ship of the line and five frigates. That such a force only should have been stationed there, when a timely reinforcement might have achieved the most important objects, loudly called for inquiry. He was well informed that with five ships of the line, seventeen frigates, and an adequate number of smaller vessels, on that station, the whole coast of the United States might have been blockaded. It had been said that a sufficient force could not be spared for that purpose; but by sending to sea vessels which were lying useless, and taking one ship from each of the blockading squadrons, this might have been effected. It might be asserted that the force already on the Halifax station was equal to that of the American navy; but it had long been a matter of notoriety, that the American frigates were greatly superior to ours in size and weight of metal. If the war was inevitable, it was very extraordinary that government did not give orders for the construction of vessels able to cope with our antagonists. It would only be necessary to refer to dates to prove the criminal negligence of ministers. War was declared on the 18th of June, and it was not till October 13th that letters of marque and reprisal were issued; and more than two months longer elapsed before the Chesapeake and Delaware were declared to be blockaded. Certain other ports were declared to be blockaded on the 13th of March last, but Rhode Island and Newport remained open, and in the last the American frigate was refitted that took the *Macedonian*. In all the unfortunate cases, the cause was the same; the superior height of the enemy, and their greater weight of metal, by which our ships were crippled and dismasted early in the action, were circumstances surely deserving of inquiry. His lordship then called the attention of the house to the manner in which our trade had been left exposed to the depredations of the enemy; and he strongly reprobated the licences given by government for the importation of American cotton, thereby favoring their commerce to the detriment of our colonies. He then touched upon the mismanagement in our dock-yards; and upon the whole he contended that a case had been made out loudly demanding investigation. He concluded by moving, "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the war with the United States, and more particularly into the state, conduct, and management of our naval affairs, as connected with it."

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The motion was seconded by Earl Stanhope.

Lord Melville then rose and said, that though the conduct, and not the grounds of the war was the matter now to be considered, yet there was one circumstance connected with the declaration of it on which it was necessary to say a few words. Although the government of the United States had for some time before been in such a frame of mind as ultimately led to hostilities, yet a general opinion prevailed, that the revocation of the orders in council would have pacified it. He protested against the noble earl's proposition, that it was the duty of ministers always to have kept there a fleet sufficient to blockade all the ports in America.—There were other important branches of the service to which their attention was called, and our force on other stations was no more than sufficient, the blockading force in many places being less than the force blockaded. He had never met with a naval officer who entertained the opinion of the noble mover respecting the possibility of completely blockading the American ports. As to what he had said relative to the ships which had been opposed to the Americans, Lord Melville observed, that we were not to alter the classes of ships in the British navy merely because there were three American ships of unusual dimensions. All naval officers agreed in the opinion that it was not proper to multiply the classes of vessels; and it was far better to send out seventy-four's than to set about building ships only fit to cope with the American navy. The advice to diminish the number of small vessels was one in which no experienced person could concur, since these were peculiarly requisite to protect our trade against the enemy's privateers. The balance of capture was so far from being in favor of the Americans, that it was the reverse. With respect to not sooner issuing letters of marque, the delay was for the purpose of knowing the reception given by the Americans to our proposals of accommodation. As to the charge of mismanagement in the dock-yards, measures had been taken to remedy defects. Some of our ships, it was true, had undergone a rapid decay, through haste in the building; but it was necessary that our exertions should keep pace with those of the enemy.—For all these reasons he should give his vote against the motion.

Earl Stanhope made a speech chiefly relative to his own plans for the improvement of naval architecture. The most remarkable part was his reference to the contrivances of Mr. Fulton for blowing up ships under water, whose offers, he said, had been rejected by Bonaparte, but had been accepted by Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville,

who, after his failure at Boulogne, made a compromise with him for a considerable sum, with which he went to America. Earl S. said, he had given a plan to the admiralty for preventing the effect of his inventions, which he thought of a formidable nature.

The Earl of Galloway entered into some professional remarks respecting the naval disasters of the American war, which he attributed very much to the power of the enemy to man their few large frigates with prime sailors; whereas the great demand for men in our navy had rendered it necessary to admit a large proportion of an inferior class. He touched upon the propensity of our seamen to desert, which he thought might be best obviated by an increase of petty officers made from the best among them, and by more liberal remuneration. He was also of opinion, in opposition to Lord Melville, that ships of precisely the same kind with those of the Americans should be built, in order to contend with them. He asserted that he should have approved of the motion had its object been not censure, but inquiry.

Earl Grey began with adverting to the contract of the admiralty with Mr. Fulton, and the compromise which he himself had negotiated, in the conviction that his invention would not prove of the smallest utility. He confessed, however, that such was his dislike to this mode of warfare, that he had passed many uneasy nights from the idea of its impracticability. He then made a number of remarks relative to the expediency of an inquiry on the present occasion, not only on account of our naval disasters, but the whole management of the American war. He dwelt particularly on the neglect in protecting the trade of the West Indies and of the coast of South America, and on the superiority of force which the Americans had been suffered to construct on the Canadian lakes.

Earl Bathurst defended the conduct of ministers upon similar grounds with those taken by Lord Melville.

Lord Grenville said, that the doctrine advanced by Lord Galloway, that inquiry implied censure, would lead to the abdication of all the functions of parliament; for no inquiry could be instituted, in that case, without incurring the guilt of condemning the parties unheard. He recapitulated some of the charges against ministry which had been already urged in support of the motion.

After the Earl of Liverpool had spoken in defence of the ministers, and the noble mover had briefly replied, the house divided, for the motion 59; against it, 125. Majority, 66.

CHAPTER IX.

United States of America.—Rapid Increase in Wealth and Population.—Commerce.—Political Parties.—Character of the Americans.—Number of Inhabitants.—State of the Army and Navy.—Satire upon American Discipline.—Political Life of Mr. Madison.—Biographical Sketch, and Character of Mr. Randolph.—Importance of Canada.—Its Military Force, Population, &c.

No country, perhaps, ever increased in population and wealth, or rose into importance, more rapidly than the United States of America. This may be traced to a variety of causes. During the last twenty years, great numbers of British subjects, disaffected to the government, or borne down by adverse circumstances, have sought the shores of America. The long continuance of a state of war in Europe has also greatly contributed to swell the lists of emigrants, who, carrying with them their arts and collective experience, have increased both their numerical force and political importance. To this may be added the advantages which they derived from neutral commerce when all Europe were engaged in war. Before hostilities commenced, their commerce was in the most flourishing state. According to an official document, which was laid before the house of representatives in 1808, the exports of the United States, from the 1st of October, 1806, to the 1st of October, 1807, were valued as follows:

The goods, wares and merchandize of	Dollars.
domestic growth or manufacture	48,699,592
Do. of foreign growth or manufacture	59,643,558

Total dollars - - 108,343,150

In this prosperous career, the Americans might have proceeded had they pursued a wise policy, and not involved themselves in a war which was foreign to their interests. The establishment of their independence has created an evident change in their moral as well as political character; and from this, no doubt, arises that self-consequence and conceit in the young American, which gives such an air of rude, licentious liberty to the mass of the people. This kind of liberty frequently proves more tyrannical in society than the occasional abuse of magisterial power in a monarchical government; for a man in the United States, if he does not happen to be on the popular side of the question, is often afraid to speak his sentiments, lest he should be abused and ill-treated. These political animosities and arbitrary conduct extend even to courts of justice, where the judges on the bench too often feel their contagious effects.

These political parties are distinguished under the titles of federal-republicans and democrats. Both parties view this country with considerable

jealousy; but the democrats, who may be styled "the people," carry this to the extremity of the most confirmed and rancorous malice; rendered, indeed, comparatively impotent by its wildness and extravagance; while the federalists, who are in general the opulent, have more just and consistent views. The drinking of toasts at public dinners is a very common method of venting party spleen in America, and of drinking destruction to their enemies. The newspapers publish long lists of these toasts the next day, as so many proofs of patriotism and virtue; and take a pride in shewing how brilliantly their partizans can blackguard public characters in their cups.

An able writer has observed, that an obvious trait in the American character is vanity. Ostentatious and conceited in an eminent degree, the Americans will allow nothing to be excellent or praiseworthy in foreigners. All other men, Britons not excepted, are regarded by them with contemptuous disdain; and should one of the latter reside in America, or join in the society of her people, he will be soon informed, to his great surprise, that all British subjects are slaves and vassals, that tyranny and oppression pervade every department of the state, and that their own happy country, and admirable constitution, is the only resort for hopeless misery. There, men are all free; there alone the virtues flourish; and thither, as to a place of refuge, are the arts and sciences destined to flee, when the progress of tyranny in Europe shall have banished them thence. His astonishment would be increased by further hearing that the people of the "old country," meaning Great Britain, are degenerated, not only in moral virtue, but in physical power; and that they now are larger bodied, more brave, enlightened, and ingenious.

The Americans, in their commercial transactions, are exceedingly enterprising, which would deserve high commendation, were it always conducted on just and liberal principles; but the reverse is in general the case: fraud, smuggling, and perjury, are practised with success, and without reserve; and thus cupidity prevails among them to an astonishing degree. An eminent divine of Boston thus justly characterized his countrymen from the pulpit, on "putting away the easily besetting sin."—"There have existed

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at all times," said he, "not only personal and peculiar, but also national sins; for instance, among the ancients the Asiatics were accused of effeminacy, the Carthaginians of perfidy, &c. So among the moderns the French are said to be volatile and frivolous, the Spaniards proud and cruel, the English haughty, and evincing too great contempt for strangers; and we, my brethren, of being greedy of gain, and not over scrupulous how we obtain it."

In America all are politicians, and every man a federalist or a democrat. The eagerness of the people for news far surpasses even that of this country. Newspapers are not charged with any duty, and seldom cost more than two-pence half-penny and about a halfpenny more for the carriage. Hence these vehicles of intelligence and information are accessible to every class of people in the states; and there is scarcely a poor owner of a miserable box hut, who lives on the borders of the stage-road, but has a newspaper left at his door. When politics are not the subject of conversation, no distinction between a federalist or a democrat can be discerned; but the moment it turns upon the conduct of a Jefferson or Adams, of the English and French nations, open war immediately commences, not only between rival politicians, but between friends and acquaintances.

Religious toleration is allowed in its fullest extent in every state of the Union; and people of every sect and form of worship are admitted to a share of the government. The population of the United States, which, in 1777, was estimated at 1,500,000, is now above 10,000,000. In 1808, the navy consisted of ten frigates and eighty-one sloops and gun-boats; the regular army amounted to no more than 2,000 men. But throughout the states, every able-bodied white male-citizen, between the age of eighteen and forty-five, is enrolled in the militia, and free people of colour are enrolled as pioneers. One-third of the militia may be marched out of each state by order of the executive of the United States, on particular emergencies, and under certain conditions; and treated in every respect the same as the regular troops, except that in cases of courts-martial the court is to be selected from the militia of the state. The militia of the United States, however, is for the most part badly disciplined. In general, they meet only to eat, drink, and make merry. The following excellent satire upon one of those meetings may afford our readers some amusement, and give them some idea of American tactics:—"I happened, not long since, to be present at the muster of a captain's company, in a remote part of one of the counties; and as no general description could convey an adequate idea of the achievements of that day, I must be permitted to go a little into the detail, as well as my recollection will serve

me. The men had been notified to meet at nine o'clock, 'armed and equipped as the law directs,' that is to say, with a gun and cartouch-bæx at least; but, as directed by the law of the United States, 'with a good firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, and pouch with a box to contain not less than twenty-four sufficient cartridges of powder and ball.' At twelve o'clock about one-third, perhaps half, the men had collected; and an inspector's return of the number present would have stood nearly thus: *one* captain, *one* lieutenant, *en-sign none*, *serjeants two*, *corporals none*, *drummers none*, *fifers none*, *privates present*, twenty-five, *ditto absent*, thirty, *guns fifteen*, *gunlocks twelve*, *ramrods ten*, *rifle pouches three*, *bayonets none*, *belts none*, *spare-flints none*, *cartridges none*, *horsewhips*, *walking-canes*, and *umbrellas*, twenty-two.

"A little before one o'clock, the captain, whom I shall distinguish by the name of *Clodpole*, gave directions for forming the line of parade. In obedience to this order, one of the serjeants, the strength of whose lungs had long supplied the place of a drum and fife, placed himself in front of the house, and began to bawl with great vehemence, 'All Captain Clodpole's company to parade there! come, gentlemen, parade here! parade here!' says he, 'and all you that hasn't guns, fall into the lower end.' He might have bawled till this time, with as little success as the Syrens sung to Ulysses, had he not changed his post to a neighbouring shade; there he was immediately joined by all who were then at leisure; the others were at that time engaged either as parties or spectators at a game of fives, and could not just then attend: however, in less than *half an hour* the game was finished, and the captain was enabled to form his company, and proceed in the duties of the day.

"*'Look to the right and dress!'*

"They were soon, by the help of the non-commissioned officers, placed in a straight line; but as every man was anxious to see how the rest stood, those on the wings pressed forward for that purpose, till the whole line assumed nearly the form of a crescent. '*Whew! look at 'em!*' says the captain, 'why, gentlemen, you are all crooking here at both ends, so that you will get on to me by and by: come, gentlemen, *dress! dress!*'

"This was accordingly done; but impelled, by the same motive as before, they soon resumed their former figure, and so they were permitted to remain. 'Now, gentlemen,' says the captain, 'I am going to carry you through the *revolutions* of the manual exercise, and I want you, gentlemen, if you please, to pay every particular attention to the word of command, just exactly as I give it out to you. I hope you will have a little patience, gentlemen, if you please, and I'll be as short as possible; and if I should be a-going

wrong, I will be much obliged to any of you, gentlemen, to put me right again, for I mean all for the best, and I hope you will excuse me if you please. And one thing, gentlemen, I must caution you against, in particular, and that is this, not to make any mistakes if you can possibly help it, and the best way to do this, will be to do all the motions *right* at first, and that will help us to get along so much the faster, and I will try to have it over as soon as possible. Come, boys, come to a shoulder.

“*Poise foolk!—Cock foolk!*—Very handsomely done.—*Take aim!—Ram down cartridge!*—No No! Fire. I recollect now, that firing comes next after taking aim, according to Steuben; but with your permission, gentlemen, I’ll read the words of command just exactly as they are printed in the book, and then I shall be sure to be right.’ ‘O yes! read it, captain, read it,’ exclaimed twenty voices at once, ‘that will save time.’

“*’Tention the whole then:* please to observe, gentlemen, that at the word *fire!* you must fire; that is, if any of your guns are *loaden’d*, you must not shoot in *yearnest*, but only make pretence like; and all you gentlemen fellow-soldiers, who’s arm’d with nothing but sticks, and riding-switches, and corn-stalks, needn’t go through the firings, but stand as you are, and keep yourselves to yourselves.

“*Half cock foolk!*—Very well done.

“‘S, h, u, t, (spelling) *shet pan!*—That too would have been very handsomely done if you hadn’t have handled the cartridge instead; but I suppose you wasn’t noticing. Now *’tention*, one and all, gentlemen, and do that motion again.

“*Shet pan!*—Very good, very well indeed, you did that motion equal to any old soldiers; you improve astonishingly.

“*Handle cartridge!*—Pretty well, considering you done it wrong *end* foremost, as if you took the cartridge out of your mouth, and bit off the twist with the cartridge-box.

“*Draw rammer!*—Those who have no rammers to their guns need not draw, but only make the motion; it will do just as well, and save a great deal of time.

“*Return rammer!*—Very well again—But that would have been done, I think, with greater expertness, if you had performed the motion with a little more dexterity.

“*Shoulder foolk!*—Very handsomely done, indeed, if you had only brought the *foolk* to the other shoulder, gentlemen. Do that motion again, gentlemen, and bring the *foolk* up to the left shoulder.

“*Shoulder foolk!*—Very good.

“*Order foolk!*—Not quite so well, gentlemen; not quite altogether: but perhaps I did not speak loud enough for you to hear me all at once; try once more if you please; I hope you will be patient, gentlemen, we will soon be through.

“*Order foolk!*—Handsomely done, gentlemen! very handsomely done! and altogether too, except that a few of you were a *leetle* too soon, and some others a *leetle* too late.

“‘In laying down your guns, gentlemen, take care to lay the locks up, and other sides down.

“*’Tention the whole! Ground foolk!*—Very well.

“*Charge bagonet! (Some of the men)*—‘That can’t be right, captain, pray look again, for how can we charge bagonet without our guns?’

“‘(Captain) I don’t know as to that, but I know I’m right, for here it is printed in the book c, h, a, r, yes, *charge bagonet*, that’s right, that’s the word, if I know how to read; come, gentlemen, do, pray, charge bagonet!’ Charge, I say! Why don’t you charge? Do you think it an’t so? Do you think I have lived to this time of day, and don’t know what *charge bagonet* is? Here, come here, you may see for yourselves; it’s as plain as the nose on your fa—stop—stay—no!—halt! no, no! faith I’m wrong! I’m wrong! I turned over *two leaves at once*. But I beg your pardon, gentlemen, we will not stay out long; and we’ll have *something to drink* as soon as we’ve done. Come, boys, get up off the stumps and logs, and take up your guns, and we’ll soon be done; excuse me if you please.

“*Fix bagonet!*

“*Advance arms!*—Very well done, turn the stocks of your guns in front, gentlemen, and that will bring the barrels behind; and hold them straight up and down if you please. Let go with your left hand, and take hold with your right just below the guard. Steuben says the gun must be held up p, e, r, *perticular*: yes, you must always mind and hold your guns very *perticular*. Now, boys, *’tention the whole!*

“*Present arms!*—very handsomely done! only hold your guns over the other knee, and the other hand up, turn your guns round a *leetle*, and raise them up higher, draw the other foot back! Now you are nearly right. Very well done, gentlemen; you have improved vastly since I first saw you: you are getting too *slick*. What a charming thing it is to see men under good discipline! Now, gentlemen, we are come to the *revolutions*: but, Lord, men, how did you get into such a *higlety-pigglety?*

“The fact was, the shade had moved considerably to the eastward, and had exposed the right wing of these hardy veterans to a galling fire of the *sun*. Being but poorly provided with umbrellas at this end of the line, they found it convenient to follow the shade, and in huddling to the left for this purpose, they had changed the figure of their line from that of a crescent to one which more nearly resembled a pair of pothooks.

BOOK XI.

CHAP. IX.

1812.

" 'Come, gentlemen,' says the captain, 'spread yourselves out again into a straight line, and let us get into the wheelings and other matters as soon as possible.'

" But this was strenuously opposed by the soldiers. They objected to going into these *revolutions* at all, inasmuch as the weather was extremely hot, and they had already been kept in the field upwards of *three quarters* of an hour. They reminded the captain of his repeated promise to be as short as he possibly could, and it was clear he could dispense with all this same wheeling and flourishing if he chose. They were already very thirsty, and if he would not dismiss them, they declared they would go off without dismissal, and get something to drink; and he might fine them if that would do him any good; they were able to pay their fine, but could not go without drink to please any body; and they swore they would never vote for another captain who wished to be so unreasonably strict.

" The captain behaved with great spirit upon this occasion, and a smart colloquy ensued; when, at length, becoming exasperated to the last degree, he roundly asserted, that no soldier ought ever to *think hard* of the orders of his officer; and, finally, he went as far as to say, that he did not think any gentleman on that ground had any just cause to be offended with him. The dispute was, at length, settled by the captain's sending for some grog, for their present accommodation, and agreeing to omit reading the military law, as directed by a late act, and also all the military manœuvres, except two or three such easy and simple ones as could be performed within the compass of the shade. After they had drank their grog, and 'spread themselves' they were divided into platoons.

" "Tention the whole!—*To the right wheel!* Each man faced to the right about.

" 'Why, gentlemen, I didn't mean for every man to stand still and turn *natyrally* right round; but when I told you to wheel to the right, I intended for you to wheel round to the right as it were. Please to try that again, gentlemen; every right-hand man must stand fast, and only the others turn round.'

" In a previous part of the exercise it had, for the purpose of sizing them, been necessary to denominate every second person a 'right-hand man.' A very natural consequence was, that on the present occasion those right-hand men maintained their position, and all their intermediate ones faced about as before.

" 'Why look at 'em now!' exclaimed the captain in extreme vexation. 'I'll be d——d if you can understand a word I say.' Excuse me, gentlemen, but it *rayly* seems as if you couldn't come at it exactly. In wheeling to the right, the right-

hand *end* of the platoon stands fast, and the other *end* comes round like a swingle tree. Those on the outside must march faster than those on the inside, and those on the inside not near so fast as those on the outside. You certainly must unders and me now, gentlemen; and now please to try once more.'

" In this they were a little more successful.

" 'Very well, gentlemen; very well indeed; and now, gentlemen, at the word wheel to the left, you must wheel to the left.'

" 'Tention the whole! *To the left—left no—right—that is, the left—I mean the right—left, wheel! march!*

" In this he was strictly obeyed; some wheeling to the right, some to the left, and some to the right, left, or both ways.

" 'Stop! halt! let us try again! I could not just then tell my right hand from my left; you must excuse me, gentlemen, if you please; experience makes perfect, as the saying is; long as I've served, I find something new to learn every day, but all's one for that: now, gentlemen, do that motion once more.'

" By the help of a non-commissioned officer in front of each platoon, they wheeled this time with considerable regularity.

" 'Now, boys, you must try to wheel by divisions, and there is one thing in particular which I have to request of you, gentlemen, and it is this, not to make any blunder in your wheeling. You must mind and keep at a wheeling distance; and not talk in the ranks, nor get out of fix again; for I want you to do this motion well, and not make any blunder now.'

" "Tention the whole! *By divisions! to the right wheel! march!*

" In doing this, it seemed as if bedlam had broke loose; every man took the command—'Not so fast on the right!—How now! how now!—Haul down those umbrellas!—Faster on the left!—Keep back a little in the middle there—Don't crowd so—Hold up you gun, Sam—Go faster, there!—Faster!—Who trod on me?—D——m your *huffs*, keep back! keep back!—Stop us, captain, do stop us—Go faster there—I've lost my shoe—Get up again—Ned, halt! halt! halt!—Stop, gentlemen! stop! stop!—

" By this time they got into utter and inexplicable confusion, and so I left them."

As Mr. Madison, the President of the United States, has generally been considered an enemy to this country, and a partizan of France, we shall here present the reader with the political life of that gentleman. He is considered as the pupil of Mr. Jefferson. He was but a youth at the early part of the revolution, yet was actively employed under his great leaders, Franklin, Jefferson, and others, in pro-

moting the views of the republican party. His name appears as one of the deputies from Virginia in 1787, for the purpose of forming a new constitution; after which he was variously employed in the subordinate departments of the government, particularly during the secretaryship of Mr. Jefferson in 1793, when he brought forward his project of a commercial discrimination, for the purpose of imposing heavier duties on foreign goods, and promoting domestic manufactures. The French minister, Fauchet, says that Mr. Jefferson was the real author of the proposition thus introduced by Mr. Madison: at all events, it is certain that the former gentleman, in his capacity as secretary of state, had previously made a report to congress on the subject of commerce in the autumn of 1793.

In that report, Mr. Jefferson proposes the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and certain restrictions upon foreign commerce, particularly upon that of Great Britain, who, it seems, had imposed high duties on some of the American productions, and excluded others altogether from her ports. At that time there was no treaty of commerce between the two countries. Mr. Madison's proposition was therefore brought forward rather as a measure of retaliation than to favor any of the views of the French faction; though, in some measure, it unavoidably had that effect: consequently, it excited the violent opposition of the federal party, and was ultimately negatived. Every country, however, possesses a right to regulate its commerce in whatever manner is most to its own advantage. Great Britain had done this, and it was proposed that America should do the same; nor can we see in what shape either Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison can be charged with partiality to France on that score. The federalists, however, persisted in the opinion, that "their real object was to promote and foster the languishing manufactures of France, by an exclusion of those of Great Britain, at the expense of the United States." Fortunately for both countries, a treaty was shortly after concluded by Mr. Jay, who had been appointed envoy to England for that purpose; and thus the commerce and productions of each nation were put upon a reciprocal footing, without resorting to unpleasant and irritating measures.

From that period until he became secretary of state in Mr. Jefferson's presidency, Mr. Madison bore no very conspicuous part in public affairs; but on his entering upon that important office, his name became familiar to all who interested themselves in the affairs of America and the two great belligerent powers of Europe. The repeated disputes, and consequent explanations and negotiations, which have taken place between the three nations for several years past, have certainly given Mr. Madison full employment in his official

capacity, and made him known to the world in the character of a diplomatician. The abilities which he has displayed are of no mean stamp; but he has exhibited in his diplomatic style of writing a studied obscurity and an intricate verbosity which seem to carry with it a desire in the writer to puzzle, perplex, and prolong the discussion of a business, which ought rather to have been candidly, fairly, and briefly stated, in order to its being brought to an immediate adjustment.

It has confessedly been the policy of Mr. Jefferson, and is also the policy of Mr. Madison, his successor, to negotiate rather than fight: hence we have an elucidation of the motives which have hitherto baffled the attempts of the British government to settle our disputes with America: for, had such a settlement taken place as we desired, the United States would inevitably have been plunged into a war with France. This it has been Mr. Jefferson's policy to avoid; in doing which, a show of hostility was necessarily obliged to be kept up towards England.

In the course of the disputes between the two parties on their differences with England and France, they have generally defended the proceedings of that nation to whom they were attached from political or party motives; but this contest has been carried on chiefly by newspaper politicians, and a few factious demagogues, mostly French or British renegadoes, whose inflammatory writings in favor of French principles have been imprudently patronized by the democratic Americans, and hence their party has incurred the severe but just animadversions of the federalists.

As to the great body of the American people, Mr. Lambert is of opinion that they are attached neither to England nor France, further than their own interest leads them; or, if any preference does exist, it is in favor of England, with whom they traffic to a greater extent than any other nation in the world, and with whose interests their own are so closely blended.

Their peculiar form of government, however, renders them liable to be divided in favour of one or other of their principal statesmen who offer themselves as candidates for the presidency. Hence they become split into parties, and range themselves under their favorite leaders. Europeans settled in the country, as foreigners or adopted citizens, naturally attach themselves to that side which is most congenial to their political sentiments; and the imprudent length which many of them have gone in divulging their opinions, has not only disgraced those who were connected with them, but has injured the American character in the eyes of foreign nations.

An American writer, speaking of the impressment of American seamen by the British ships

of war, acknowledges that protections are indiscriminately granted to foreigners in the American service. "It must not be forgotten," says he, "that certificates bearing testimony of a seaman's being an American citizen are very easily obtained by a little *hard swearing*. A dollar and a false oath very often transform a foreigner into an American; and if this ready-made countryman of ours be impressed into a British ship, we clamour loudly about the cruelty and injustice of British naval officers.

"Not many months since, an English lad, not quite nineteen, who had deserted from a British man of war, wished to go out from New York to the East Indies, as seaman, with an American captain. The captain represented the danger of his being impressed by the British, and advised him, at all events, to go and get a certificate of his being a *native American*. The seaman followed this advice, and returned within a few hours, flourishing a certificate, testifying he was born in America. The captain asked him how he got it. The seaman told him, that he went into the street and found an Irishman, whom he asked to go along with him to the proper officer, and swear that he was born in America; to which the Irishman agreed, and the sailor got the certificate. The captain asked him how much he gave the Irishman. 'Two dollars,' says the sailor. 'That was too much,' replied the other, 'you should have got him to do it for half.' 'Why,' says the sailor, 'I tried to beat him down to a dollar; but he insisted upon it, that *two dollars* were little enough in all conscience for a *false oath*, and that he would not perjure himself for less!'"

The biography of Mr. John Randolph, an eminent character in the United States, and the avowed friend of this country, cannot fail to be interesting. This gentleman, whose name many persons have confounded with that of Edmund Randolph, is a native of Virginia, and born of a very respectable family. Bred up to the profession of the law, attached to antifederal principles, he came into office under Mr. Jefferson's administration. Previous to this Mr. Randolph had, for several years, been a member of Congress; and upon several occasions during Mr. Adams's presidency he contrived materially to turn the current of popular opinion from the federalists to his party.

The indiscreet and intemperate warmth shown by the ruling party towards Great Britain, and their apparently tame acquiescence in the measures of Bonaparte, at length disgusted Mr. Randolph. He began by rebuking Mr. Madison, at that time secretary of state, for acceding to the demand of Turreau, the French ambassador; on which occasion Mr. Madison replied, "*that France was in want of money, and must have some from the United States.*" The pretext was payment for the Floridas and Louisiana. This shuffling

conduct occasioned Mr. Randolph to withdraw himself from the confidence of President Jefferson, and he then repeatedly told the house, that there no longer existed a cabinet-council.

Since then he has taken an active part in opposition to the measures of the democratical party, without absolutely joining the federalists. In thus steering a middle course he has been joined by many other members, who, under his auspices, have lately risen into public notice and esteem. Among them the names of Gardenir, Key, Dana, Otis, and Quincy, are the most conspicuous. In many instances Mr. Randolph's speeches have been favorable to English measures and principles, as opposed to those of France; yet, nevertheless, he possessed that *amor patriæ* which consults only the good of his own country.

The integrity and virtue of this eminent character are sufficiently substantiated by his sentiments respecting the late Mr. Crowninshield's proposition for cancelling the national debt in case of war with England. "The gentleman from Massachusetts," says Mr. Randolph, "is for spunging the national debt. I can never consent to it. I will never bring the ways and means of fraudulent bankruptcy into your committee of supply. Confiscation and swindling shall never be found among my estimates to meet the current expenditure of peace and war. No, Sir, I have said with the doors closed, and I say so when they are open, 'Pay the public debt.' Get rid of that dead weight upon your government that cramps all your measures, and then you may set the world at defiance. So long as it hangs upon you, you must have revenue, and to have revenue you must have *commerce*—commerce, peace."

Acting up to these patriotic and virtuous principles, Mr. Randolph was induced to bring forward a series of charges against General Wilkinson for corruption, in having received money at various times from the Spanish government at New Orleans in aid of traitorous practices against the United States. One of the documents which Mr. Randolph presented to the house on that occasion, is as follows:

Translation.

"In the galley the Victoria, Bernardo Molina patron, there have been sent to Don Vincent Folch, nine thousand six hundred and forty dollars, which sum, without making the least use of it, you will hold at my disposal, to deliver it at the moment an order may be presented to you by the American general, Don James Wilkinson. God preserve you many years!

"The Baron de CARONDELET.

"New Orleans, 20th January, 1796."

"I certify that the foregoing is a copy of its original, to which I refer.

(Signed) "THOMAS PORTELL.

"New Madrid, 27th June, 1796."

Mr. Randolph, upon this and other documents, impeached Wilkinson of being a Spanish pensioner, and pledged himself to prove the charges which he brought against him. A motion was accordingly made to request the president to institute an inquiry into Wilkinson's conduct. In the mean time, Wilkinson challenged Randolph, who replied, that he would not fight him till he had cleared up his character: in consequence of which, the general posted an advertisement up in different parts of the city of Washington, proclaiming John Randolph a prevaricating poltroon and scoundrel.

Mr. Randolph, however, displayed his courage and magnanimity by treating this libel with contempt; and patriotically continued to persevere in the investigation of this unpleasant business. At the examination of witnesses Mr. Randolph, on introducing Mr. Clark's affidavit, said, "The proofs, Mr. Speaker, which have this day been produced against your general-in-chief, together with what I hold in my hand, will convince you, sir, and the world, that he is a base traitor. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, that this poison, this infectious, corrupted disease, is not confined to your general alone; it has, to the disgrace of the American character, I am sorry to say, extended to the army under your general's command! The very stores which descended the Ohio for the Burr conspiracy, *were taken, sir, from the American arsenal!*"

If this last allegation is true, and it never has been contradicted, we may easily account for the acquittal of General Wilkinson, which afterwards took place. A *military court* of inquiry was instituted by the president to investigate the charges against him. They acquitted him of all corrupt practices; but acknowledged that he had, at various times, received large sums of money from the governor of New Orleans for *tobacco*! Excellent management! We think they order these matters better in America than in Europe.

Mr. Randolph's figure is ordinary and forbidding: tall, lean, pale, and emaciated; he repulses rather than invites. His voice is somewhat feminine; but that is little noticed in the moment he has entered fully upon his subject, whether it be at the convivial table or at the house of representatives. The defects of his person are then forgotten in one continued blaze of shrewd, sensible, and eloquent remarks. By a manner peculiar to himself, he arrests the wandering attention of his auditors, and rouses every slumbering faculty of the mind. The reasoning of Mr. Randolph is never strong and forcible; having a genius which despises the shackles of restraint, he throws off, in the paroxysms of feeling, the chains of argumentation, and ranges, as it were, with a quickened pace and gladdened heart through the wide field of general remark. If forced into a subtle and intri-

cate discussion by his opponents, he yields with infinite reluctance to the imperious necessity of speaking to the judgment, without being permitted to charm and captivate the imagination. Yet, nevertheless, when he exhibits his subject naked, it has the nerve of Hercules, and is not relieved by a single feature of Adonis.

With the most powerful talents, with superior cultivation of mind, and with the most unsuspecting sincerity in the expression of all his opinions, Mr. Randolph is not calculated for a popular leader. The arts of conciliation are unknown to him. Governed by the dictates of his own manly judgment, he cannot conceive that dependence which shackles weaker minds. It is thus that he never has been known to consult, to advise, or to compromise. His propositions are original: they are brought forward without one inquiry of who is to support, or who is to oppose them. Conscious of the purity of his own intentions, and satisfied with the correctness of his own judgment, he wishes not to defend the one, he seeks not to confirm the other, by his personal popularity.

Individually, there is no man in the district where he resides who is not better known, or whose manners and public habits are not more pleasing to the people, than Mr. Randolph's. It is probable, that if his election were put on that issue, he would never have held a seat in congress. About him there is an atmosphere of repulsion which few dare to penetrate; but he who has the firmness to do it is eminently rewarded. Ardent and affectionate in his disposition, he is susceptible of strong and permanent affection: but if injured, he exhibits but little of that mild forbearance which is inculcated in the gentle precepts of our holy religion. His private history, however, abounds with evidences of the most humane and philanthropic feeling. One trait in his character denotes his inclination to live in peace and friendship with those around him; he never will converse upon political subjects but with the greatest reluctance, well knowing what acrimony and discord they create, even between the warmest friends.

Although Mr. Randolph possesses general information, he cannot be considered a literary character. Except a minute knowledge of history and geography, his reading has been otherwise superficial. The wit of Mr. Randolph is keen, and too often indulged without regard to its effects on the feeling of others. Sometimes, however, its application is peculiarly happy. Dr. Dana, proverbial for his *pedantry*, once observed, in the presence of Mr. Randolph, that they were waiting for their *stalking* library (alluding to Dr. Mitchill): "Sir," said Randolph, "I heard him just now inquire for his *index*." The adversaries of Mr. Randolph have lately at-

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tempted to dishearten him by contumely and vulgar abuse; but he very properly refuses to be drawn into personal conflicts with whole hosts of enemies, who wish to drown their vengeance in his blood. "May he live long," says one of his friends, "and never cease to lash corruption with a calm disdain!"

Of all the colonies of Great Britain, none is of such vital importance as her North American provinces; partly because they employ the greatest quantity of shipping, and also as being capable of supplying the mother-country, and her other dependencies, with an abundance of the articles necessary for her wants and enjoyments. The possessions of the British in North America, are Labrador, Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Of these provinces, in a political point of view, the two Canadas are of the most importance, in consequence of their vicinity to the territories of the United States.

Upper and Lower Canada have rapidly improved, but not in proportion to their neighbours, for colonies have not the vigour and spirit of independent states. The population of the two provinces is estimated at 350,000. Their commerce has increased wonderfully of late years. Even in 1808, the number of shipping that cleared out from Quebec alone amounted to 334, laden principally with timber, potash, pitch, tar, and turpentine; wheat, flax-seeds, staves, &c. The tonnage was 70,275, and the number of seamen 3,330. The exports were valued at 1,156,060*l.*; and the imports at 610,000*l.*; thus leaving a balance in favor of the colony of 546,060*l.* Canada supplies Great Britain with hemp, and every other description of naval stores. Having originally been a French colony, the majority of the inhabitants of the lower province are descendants from the French. The wise and beneficent measures, however, which have been pursued towards them, have tended to conciliate them to the British government. French as well as English, catholics as well as protestants, are all unanimous in defence of their country.

Every man throughout the Canadas is a soldier; and during the last campaign, every one of them cheerfully attended the call of arms. This interesting fact cannot but convey to the mind the most pleasing sensations; since we find a nation of ancient foes, both in politics and religion, now united in the strictest friendship, and vying with each other who shall display the greatest ardour in protecting that government under which they have enjoyed so much happiness.

Quebec is the capital of Lower Canada, the fortifications of which are extremely strong, being considered a second Gibraltar. While the British hold possession of this place, the Americans

can never make any impression upon the country. The Americans, however, were so confident of success, when they invaded Canada, in 1812, that General Dearborn had actually prepared a triumphal coat, richly decorated with oak leaves, as the victor's mead, which was destined to be worn on entering Quebec. The popular toast was, "May the army eat its Christmas dinner in Quebec." Indeed, one of the arguments used in congress on behalf of a declaration of war, was the ease and certainty with which these provinces would be conquered. It was even represented, that the provincials would not resist, but meet their invaders and recognise in them deliverers from tyranny and oppression; or that if, contrary to expectation, they did resist, they might, when conquered, be retained as a *pledge*, to secure more favorable terms of peace. Britain, it was said, "would make any sacrifice rather than leave valuable colonies in the enemy's hands," while, among the many curious speculations that were made of the importance of these provinces to the United States, it was estimated that the *coal alone* of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia would repay the expenses of a seven years war.

The militia of Upper and Lower Canada amounts to 60,000 effective men. The province of Upper Canada, which has borne the chief brunt of this unnatural contest, was, before the former war, nearly one vast wilderness: a few forts and small settlements for the convenience of the fur-trade, were all that relieved that gloomy appearance of interminable forests and immense lakes. Since the conclusion of that war, the settlement and cultivation of this province have been an object of much attention on the part of the British government. The loyalists who were driven from the United States, found here a comfortable asylum, and, together with numerous families who emigrated from Scotland, soon formed a respectable colony. The settlements were also considerably increased by the disbanded officers and soldiers who had served in America. These people received large grants of land from government as a reward for their services, and either cultivated the spots themselves, or sold them to others who did. This zeal for peopling the upper province met with every encouragement from home, as it tended to form a strong barrier against any future invasion from the neighbouring states. Towns of considerable magnitude were in a few years constructed upon the sites of old forts and blockhouses; and the shouts of hunters and the Indian war-hoop gave place to the busy hum of trade and commerce. The lakes became covered with ships instead of canoes; and every town resembled a sea-port. The principal lakes of this province are called Ontario, Erie, and Superior.

They are capable of receiving the largest fleets: one of them, viz. Superior, is upwards of 400 miles in length, and 1,500 in circumference. The depth of these vast lakes, in many places, cannot be ascertained; and the storms, which frequently occur, are often more destructive than those which happen on the ocean.

The climate of Upper Canada is more mild and temperate than that of the lower province, and for that reason is preferred to the latter by most of the European emigrants who proceed to

North America. Vegetation of all kinds is most abundant; the harvests are extremely luxuriant; and, by many people, Upper Canada is termed the garden of North America. The English laws entirely prevail in this province. The taxes are very trifling; and any man with a small sum of money has it in his power to acquire a very handsome competency. The manners, customs, and amusements of the inhabitants resemble those of the British nation.

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CHAPTER X.

Report of Committee of Foreign Relations.—President's Message to Congress.—Order of the Marshal of New York.—Action on the Miami.—Capture of Fort George.—Attack on Sackett's Harbour.—Defeat of the Americans at Burlington Heights.—Proclamation of Sir George Prevost.—Capture of Colonel Boestler and his Troops by the British.—Landings in the Chesapeake.—Capture of the Islands of Portsmouth and Ocracoke.—Capture of the American Frigate Chesapeake by the Shannon.—Message of the President to Congress.

On the 29th of January, a report was laid before the house of representatives from the committee of foreign relations, which merits attention, as stating the grounds of the war with Great Britain, and the causes which produced the failure of the attempts that were made for its extinction. Having noticed the refusal of Mr. Madison to concur in the proposal for an armistice made by Admiral Warren, because nothing was said in it on the subject of impressment, the committee express their entire approbation of his conduct, observing, that, "to appeal to arms in defence of a right, and to lay them down without receiving it, would be considered in no other light than a relinquishment of it." They then proceed to consider the precise nature of that cause which has hitherto prevented an accommodation. "Great Britain," they say, "claims a right to impress her own seamen, and to exercise it in American vessels. It insists that every American seaman should carry with him the evidence of his citizenship, and that all those who are unprovided with such evidence should be impressed. Not to object that such a document may be lost or destroyed, on what principle does the British government require from the United States such a degradation? Ought the free citizens of an independent power to carry an evidence of their freedom on the main ocean, and in their own vessels, and are all to be considered as British subjects who do not bear with them that badge? Would Great Britain herself

submit to such an usurpation of authority?" After some more observations on this point, they go on to say, "Let it be distinctly understood, in case of an arrangement between the two nations, whereby each should exclude from its service the citizens and subjects of the other, that this house will be prepared, so far as depends on it, to give it effect: and for that purpose to enact laws, with such regulations and penalties as will be adequate." They consider it as the duty of the house to declare, in the most decisive terms, that should the British government decline such an arrangement, and persist in the practice of impressment from American vessels, the United States will resist it unceasingly with all their force. The report dwells with a good deal of prolixity on this topic, touching upon no other point of difference between the two nations; and it concludes by recommending the passing of a bill "for the regulation of seamen on-board public vessels, and in the merchants' service, of the United States."

A proclamation, issued by the governor of Bermuda, reciting a British order-of-council, providing for the supply of the West India islands by a trade under special licenses from the ports of the United States, but confining such licenses to those of the eastern states exclusively, gave great offence to Mr. Madison. On the 24th of February, he sent a message to congress, couched in terms of indignation and reproach, which denoted the acuteness of his feelings, with respect to any

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attempt for separating the interests of different parts of the union, and particularly when favoring that part in which he was conscious of being unpopular. He suggested to Congress the expediency of a prohibition of any trade whatever by the citizens of the United States, under special licenses, and also a prohibition of all exportation from the United States in foreign bottoms.

The address breathed a keen spirit of resentment against the British nation; and, in fact, the war this year exasperated the feelings on both sides, and produced altercations, hereafter to be mentioned, scarcely compatible with civilized hostility. The Congress closed its session on the 5th of March, without passing the prohibitory bills recommended by the president.

On the 4th of March, an order was issued by the marshal of the district of New York, for compelling all British merchants, residing within forty miles of the American coast, to retire beyond that distance into the interior; thus forcing them to break up their establishments, to desert their property, and to seek new situations, without affording them the means of support: in short, rendering them prisoners of war, without the protection and assistance which all civilized governments feel themselves bound to extend to persons in that unfortunate situation: and yet Mr. Madison, in his speech at the capital, had the modesty to assert, that the war, on the part of the American government, was waged in a spirit of liberality which was never surpassed.

A party of the American army having taken post near the foot of the rapids of the Miami, a river flowing into Lake Erie, Colonel Proctor, on the 23d of April, embarked with a force of regulars and militia, consisting of between eight and nine hundred, to whom were joined about twelve hundred Indians, and sailed for the Miami. In consequence of heavy rains he was not able to open his batteries till the 1st of May, at which time the enemy had so well secured himself, by blockhouses and batteries, that no impression could be made on him. Whilst Colonel Proctor was still lying there, a reinforcement of American troops, to the amount of 1,300, under the command of Brigadier-general Clay, descending the river, made a sudden attack upon him, aided by a sally of the garrison. For a few minutes the enemy was in possession of his batteries, and took some prisoners; but after a severe though short contest, they were repulsed, and the greatest part, except the party from the garrison, were killed or taken. Their loss was estimated at between 1,000 and 1,200 men, of whom about 500 were prisoners. The killed, wounded, and missing of the British did not exceed 100. In this decisive affair, the officers and men of the 41st regiment charged and acted with distinguished gallantry. Colonel Proctor, however, in consequence of being

deserted by half of the militia, and nearly all the Indians, was not able to preserve his situation at the Miami.

In the mean time, the Americans having collected a powerful force by land and water, at the head of Lake Ontario, proceeded against Fort George, on the Niagara, which they cannonaded from their ships and batteries the whole of the 24th and 25th of May. On the 27th, at day-break, under cover of their fleet, which kept up a tremendous and most destructive fire, they succeeded in landing a body of troops, and advanced to the attack of the place. They were very gallantly opposed by the British troops, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers; and a judicious position was occupied by Lieutenant-colonel Myers, which checked their progress. That zealous and meritorious officer, however, was obliged to quit the field, having received three wounds; but being replaced by Lieutenant-colonel Harvey, the unequal contest continued some time longer, with unshaken gallantry and determination. At length Colonel Vincent, the commander, considering further perseverance against an overwhelming force a fruitless sacrifice of invaluable lives, having gained by their intrepid resistance the means of dismantling the fort, and destroying the stores, he directed the troops to fall back on Queenston, which was done with perfect order. The loss of the British, in this affair, amounted to about 300 in killed, wounded, and missing. Colonel Vincent, in his retreat, was joined by Lieutenant-colonel Bishopp, with all the detachments from Chippawa to Fort Erie, and by other parties, which augmented his force to about 1,600 men. With them he took up a position near the head of the lake. The American army, meanwhile, pushed on a considerable detachment towards Queenston. Its whole force was estimated at nearly 10,000 men, which rendered them complete masters of the Niagara frontier.

About the close of May, an attempt upon the American port at Sackett's harbour was planned by Sir George Prevost, and its execution was committed to Colonel Baynes, aided by a fleet of boats under Sir James Yeo. On the night of the 28th, the expedition, composed of draughts from different regiments, and a company of Glengarry light-infantry, proceeded from Kingston to the harbour, hoping to land before the enemy should be sufficiently apprized of the attack, to line the woods on the coast with troops; but a strong current and the darkness of the night frustrated this purpose, so that at the dawn of day the Americans were fully prepared for their reception. It was the intention of Colonel Baynes to have landed in the cove formed by Horse Island, but finding the enemy prepared, he directed the boats to pull round to the other side of the islands, where a landing was effected in good

order and with little loss, although executed in the face of a corps formed with a field-piece in the wood, and under the enfilade of a heavy gun of the enemy's principal battery. The advance was led by the grenadiers of the 100th regiment, with undaunted gallantry, which no obstacle could arrest: a narrow causeway, in many places under water, not more than four feet wide, and about 400 paces in length, which connected the island with the main land, was occupied by the enemy in great force with a 6-pounder. It was forced and carried in the most spirited manner, and the gun taken before a second discharge could be made from it: a tumbril, with a few rounds of ammunition, was found; but, unfortunately, the artillerymen were still behind, the schooner in which they were embarked not having been able to get up in time; and the troops were exposed to so heavy and galling a fire from a numerous, but almost invisible foe, as to render it impossible to halt for the artillery to come up. At this spot, two paths led in opposite directions round the hill. Colonel Baynes directed Colonel Young, of the king's regiment, with half of the detachment, to penetrate by the left, and Major Drummond, of the 104th, to force the path by the right, which proved to be more open and was less occupied by the enemy. On the left the wood was very thick, and was most obstinately maintained by the enemy.

The gun-boats, which had covered the landing, afforded material aid, by firing into the woods; but the American soldier, secure behind a tree, was only to be dislodged by the bayonet. The spirited advance of a section produced the flight of hundreds—from this observation all firing was directed to cease, and the detachment being formed in as regular order as the nature of the ground would admit, pushed forward through the wood upon the enemy, who, although greatly superior in numbers, and supported by field-pieces, and a heavy fire from their fort, fled with precipitation to their block-house and fort, abandoning one of their guns. The division under Colonel Young was joined in the charge by that under Major Drummond, which was executed with such spirit and promptness, that many of the enemy fell in their enclosed barracks, which were set on fire by the British troops. The Americans had previously set fire to their store-houses in the vicinity of the fort. But as it was impossible for the expedition, with the means it possessed, to attain any further object; and the troops being exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy's cannon, they were re-embarked, with the loss of about 260 in killed, wounded, and missing.

Although the failure of this expedition tended to inspire the Americans with considerable confidence, yet the gallantry and good conduct of the British troops was never more conspicuous than

on this occasion; and but one sentiment of regret and mortification prevailed on being obliged to quit a beaten enemy, whom a small band of British soldiers had driven before them for three hours, through a country abounding in strong positions of defence, but not offering a single spot of cleared ground favorable for the operations of disciplined troops, without having fully accomplished the duty they were sent to perform.

On the 3d of June, the British gun-boats on Lake Ontario, supported by detachments from the garrison of Isle au Noix, captured two American armed vessels, of eleven guns and fifty men each.

An action took place on the 6th, greatly to the credit of the British troops, at Burlington Heights, near the head of Lake Ontario, where Colonel Vincent was posted with a division of troops. Receiving information that the Americans had advanced from Forty Mile Creek with 3,500 infantry and 250 cavalry, with eight pieces of artillery, for the purpose of attacking him, he sent Lieutenant-colonel Harvey, with two light companies, to reconnoitre, and from his report was led to determine upon a nocturnal attack of the enemy's camp, about seven miles distant. Accordingly, about half-past eleven, he moved forwards with the fifth company of the 8th (or king's) and the 49th regiments, amounting altogether to only 704 firelocks; Lieutenant-colonel Harvey, who conducted it with great regularity and judgment, gallantly led on the attack. The enemy was completely surprised, and driven from his camp, after having repeatedly formed in different bodies, and been as often charged by the British troops, whose conduct throughout this brilliant enterprise was above all praise. The action terminated before day-light, when three guns, and one brass howitzer, with three tumbrils, two brigadier-generals, Chandler and Winder, first and second in command, and upwards of 100 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, were made prisoners.

Not conceiving it prudent to expose our small force to the view of the enemy, who, though routed and dispersed, was still formidable as to numbers and position, Colonel Vincent ordered the troops back to their cantonments. After the British had retired, and it had become broad day, the enemy ventured to re-occupy his camp, only, however, for the purpose of destroying his incumbrances, such as blankets, carriages, provisions, spare arms, ammunition, &c. after which he commenced a precipitate retreat towards the Forty Mile Creek, where he effected a junction with a body of 2,000 men, who were on their march from Niagara to reinforce him.

The appearance of the squadron of Sir James Yeo, off Forty Mile Creek, determined the Americans to a further retreat, in which almost the

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whole of their camp-equipage, and a quantity of stores and provisions, fell into the hands of their adversaries. General Dearborn afterwards concentrated his forces at Fort George; and Colonel Vincent, in consequence, made a forward movement from the head of the lake in order to support the light-infantry and Indians who were employed in cutting off the supplies of the Americans.

On the 14th of June, Sir George Prevost issued the following proclamation, in answer to one from the American colonel, Preston, in which that officer had addressed the inhabitants of Upper Canada as a conquered people.

"His excellency the commander of the forces having seen a public declaration made by Lieutenant-colonel P. Preston, of the 12th regiment of the United States infantry, dated at Fort Erie, the 30th of May last, in which he professes to hold out the protection of the United States to all those who shall come forward and voluntarily enrol their names with him, and threatening with rigorous and disastrous consequences those who shall have the spirit and loyalty to pursue a different course of conduct; his excellency deems it necessary to caution his majesty's subjects in this province against listening to this insidious offer of the enemy, or trusting to their assurances of protection, which subsequent events have clearly proved they are so little able to afford to themselves. With the bare possession of a narrow strip of our frontier territory, not obtained by them without a severe contest and corresponding loss, with an unconquered and unbroken army in their front, at an inconsiderable distance from them, and ready to dispute every inch of ground over which they should attempt to advance into the country, it was hardly to be expected that the enemy's presumption would have led them to consider themselves as in the possession of this province, or have induced them contrary to the established usages of civilized warfare, to treat its peaceable inhabitants as a conquered people.

"The brilliant result of the action of the 6th instant, the rout and complete dispersion of a large division of the enemy's forces on that day, attended with the capture of their artillery and of their ablest generals, their subsequent retreat and flight, with the loss of the whole of their baggage, provisions, and tent-equipage, before the victorious army of Brigadier-general Vincent, daily increasing in strength from the powerful reinforcements reaching it, and assisted by the squadron under Sir James Yeo, now in undisturbed possession of the lake; all these events, which followed in rapid succession within a very few days after Lieutenant-colonel Preston's declaration, shew more strongly than any language can possibly describe, the futility of the offers

held out by it, and produce the strongest incentive to his majesty's subjects to hold fast that allegiance from which the enemy would so insidiously withdraw them.

"His excellency, therefore, confidently calls upon all the loyal and well-disposed in this province, who are not under the immediate controul, or within the power of the enemy, to use every possible effort in repelling the foe, and driving him from our soil, assuring them that they will be powerfully aided by the reinforcements daily arriving at this post, and pressing on to their support. To those of his majesty's subjects who are unfortunately situated within that inconsiderable portion of the territory occupied by the enemy, his excellency recommends a quiet and peaceable conduct, such as shall neither afford a just cause to the enemy for treating them with the severity and rigour they have threatened, or incompatible with their allegiance to the best of sovereigns. His excellency, at the same time, declares, that he shall be compelled, however reluctantly, instantly to retaliate upon the American prisoners in his possession, every violation of the persons or property of any of his majesty's subjects so peaceably demeaning themselves, and hereby publicly protests against such treatment, as equally unsanctioned by the usages of war, or by the example afforded by his majesty's forces with regard to any of the American prisoners in their possession."

An occurrence took place, on the 24th of June, which General Dearborn termed unfortunate and unaccountable. That officer had detached, on the evening of the 23d, Lieutenant-colonel Boestler, with 570 men, to march by the way of Queens-ton to the Beaver Dams, eight or nine miles thence, in order to disperse a body of British collected there for the purpose of procuring provisions. This detachment was attacked by the Indians, from an ambuscade in the woods, and retired to clear grounds, whence the commander sent express for a reinforcement. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Fitzgibbon arriving with a British force, the American leader seemed to have lost his presence of mind, and without waiting for succours, agreed to a capitulation, by which two field-officers, twenty-one other officers, twenty-seven non-commissioned officers, and 482 privates were surrendered prisoners of war, with their colours and field-pieces.

About this time, Admiral Sir J. B. Warren, lying in the Chesapeake, on the intelligence that the enemy were fortifying Craney-island, the possession of which was necessary to enable the light vessels to proceed up the narrow channel towards Norfolk, directed a body of troops, under Sir Sidney Beckwith, to land on the nearest point to that place; but upon approaching the island, the shallowness of the water, and the strength of the enemy's

defences, rendered the enterprize too difficult to be undertaken with any prospect of success. In consequence, the troops were ordered back, after some loss had been sustained from the sinking of the boats.

An attack which was made upon an American post at Hampton was more successful. This post, defended by a considerable corps, and commanding the communication between the upper part of the country and Norfolk, was thought by the admiral a proper object for an attempt. Accordingly, on the night of the 25th, the troops, under the command of Sir S. Beckwith, were embarked on-board the light squadron commanded by Rear-admiral Cockburn, which were landed at daylight the following day, to the westward of Hampton. Whilst the enemy's attention was engaged by a fire from the armed vessels upon the batteries, the troops unobserved gained their flanks, and the action which ensued terminated in obtaining possession of their camp and batteries. Some loss was sustained by the British, but that of the Americans was very considerable.

Admiral Cockburn having received directions from Sir J. B. Warren, to put an end to the commerce carried on by the Americans from the port of Ocracoke, in North Carolina, by means of inland navigation, and to destroy any vessels which might be in that harbour, anchored off the bar on the 11th of July, with a light squadron, having on-board detachments of troops under Lieutenant-colonel Napier, and proceeded to put the design into execution. Three divisions of boats and small vessels, with seamen and soldiers, being equipped, were sent into the harbour on the morning of the 12th, when a fire was opened upon them by two armed vessels, one of eighteen guns and the other a schooner. They were, however, soon silenced and taken possession of by the first division of boats; and the troops landing upon the islands of Portsmouth and Ocracoke, became masters of them without opposition, and thus command was obtained of the channel between them and the coast, through which the inland navigation was conducted. By this mode of warfare, the coasts and inlets of this part of America were kept in continual alarm by the motions and enterprises of the blockading squadrons.

The time had now arrived, when the British navy was to recover a large share of its accustomed honors from that foe against whom its glory had suffered a temporary eclipse. Captain Broke, of his majesty's ship *Shannon*, who was stationed off Boston, had been singularly assiduous in exercising his men at small arms, and bringing them into a state of the most perfect discipline. In that harbour lay the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence, who had been promoted for the gallantry he had displayed

in the action with the *Peacock*. Captain Broke had long been watching for this vessel, desirous only of contending with it on fair terms; and that the enemy might not be prevented from coming out by the apprehension of having more than one antagonist to deal with, on the 1st of June he stood close in with Boston light-house, presenting himself as a challenger to single combat. This being accepted by Captain Lawrence, the *Chesapeake* sailed out of the harbour, and a severe but short action ensued, for the particulars of which we cannot do better than refer the reader to the dispatch of Captain Broke.—It was fought in view of an immense concourse of people on shore.

“Shannon, Halifax, June 6, 1813.

“Sir,—I have the honor to inform you, that being close in with Boston light-house, in his majesty's ship under my command, on the 1st instant, I had the pleasure of seeing that the United States frigate *Chesapeake* (whom we had long been watching) was coming out of the harbour to engage the *Shannon*; I took a position between Cape Ann and Cape Cod, and then hove-to for him to join us; the enemy came down in a very handsome manner, having three American ensigns flying; when closing with us, he sent down his royal yards. I kept the *Shannon*'s up, expecting the breeze would die away. At half-past five, *p. m.* the enemy hauled up within hail of us on the starboard-side, and the battle began, both ships steering full under the topsails; after exchanging between two and three broadsides, the enemy's ship fell on-board of us, her mizen-channels locking in with our fore-rigging. I went forward to ascertain her position, and observing that the enemy were flinching from their guns, I gave orders to prepare for boarding. Our gallant bands appointed to that service immediately rushed in, under their respective officers, upon the enemy's decks, driving every thing before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance. The firing continued at all the gangways and between the tops, but in two minutes' time the enemy were driven, sword in hand, from every post. The American flag was hauled down, and the proud old British union floated triumphant over it. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole of this service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action.

“I have to lament the loss of many of my gallant shipmates, but they fell exulting in their conquest.

“My brave first lieutenant, Mr. Watt, was slain in the moment of victory, in the act of hoisting the British colours; his death is a severe loss to the service. Mr. Aldham, the purser, who had spi-

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ritely volunteered the charge of a party of small-arm men, was killed at his post on the gangway. My faithful old clerk, Mr. Dunn, was shot by his side. Mr. Aldham has left a widow to lament his loss. I request the commander-in-chief will recommend her to the protection of the lords-commissioners of the admiralty. My veteran boat-swain, Mr. Stephens, has lost an arm. He fought under Lord Rodney on the 12th of April. I trust his age and services will be duly rewarded.

"I am happy to say, that Mr. Samwell, a midshipman, of much merit, is the only officer wounded besides myself, and he not dangerously. Of my gallant seamen and marines we had twenty-three slain and fifty-six wounded. I subjoin the names of the former. No expressions I can make use of can do justice to the merits of my valiant officers and crew; the calm courage they displayed during the cannonade, and the tremendous precision of their fire, could only be equalled by the ardour with which they rushed to the assault. I recommend them all warmly to the protection of the commander-in-chief. Having received a severe sabre-wound at the first onset, whilst charging a part of the enemy who had rallied on their fore-castle, I was only capable of giving command, till assured our conquest was complete, and then directing second Lieutenant Wallis to take charge of the Shannon, and secure the prisoners, I left the third lieutenant, Mr. Falkiner, (who had headed the main-deck boarders) in charge of the prize. I beg to recommend these officers most strongly to the commander-in-chief's patronage, for the gallantry they displayed during the action, and the skill and judgment they evinced in the anxious duties which afterwards devolved upon them.

"To Mr. Etough, the acting-master, I am much indebted, for the steadiness in which he conn'd the ship into action. The Lieutenants Johns and Law, of the marines, bravely boarded at the head of their respective divisions. It is impossible to particularize every brilliant deed performed by my officers and men; but I must mention, when the ships' yard-arms were locked together, that Mr. Cosnahau, who commanded in our main-top, finding himself screened from the enemy by the feet of the topsail, laid out at the main-yard-arm to fire upon them, and shot three men in that situation. Mr. Smith, who commanded in our fore-top, stormed the enemy's fore-top from the fore-yard-arm, and destroyed all the Americans remaining in it. I particularly beg leave to recommend Mr. Etough, the acting-master, and Messrs. Smith, Leake, Clavering, Raymond, and Littlejohn, midshipmen. This latter officer is the son of Captain Littlejohn, who was slain in the Berwick. The loss of the enemy was about seventy killed and 100 wounded. Among the former were the four lieutenants, a lieutenant of marines, the master, and many other officers. Captain Lawrence is since dead of his wounds.

"The enemy came into action with a complement of 440 men; the Shannon having picked up some recaptured seamen, had three hundred and thirty. The Chesapeake is a fine frigate, and mounts forty-nine guns, eighteens on her main-deck, two-and-thirties on her quarter-deck and fore-castle. Both ships came out of action in the most beautiful order, their rigging appearing as perfect as if they had only been exchanging a salute.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) "P. B. V. BROKE.

"To Captain, the Hon. T. Bladen Capel, &c. Halifax."

Captain Lawrence was honorably interred at Halifax. The humiliated feelings of the numerous spectators on shore, who, instead of a new triumph, saw their gallant ship in so short a time led captive, may easily be conceived. It is said, that Captain Lawrence was so confident of returning victorious into port, that he had neglected to provide accommodations on-board for the wounded, which was the cause of much subsequent distress.

The following message from the president of the United States was received by congress on the 25th of May.

"Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives,—At an early day after the close of the last session of congress, an offer was formally communicated from the Emperor of Russia, of his mediation as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The high character of the Emperor Alexander being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer, it was immediately accepted; and as a further proof of the disposition, on the part of the United States, to meet their adversary in honorable experiments for terminating the war, it was determined to avoid intermediate delay, incident to the distance of the parties, by a definitive provision for the contemplated negotiation. Three of our eminent citizens were accordingly commissioned with the requisite powers, to conclude a treaty of peace with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. They were authorized also to enter into such conventional regulations of the commerce between the two countries as may be mutually advantageous. The two envoys who were in the United States at the time of their appointment, have proceeded to join their colleague already at St. Petersburg.

"The envoys have received another commission, authorizing them to conclude with Russia a treaty of commerce, with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse between the two countries.

"The issue of this friendly intercourse of the Russian emperor, and this pacific manifestation on the part of the United States, time only can

decide. That the sentiments of Great Britain towards that sovereign will have produced an acceptance of his offered mediation, must be presumed. That no adequate motives exist to prefer a continuance of war with the United States, to the terms on which they are willing to close it, is certain.

"The British cabinet also must be sensible, that, with respect to the important question of impressment, on which the war so essentially turns, a search for or seizure of British persons or property on-board neutral vessels in the high seas, is not a belligerent right derived from the law of nations; and it is obvious, that no visit or search, or use of force for any purpose, on-board the vessel of one independent power on the high seas, can, in war or peace, be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another power. It is equally obvious, that for the purpose of preserving to each state its sea-faring members, by excluding them from the vessels of the other, the mode heretofore proposed by the United States, and now enacted by them as an article of municipal policy, cannot, for a moment, be compared with the mode practised by Great Britain, without a conviction of its title to preference; inasmuch as the latter leaves the discrimination between the mariners of the two nations to officers exposed to unavoidable bias, as well as by a defect of evidence, to a wrong decision, under circumstances precluding, for the most part, the enforcement of controlling penalties, and where a strong decision, besides the irreparable violation of the sacred rights of persons, might frustrate the plans and profits of entire voyages; whereas the mode assumed by the United States guards, with studied fairness and efficacy, against errors in such cases, and avoids the effect of casual errors, or the safety of navigation, and the success of mercantile expeditions.

"If the reasonableness of expectations, drawn from these considerations, could guarantee their fulfilment, a just peace would not be distant. But it becomes the wisdom of the national legislature to keep in mind the true policy, or rather the indispensable obligation, of adapting its measures to the supposition, that the only course to that happy event is in the vigorous employment of the resources of war: and painful as the reflection is, this duty is particularly enforced by the spirit and manner in which the war continues to be waged by the enemy, who, uninfluenced by the unvaried examples of humanity set them, are adding to the savage fury of it on one frontier a system of plunder and conflagration on the other, equally forbidden by respect for national character, and the established rule of civilized warfare.

"As an encouragement to persevering and invigorating exertions to bring the contest to a happy result, I have the satisfaction of being able

to appeal to the auspicious progress of our own arms, both by land and on the water.

"In continuation of the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, a signal triumph has been gained by Captain Lawrence and his companions in the *Hornetsloop* of war, which destroyed a British sloop of war with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter of the enemy so disproportionate to the loss in the *Hornet*, as to claim for the conquerors the highest praise, and the full recompence provided by congress in preceding cases. Our public ships of war in general, as well as the private armed vessels, have continued also their activity and success against the commerce of the enemy, and by their vigilance and address have greatly frustrated the efforts of the hostile squadrons distributed along our coasts, to intercept them in returning into port, and resuming their cruises. The augmentation of our naval force, as authorized at the last session of congress, is in progress. On the lakes our superiority is near at hand, where it is not already established.

"The events of the campaign, so far as they are known to us, furnish matter of congratulation, and show, that under a wise organization and efficient direction, the army is destined to a glory not less brilliant than that which already encircles the navy. The attack and capture of York is, in that quarter, a presage of future and greater victories, —while on the western frontiers, the issue of the late siege of Fort Meigs leaves nothing to regret but a single act of inconsiderate valor.

"The sudden death of the distinguished citizen who represented the United States in France, without any special arrangements by him for such a contingency, has left us without the expected sequel to his last communications; nor has the French government taken any measures for bringing the depending negotiations to a conclusion through its representative in the United States. This failure adds to delays before so unusually spun out. A successor to our departed minister has been appointed, and is ready to proceed on his mission. The course which he will pursue in fulfilling it, is that prescribed by a steady regard to the true interests of the United States, which equally avoids an abandonment of their just demands, and a connection of their features with the system of other powers.

"The receipts into the treasury from the 1st of October to the 31st of March last, including the sums received on account of treasury-notes, and of the loans authorised by the acts of the last and the preceding session of congress, have amounted to 15,412,000 dollars. The expenditures during the same period amounted to 15,920,000, and left in the treasury, on the 1st of April, 1,857,000 dollars. The loan of 16,000,000 of dollars, authorised by the act of the 8th of February last, has been contracted for. Of that sum more than a million

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of dollars had been paid into the treasury prior to the 1st of April, and formed a part of the receipts as above stated. The remainder of that loan, amounting to near 15,000,000 of dollars, with the sum of 5,000,000 of dollars authorised to be issued in treasury-notes, and the estimated receipts from the customs, and the sales of public lands, amounting to 9,000,000 dollars, and making in the whole 29,300,000 dollars, to be received during the last nine months of the present year, will be necessary to meet the expenditures already authorised, and the engagements contracted in relation to the public debt. These engagements amount, during that period, to 10,500,000 dollars, which, with near one million for the civil, miscellaneous, and diplomatic expenses, both foreign and domestic, and 17,800,000 for the military and naval expenditures, including the ships of war building, and to be built, will leave a sum in the treasury at the end of the present year equal to that of the 1st of April last. A part of this sum may be considered as a resource for defraying any extraordinary expenses already authorised by law beyond the sum above-mentioned; and a further resource for any emergency may be found in the sum of 1,000,000 of dollars, the loan of which to the United States has been authorised by the state of Pennsylvania, but which has not yet been brought into effect.

"This view of our finances, whilst it shews that due provision has been made for the expenses of the current year, shews, at the same time, by the limited amount of the actual revenue, and the dependence on loans, the necessity of providing more adequately for the future supplies of the treasury. This can best be done by a well-digested system of internal revenue, in aid of existing sources; which will have the effect both of abridging the amount of necessary loans, and on that account, as well as by placing the public credit on a more satisfactory basis, of improving the terms on which loans may be obtained.

"The loan of 16,000,000 was not contracted for at a less interest than about seven and a half per cent.; and although other causes may have had an agency, it cannot be doubted, that with the advantage of a more extended and less precarious revenue, a lower rate of interest might have sufficed. A longer postponement of the advantage could not fail to have a still greater influence on future loans.

"In recommending to the national legislature

this resort to additional taxes, I feel great satisfaction in the assurance, that our constituents, who have already displayed so much zeal and firmness in the cause of their country, will cheerfully give other proofs of their patriotism which it calls for. Happily no people, with local and territorial exceptions never to be wholly avoided, are more able than the people of the United States to spare for the public wants a portion of their private means, whether regard be had to the ordinary profits of industry, or the ordinary price of subsistence in our country, compared with those in any other. And in no case could stronger reasons be felt for the yielding the requisite contributions.

"By rendering the public resources certain, and commensurate to the public exigencies, the constituted authorities will be able to prosecute the war more rapidly to its proper issue: every hostile hope founded on a calculated failure of our resources will be cut off; and by adding to the evidence of bravery and skill, in combats on the ocean and on the land, and an alacrity in supplying the treasury, necessary to give them their fullest effect, and thus demonstrating to the world the public energy which our political institutions combine, with the personal liberty distinguishing them, the best security will be provided against future enterprises on the rights, or the peace of the nation.

"The contest in which the United States are engaged appeals for its support to every motive that can animate an uncorrupted and enlightened people,—to the love of country,—to the pride of liberty,—to the glorious founders of their independence,—by a successful vindication of its violated attributes; to the gratitude and sympathy which demands security from the most degrading wrongs of a class of citizens who have proved so worthy of the protection of their country by their heroic zeal in its defence; and, finally, to the sacred obligations of transmitting, entire, to future generations, that precious patrimony of national rights and independence, which is held in trust by the present from the goodness of Divine Providence.

"Being aware of the inconveniences to which a protracted session, at this season, would be liable, I limit the present communication to objects of primary importance. In special messages which may ensue, regard will be had to the same consideration.

"JAMES MADISON."

"Washington, May 25, 1813."

CHAPTER XI.

Attack on Black Rock.—Torpedoes and exploding Machines employed by the Americans.—Destruction of the Arsenal, &c. at Plattsburg.—York plundered by the Americans.—Success of Sir James Yeo on Lake Ontario.—Failure of Attack on Sanduski.—Reconnoissance on Fort George.—Conclusion of the Session of Congress.—Defeat of the British Squadron on Lake Erie.—Defeat of General Proctor.—Actions on Lake Ontario.—Invasion of Lower Canada by the Americans repulsed.—Defeat of General Boyd.—The Town of Newark burnt by the Americans.—Capture of Fort Niagara by the British.—Defeat of the Americans under General Hull.—Buffalo, &c. burnt.—Sir George Prevost's Proclamation.—Conclusion of the Campaign.—Observations.—Meeting of Congress.—Message of the President.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL Bishopp, with a detachment of troops from the centre division of the British army in Upper Canada, embarked early on the morning of the 11th of July, for the purpose of destroying the American naval establishment at Black Rock on Lake Ontario. The detachment landed, unperceived, before daylight, and immediately proceeded to attack the batteries, which they carried with little opposition, the enemy retreating with precipitation. They then set fire to the block-houses, barracks, and navy-yard, with a large schooner; and the stores which could be got off were carried across the river. Before they could be taken away, however, the Americans, reinforced by a body of Indians, advanced, and rendered it expedient for the troops to retreat to their boats; and they recrossed the river under a heavy fire, which occasioned a considerable loss, the commander himself being severely wounded. The object of the expedition, however, was, in a great measure, accomplished.

On the 20th of July, the president was induced to issue a strict injunction on all naval officers to exercise the utmost vigilance in stopping and detaining all vessels and craft proceeding, or apparently about to proceed, towards the blockading ships; it being ascertained, that such intercourse had been carried on to a great extent, both by natives and foreigners, thereby conveying provisions and intelligence to the British. Attempts were also publicly encouraged for the destruction of the British men-of-war upon the coasts of America by torpedoes and other explosive machinery. One of the concealed methods of doing mischief, by the Americans, merits unqualified reprobation, from its truly insidious character. A schooner was fitted out from New York, laden with provisions and stores, under which were deposited several casks of gunpowder, with trains communicating with a piece of clock-work contrived to go off at a certain time. The vessel was

thrown in the way of the *Ramilies*, which sent a boat to take possession of her, when she was deserted by her crew, and brought near the man-of-war. Fortunately the captain, Sir Thomas Hardy, directed, that she should be placed alongside of a captured sloop, and not of the *Ramilies*. A dreadful explosion soon took place, which proved fatal to the second lieutenant and ten seamen, who were on-board: had she been close to the *Ramilies*, the loss would have been much greater.

In Upper Canada the American forces still occupied the position of Fort George and its immediate vicinity, where they were straitened by the advance of the British commander, Major-general De Rottenburg, to St. David's, within seven miles of the fort. The enemy's fleet, consisting of two ships, one brig, and eleven schooners, had sailed from Sackett's harbour some days before, and the British squadron had gone in search of it. With a view of calling off the attention of the Americans from this province to the defence of their own settlements, Sir George Prevost sent out an expedition of gun-boats and other vessels, with 800 picked men, to make a movement on Lake Champlain, which was attended with the most complete success. The land-forces, under Lieutenant-colonel Murray, proceeded to Plattsburg, where they destroyed the enemy's arsenal, block-house, commissary's buildings, and stores, together with the extensive barracks of Saranac, capable of containing 4,000 troops. A quantity of naval stores was brought off, particularly equipments for a large number of *batteaux*. The barracks and stores at Swanton were also destroyed. A detachment, sent to destroy the public building and stores at Champlain Town effected their purpose without opposition. The militia, assembled for the defence of Plattsburg, disbanded on the appearance of the armament. The naval part of the expedition captured and destroyed four vessels, without any attempt from the enemy's armed vessels to rescue them. At

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this time, the American general, Hampton, had concentrated his forces, which consisted of about 4,500 regulars, and a large body of militia, at Burlington.

On the 31st of July, the American fleet on Lake Ontario appeared off the town of York; and making a landing under Commodore Chauncey, entered the place, liberated the prisoners in the gaol, and plundered the contents of some private stores, all public property having been previously removed. They landed again on the following day, burnt the small barrack, wood-yard, and store-house, and afterwards sailed away, having done very little damage except to individuals. The town was totally defenceless, the principal persons having left it, and the militia being still under parole.

During the month of August, Sir James Yeo made frequent attempts to bring the American squadron on Lake Ontario to action, but was frustrated by light and baffling winds, and the enemy's superiority in sailing. On the night of the 11th, however, he was able to get so close to them, that it was necessary for them either to engage, or to sacrifice two of their schooners. They preferred the latter; and after firing a few shots, Sir James took possession of two fine armed schooners, with a crew of forty men each. The Americans lost two others of their largest schooners by oversetting in carrying too much sail when chased by the British squadron, and about 100 men perished with them.

Major-general Proctor, in compliance with the importunity of his Indian allies, made an advance with about 350 of the 41st regiment, and 3 or 4,000 Indians; and, on the 2d of August, attempted to carry by assault the fort of Sandusky, near the head of Lake Erie, where the Americans had concentrated a considerable force. The Indians, however, keeping out of reach of the enemy's fire, the few British were left to make the attack by themselves, in which they displayed great bravery; but the fire from the defenders became so galling and destructive, that the general found it most prudent to order a retreat, which was effected with the loss of twenty-five killed, as many missing, and about forty wounded.

About the middle of August, Sir George Prevost removed his head-quarters to St. David's, on the Niagara frontier, where he found 2,000 British soldiers, on an extended line, cooping up in Fort George an American force exceeding 4,000 men. Feeling desirous of ascertaining, in person, the extent of the enemy's works, and of viewing the means he possessed for defending the position he occupied, Sir George Prevost ordered a general demonstration to be made on Fort George, to commence by the attack and surprise of all the American picquets thrown out in

its front. This service was executed in a most brilliant manner; the picquets were driven in, a great part of them being taken, with a very trifling loss; and the British general found himself close to the fort and the new-entrenched camp, which was formed on the right of that work, both of them crowded with men, bristled with cannon, and supported by the fire from Fort Niagara, on the opposite side of the river; but no provocation could induce the American army to leave their places of shelter, and venture into the field. Having made a display of his forces in vain, Sir George Prevost retired without any loss.

Congress closed its session in August, after conducting its business with unaccustomed dispatch. The principal business of the meeting was the establishment of a system of war-taxes capable of defraying the interest of the existing debt and of future loans; and though there was considerable differences of opinion as to the fittest objects of taxation, the majority gave their support to the measures proposed by the committee of ways and means. The duties imposed were, on licences to retailers of wine, spirituous liquors, and foreign merchandize; on licences to distillers of spirituous liquors; on sales by auction of merchandize, and ships and vessels; on sugar refined in the United States; on bank-notes and certain negotiable paper; and on imported salt: these to continue in force during the present war and a year after its termination. A further loan was authorized of 7,500,000 dollars for the service of the present year and the first quarter of the next. A variety of acts were also passed relative to the prosecution and conduct of the war, and the provision for widows and orphans; and greater encouragement was given to privateers in respect to prizes. An act also passed, conformably to the president's former recommendation, prohibiting the use of British commercial licences.

In September, the great object of the Americans, that of gaining possession of the lakes, was fully accomplished with respect to Lake Erie. Commodore Perry, their commander on that station, states, in his dispatch, that on the 10th he discovered the hostile squadron from his anchorage at Putin Bay, and getting under weigh, they came to action a little before twelve. His vessel, the *Laurence*, was so much injured by the fire of his opponent, that it became unmanageable; and after an engagement of two hours, the greatest part of her crew being killed or wounded, he quitted her, and went on-board the *Niagara*. Soon after, he saw the *Laurence's* colours struck, but the foe not being able to take possession of her, they were again hoisted. The *Niagara* then passed through the adverse line, consisting of two ships, a brig, a large schooner, and a sloop; and being assisted by his small ves-

sels, which were got into close action, the whole of them were compelled to surrender. Most of the officers of the British, or rather Canadian squadron, (for it is said to have been wholly equipped and chiefly manned by the inhabitants of Canada) were killed or wounded, as well as a great number of the crews. The remainder were landed as prisoners at Sandusky. The relation of this affair afterwards given by the British commander, Captain Barclay, does not materially differ from the preceding. He says, he was reduced to the necessity of sailing, wretchedly manned as he was, to fight the enemy, who blockaded the ports, on account of his urgent want of provisions and stores. His ship, the *Detroit*, being, after a severe engagement, rendered almost a wreck, himself wounded, and his first lieutenant mortally so, his consort, the *Queen Charlotte*, whose captain, Finnis, was killed, having struck, he was compelled to submit to the same fate. He represents the American squadron as greatly superior in strength; and says, that there were not more than fifty British seamen on-board his own vessels. He returns the loss in the action at three officers and thirty-eight men killed; nine officers and eighty-five men wounded.

The consequence of this disaster to the British was the relinquishment of the Michigan territory, excepting Michilimackinac, and the abandonment of the posts in Upper Canada beyond the Grand River.

General Proctor, on the 24th of September commenced his retreat from Sandwich, having previously dismantled the posts of Amherstburg and Detroit, and destroyed the public buildings and stores of every kind. On the 5th of October, when within a few miles of a strong position which he purposed to take at the Moravian village on the Thames, he was attacked by General Harrison, with a force so much superior that resistance was vain, and his small army, consisting of not more than 450 regular troops, was obliged to disperse. Of these he afterwards collected about 200, with whom he at length reached Burlington Heights, the head-quarters of Major-general Vincent.

In the American account of this action, the prisoners taken are said to amount to 601 regulars, including officers. Eight pieces of artillery were also captured.

Sir George Prevost having received information, that the Americans were assembling a force on the Montreal frontier, thought it expedient to quit Kingston and repair to Montreal, where he arrived on the 25th of September. He found that the American Major-general Hampton, after advancing to the frontier-line, and overpowering one of the British picquets, had suddenly moved to the westward.

Measures had been, in the mean time, taken by

Major-general Sir R. Sheaffe, the British commander of the district, to resist the advance of the enemy, by moving the whole of the troops under his command nearer the frontier-line, and by calling out about 3,000 of the sedentary militia. Sir G. Prevost thought it necessary to increase this latter force to nearly 8,000, by embodying the whole of the sedentary militia upon the frontier, this being in addition to the six battalions of incorporated militia, amounting to 5,000 men: "It is with peculiar satisfaction," says Sir George Prevost, in his dispatch to Earl Bathurst, "I have to report to your lordship, that his majesty's Canadian subjects have, a second time, answered the call to arm in defence of their country, with a zeal and alacrity beyond all praise, and which manifests, in the strongest manner, their loyalty to their sovereign, and their cheerful obedience to his commands."

The force now assembled, by the Americans, at different points, for the purpose of invading the two Canadas, was greater than at any other period during the war. Major-general Harrison had under him at Sandusky, on the frontier of the Michigan territory, about 8,000 men, ready to avail himself of the absolute command lately obtained by their navy on Lake Erie, to advance upon Detroit and Amherstburg. Major-general Wilkinson commanded at Fort George and Niagara, with a force amounting to nearly 6,500 men; and Major-general Hampton, with a force under his command, which, by the last accounts, had been considerably increased, amounted to about 8,000 men. The whole of this force, amounting to 26,000 men, consisted of regular troops, exclusive of 10,000 militia.

In consequence of Sir George Prevost's solicitation to Admiral Sir J. Warren, for a supply of seamen for the lake service, he received the crews of two sloops of war, part of whom he sent to join Captain Pring at Isle au Noix, for the service of Lake Champlain, and the remainder proceeded to Lake Ontario.

On Lake Ontario the opposite commanders, Sir James Yeo and Commodore Chauncey, appeared eager for an opportunity to bring each other to fair combat. On the 11th of September, there was a probability of a general engagement, the American fleet having, with the wind in their favor, got near enough to the British to do some mischief with their long guns, the fire of which could not be adequately returned. The fleets, however, parted without coming to close action. On the 28th, the fleets had a running fight, in which the *Pike*, the American commander's ship, lost her main-top-mast; but a heavy gale separated the combatants. Little loss was incurred on either side in these affairs; but, on the 5th of October, the British suffered a severe disaster. Six sail of transports, with troops

on-board, proceeding without convoy from York for Kingston, were intercepted and captured by the American fleet. The prisoners taken, of all descriptions, amounted to 264, a number which, at this period, could be ill-spared.

The American general, Hampton, who had taken his post on the Chateauguay river, near a settlement called the Four Corners, crossed the boundary line into Lower Canada, with the army under his command, on the 21st of October, surprised a small party of Indians, and drove in a picquet of militia; and having made a road for bringing up his artillery, proceeded against the British advanced-posts. On the 26th, his cavalry and light-troops were discovered advancing on both banks of the Chateauguay, by a detachment covering a working party of *habitans* employed in felling timber, for the purpose of constructing abbatiss. Lieutenant-colonel de Salaberry, who had the command of the advanced picquets, composed of the light-infantry company of the Canadian fencibles, and two companies of *voltigeurs*, on the north-side of the river, made so excellent a disposition of his little band, that he checked the advance of the enemy's principal column, led by Major-general Hampton in person, and accompanied by Brigadier-general Izard; whilst the American light-brigade, under Colonel McCarty, was, in like manner, repulsed in its progress on the south-side of the river, by the spirited advance of the right flank-company of the third battalion of the embodied militia, under Captain Daly, supported by Captain Bruyer's company of Chateauguay chasseurs. Captains Daly and Bruyer being both wounded, and their companies having sustained some loss, their position was immediately taken up by a flank-company of the first battalion of embodied militia; the enemy rallied, and repeatedly returned to the attack, which terminated only with the day, in his complete disgrace and defeat; being foiled, at all points, by a handful of men, who, by their determined bravery maintained their position, and screened from insult the working parties, who continued their labours unconcerned.

Sir George Prevost, who arrived soon after the commencement of the action, bestowed the highest praises on the conduct of the defenders, of whom the force actually engaged did not exceed 300. The prisoners stated, that the American army amounted to 7,000 infantry and 200 cavalry, with ten pieces of artillery. The loss of the British was trifling. That of the Americans was severe, and was partly incurred from parties of their own firing upon each other in the woods. Hampton's army afterwards entirely quitted Lower Canada, and retreated to its former encampments at the Four Corners.

In co-operation with this invasion, General Wilkinson, on the 30th of October, left Grenadier

Island, on Lake Ontario, with 10,000 men in small craft and batteaux, and proceeded down the St. Lawrence with the avowed intention of taking up his winter-quarters at Montreal. Having, on the 31st, halted a few miles below Gravelly Point, on the south-side of the river, his position was, on the following day, reconnoitred, and afterwards cannonaded by a division of gun-boats, under the command of Captain Mulcaster, of the royal navy. By keeping close to his own shore, the enemy arrived, on the 6th instant, within six miles of the port of Prescott, which he endeavoured to pass, unobserved, during the night of the 7th; but the vigilance of Lieutenant-colonel Pearson, who commanded there, frustrated his attempt, and the American armada was obliged to sustain a heavy and destructive cannonade during the whole of that operation.

Sir George Prevost having anticipated the probability of such a movement, had ordered a corps of observation, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Morrison, amounting to 800 rank and file, to follow and watch the motions of the Americans. Upon this corps an attack was made by Brigadier-general Boyd, with 3 or 4,000 men, on the 11th of November. Upon the approach of the Americans, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the advance of the British troops gradually fell back upon the main body, which occupied a strong position; the right resting on the river, and the left on a pine-wood, exhibiting a front of about 700 yards. The ground being open, Colonel Morrison's disposed his troops in the following manner: the flank-companies of the 49th regiment, the detachment of the Canadian fencibles, with one field-piece, under Lieutenant-colonel Pearson, on the right, a little advanced on the road; three companies of the 89th regiment, under Captain Barnes, with a gun, formed in echelon, with the advance on its left supporting it. The 49th and 89th, thrown more to the rear, with a gun, formed the main body and reserve extending to the woods on the left, which were occupied by the *voltigeurs*, under Major Herriot, and the Indians under Lieutenant Anderson. At about half-past two the action became general, when the enemy endeavoured, by moving forward a brigade from his right, to turn the left of the British, but was repulsed by the 89th, forming in potence with the 49th, and both corps moving forward, occasionally firing by platoons. The efforts were next directed against the enemy's right; and to repulse this movement, the 49th took ground in that direction in echelon, followed by the 89th; when within half musket-shot the line was formed, under a heavy but irregular fire from the enemy.

The 49th was then directed to charge the gun posted opposite to one of the British; but it became necessary, ~~when~~ within a short distance

of it, to check the forward movement, in consequence of a charge from their cavalry on the right, lest they should wheel about, and fall upon their rear; but they were received in so gallant a manner by the companies of the 89th, under Captain Barnes, and the well-directed fire of the artillery, that they quickly retreated, and by an immediate charge from those companies one gun was gained.

The Americans immediately concentrated their force to check the advance of the British, but such was the steady countenance and well-directed fire of the troops and artillery, that about half-past four they gave way at all points from an exceeding strong position, endeavouring, by their light-infantry, to cover their retreat, who were soon driven away by a judicious movement made by Lieutenant-colonel Pearson.

The loss of the Americans in this action was estimated at 800 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the British was about 180.

The final result of this combined attempt of the Americans was, that both provinces of Canada were freed from the invaders, who retired to winter-quarters in their own territory. In the meantime, a division of British gun-boats, on Lake Champlain, had burnt a dépôt-magazine near Plattsburg.

The manner in which the war had been conducted by the Americans against Canada seemed to prove, that there was great incapacity, not merely in the generals who commanded, but also in those branches of the executive which had planned the expeditions and appointed the generals. For these and other reasons, therefore, Mr. Madison proposed, that the Emperor of Russia should mediate between Great Britain and America. But this proposal was decidedly objected to by the British government; though at the same time they professed, as they had always done, an anxious desire to put an end to the war.

A detachment of troops, sent by the commander-in-chief, under Colonel Murray, for the purpose of restraining the depredations of a party of banditti organized by the American government, upon the inhabitants of the Niagara district, arrived at Fort George on the 12th of December, from which the enemy had made a hasty retreat across the river, burning the town of Newark as they fled.

Colonel Murray afterwards proceeded against Fort Niagara. He embarked his troops, about 500 in number, on the night of the 18th of December; and on the following morning he landed three miles from the fort, provided with means for a scalade. He then advanced against the fortress, which was carried in the most gallant manner, after a short but spirited resistance. The loss of the British, in this affair, was very trifling; but that of the Americans was estimated at 430

officers and men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the whole belonging to the artillery and line. The ordnance taken was twenty-seven pieces of cannon, and about 3,000 stand of arms, and store-houses full of clothing and camp-equipage were the further prize of the victors.

The American general, Hull, after this affair, arrived at the town of Buffalo, and collecting all the troops in the vicinity, amounting to more than 2,000 men, took post at Black-rock, to check the further advance of the British. He was not, however, long suffered to remain there unmolested. Major-general Riall, assembling a force of about 950 regulars and 50 militia, with 400 Indians, crossed the Niagara river on the night of the 29th of December; and at day-break on the 30th, moved on to attack the enemy, who was strongly posted. After a vigorous resistance, the impetuosity of the assailants forced the Americans to give way, and they were driven through their batteries to the town of Buffalo, about two miles distant. There a further resistance was made; but, in a short time, the American troops fled in all directions, and took to the woods, leaving behind them three pieces of cannon. Their loss was not known, but 130 prisoners was made; the rapidity of their flight preventing a larger capture. The loss of the British in this spirited action, amounted to 112 in killed, wounded, and missing. Among the wounded, was Lieutenant-colonel Ogilvy, as he was gallantly leading the attack.

After the engagement, an officer was sent with a detachment to destroy two schooners and a sloop, part of the enemy's lake squadron that were on-shore below the town of Buffalo, which service was effectually performed. The town itself, the inhabitants having quitted it, was then committed to the flames, with the whole of the public stores, and the village of Black-rock was likewise burnt. A force was then directed to move down the river to Fort Niagara to destroy all the remaining cover of the enemy upon this frontier, which being effected, the whole frontier was left clear and naked.

An expedition was sent against the enemy's posts and depôts at Derby, in the state of Vermont, which were taken possession of at day-break on the 17th of December. An extensive barrack, for 1,200 men, which had been but lately erected, was destroyed, together with the stables and store-houses, and a considerable quantity of military stores were brought away.

From several causes, it was not to be expected that the war between Great Britain and America would be carried on in the most humane and honorable mode, especially by the Americans: they had not yet forgotten the war of the revolution; and our employment of the Indians, though they set us the example, exasperated them still more:

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the consequences were such as might naturally be dreaded. In their different invasions of Canada, the greatest inhumanities were exercised; especially at Sandwich, at the settlements on the Thames, at York, and at Fort George. Finding that remonstrances against this mode of conducting the war produced no effect, Sir George Prevost issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, announcing a severe retaliation:—

“The complete success which has attended his majesty’s arms on the Niagara frontier, having placed in our possession the whole of the enemy’s posts on that line, it became a matter of imperious duty to retaliate on America the miseries which the unfortunate inhabitants of Newark had been made to suffer upon the evacuation of Fort George.

“The villages of Lewiston, Black-rock, and Buffalo, have accordingly been burned.

“At the same time that his excellency, the commander of the forces, sincerely deprecates this mode of warfare, he trusts that it will be sufficient to call the attention of every candid and impartial person, both amongst ourselves and the enemy, to the circumstances from which it has arisen, to satisfy them that this departure from the established usages of war has originated with America herself, and that to her alone are justly chargeable all the awful and unhappy consequences which have hitherto flowed, and are likely to result from it.

“It is not necessary to advert to the conduct of the troops employed on the American coast, in conjunction with his majesty’s squadron, under Admiral Sir John B. Warren, since, as they were neither within the command, nor subject to the controul of his excellency, their acts cannot be ascribable to him, even if they wanted that justification which the circumstances that occasioned them so amply afford.

“It will be sufficient for the present purpose, and in order to mark the character of the war, as carried on upon the frontiers of these provinces, to trace the line of conduct observed by his excellency and the troops under his command, since the commencement of hostilities, and to contrast it with that of his enemy.

“The first invasion of Upper Canada took place in July, 1812, when the American forces, under Brigadier-general Hull, crossed over and took possession of Sandwich, where they began to manifest a disposition so different from that of a magnanimous enemy, and which they have since invariably displayed, in marking out, as objects of their peculiar resentment, the loyal subjects of his majesty, and in dooming their property to plunder and conflagration.

“Various instances of this kind occurred, both at Sandwich and its neighbourhood, at the very

period when his majesty’s standard was waving upon the fort of Michilimackinac, and affording protection to the persons and property of those who had submitted to it: within a few weeks afterwards, the British flag was also hoisted on the fortress of Detroit, which, together with the whole of the Michigan territory, had surrendered to his majesty’s arms.

“Had not his excellency been actuated by sentiments far different from those which had influenced the American government, and the persons employed by it, in the wanton acts of destruction of private property, committed during their short occupation of a part of Upper Canada, his excellency could not have failed to have availed himself of the opportunity which the undisturbed possession of the whole of the Michigan territory afforded him of amply retaliating for the devastating system which had been pursued at Sandwich and on the Thames.

“But strictly in conformity to the views and disposition of his own government, and to that liberal and magnanimous policy which it had dictated, he chose rather to forbear an imitation of the enemy’s example, in the hope that such forbearance would be duly appreciated by the government of the United States, and would produce a return to the more civilized usages of war.

“The persons and property, therefore, of the inhabitants of the Michigan territory were respected, and remained unmolested.

“In the winter of the following year, when the success which attended the gallant enterprize against Ogdensburgh had placed that populous and flourishing village in our possession, the generosity of the British character was again conspicuous in the scrupulous preservation of every article which could be considered as private property; such public buildings only being destroyed as were used for the accommodation of troops and for public stores.

“The destruction of the defences of Ogdensburgh, and the dispersion of the enemy’s force in that neighbourhood, laid open the whole of their frontier, on the St. Lawrence, to the incursions of his majesty’s troops; and Hamilton, as well as the numerous settlements on the banks of the river, might, at any hour, had such been the disposition of his majesty’s government, or of those acting under it, been plundered and laid waste.

“During the course of the following summer, by the fortunate result of the enterprize against Plattsburgh, that town was, for several hours, in the complete possession of our troops, there not being any force in the neighbourhood which could attempt a resistance. Yet even there, under circumstances of strong temptation, and when the recent example of the enemy, in the wanton destruction of private property and buildings not used for military purposes, must have

been fresh in the recollection of the forces employed on that occasion, and would have justified a retaliation on their part, their forbearance was strongly manifested, and the directions his excellency had given to the commander of that expedition so scrupulously obeyed, that scarcely can another instance be shewn in which, during a state of war, and under similar circumstances, an enemy so completely under the power, and at the mercy of their adversaries, had so little cause of complaint.

"During the course of the same summer, forts Schlosser and Black-rock were surprised and taken by a part of the forces under the command of Major-general de Rottenburgh, on the Niagara frontier, at both of which places personal property was respected, and the public buildings were alone destroyed.

"It was certainly matter of just and reasonable expectation, that the humane and liberal course of conduct pursued by his excellency on these different occasions would have had its due weight with the American government, and would have led it to have abstained, in the further prosecution of the war, from any acts of wantonness or violence, which could only tend, unnecessarily, to add to its ordinary calamities, and to bring down upon their own unoffending citizens, a retaliation, which, though distant, they must have known would await and certainly followed such conduct.

"Undeterred, however, by his excellency's example of moderation, or by any of the consequences to be apprehended from the adoption of such barbarous measures, the American forces at Fort George, acting, as there is every reason to believe, under the orders, or with the approbation of their government, for some time previous to their evacuation of that fortress, under various pretences burned and destroyed the farm-houses and buildings of many of the respectable and peaceable inhabitants of that neighbourhood. But the full measure of this species of barbarity remained to be completed at a season when all its horrors might be more fully and keenly felt by those who were to become the wretched victims of it.

"It will hardly be credited by those who shall hereafter read it in the page of history, that in the enlightened era of the nineteenth century, and in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the troops of a nation, calling itself civilized and Christian, had wantonly, and without the shadow of a pretext, forced 400 helpless women and children to quit their dwellings, and to be the mournful spectators of the conflagration and total destruction of all that belonged to them.

"Yet such was the fate of Newark on the 10th of December, a day which the inhabitants of Upper Canada can never forget, and the recollection of which cannot but nerve the arms when again opposed to their vindictive. On the night of

that day, the American troops, under Brigadier-general M'Clure, being about to evacuate Fort George, which they could no longer retain, by an act of inhumanity disgraceful to themselves and to the nation to which they belong, set fire to upwards of 150 houses, composing the beautiful village of Newark, and burned them to the ground; leaving, without covering or shelter, those 'innocent, unfortunate, and distressed inhabitants,' whom that officer, by his proclamation, had previously engaged to protect.

"His excellency would have ill-consulted the honor of his country, and the justice due to his majesty's injured and insulted subjects, had he permitted an act of such needless cruelty to pass unpunished, or had he failed to visit, whenever the opportunity arrived, upon the inhabitants of the neighbouring American frontier the calamities thus inflicted upon those of our own.

"The opportunity has occurred, and a full measure of retaliation has taken place, such as it is hoped will teach the enemy to respect, in future, the laws of war, and recall him to a sense of what is due to himself as well as to us.

"In the further prosecution of the contest, to which so extraordinary a character has been given, his excellency must be guided by the course of conduct which the enemy shall hereafter pursue. Lamenting, as his excellency does, the necessity imposed upon him of retaliating upon the subjects of America the miseries inflicted on the inhabitants of Newark, it is not his intention to pursue further a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings, and so little congenial to the British character, unless the future measure of the enemy should compel him again to resort to it.

"To those possessions of the enemy along the whole line of the frontier which have hitherto remained undisturbed, and which are now within his excellency's reach, and at the mercy of the troops under his command, his excellency has determined to extend the same forbearance and the same freedom from rapine and murder which they have hitherto experienced; and from this determination, the future conduct of the American government shall alone induce his excellency to depart.

"The inhabitants of these provinces will, in the mean time, be prepared to resist, with firmness and courage, whatever attempts the resentment of the enemy, arising from their disgrace and their merited sufferings, may lead them to make; well assured that they will be powerfully assisted, at all points, by the troops under his excellency's command, and that prompt and signal vengeance will be taken for every fresh departure, by the enemy, from that system of warfare which ought alone to subsist between enlightened and civilized nations."

It is with regret that we are obliged to conclude our account of the American campaign with the notice of some retaliatory measures, in addition to those mentioned in the above proclamation, which, if they had been persisted in, would have stamped a character on the war highly inconsistent with the supposed improvement of the age in the practice of justice and humanity. The peculiar circumstances under which the United States are placed with respect to emigrants from foreign countries, on whom their population was originally founded; and to whom they are still indebted for large accessions of useful citizens, had made them desirous of introducing a new principle into the code of nations, that of the right of individuals to transfer their allegiance from the country of their birth to that by which they are adopted, and, in consequence, the right of nations to accept and support that transfer. This maxim being contrary to that of all the European governments, it is evident that frequent disputes must arise from putting it in practice, especially in time of war; and Great Britain being the country from which America derives the greatest part of its emigrant population, in every quarrel the two states must be involved in angry contention from this source, until some common rule of decision is agreed upon between them. The actual existence of such a difference, with its lamentable effects, are made known in the general orders issued by the commander of the British forces from Montreal on October the 27th. The facts stated are, that twenty-three soldiers of the infantry of the United States, being made prisoners, were sent to England, and held in close confinement as British subjects; that General Dearborn had been instructed to put into similar confinement twenty-three British soldiers as hostages for the safety of the former; that the prince-regent had given directions to put in close confinement, forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers, to answer for the safety of the last twenty-three soldiers; and also to apprise General Dearborn, that if any of them should suffer death in consequence of executing the law of nations upon the first twenty-three confined as British subjects, double the number of the confined American officers should immediately be selected for retaliation; and, moreover, that the commanders of his majesty's armies and fleets had received orders to prosecute the war with unmitigated severity against all the cities, towns, and villages of the United States, in case their government should persist in their intention of retaliation. In this dreadful state of mutual menace, affairs remained at the close of the year.

The Congress of the United States met at Washington on the 7th of December, when they received the following message from the presi-

dent, which is a most important and interesting document.

"Fellow-citizens of the senate and of the house of representatives,—In meeting you at the present interesting conjuncture, it would have been highly satisfactory if I could have communicated a favorable result of the mission charged with negotiations for restoring peace. It was a just expectation from the respect due to the distinguished sovereign who had invited them by his offer of mediation,—from the readiness with which the invitation was accepted on the part of the United States,—and from the pledge to be found in an act of their legislature for the liberality which their plenipotentiaries would carry into the negotiations, that no time would be lost by the British government in embracing the experiment for hastening a stop to the effusion of blood. A prompt and cordial acceptance of the mediation on that side was the less to be doubted, as it was of a nature not to submit rights or pretensions on either side to the decision of an umpire, but to afford merely an opportunity, honorable and desirable to both, for discussing, and, if possible, adjusting them for the interest of both.

"The British cabinet, either mistaking our desire of peace for a dread of British power, or misled by other fallacious conclusions, has disappointed this reasonable anticipation. No communication from our envoys having reached us, no information on the subject has been received from that source; but it is known that the mediation was declined in the first instance, and there is no evidence, notwithstanding the lapse of time, that a change of disposition in the British councils has taken place, or is to be expected.

"Under such circumstances, a nation, proud of its rights, and conscious of its strength, has no choice but an exertion of the one in the support of the other.

"To this determination, the best encouragement is derived from the success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless our arms, both on the land and on the water.

"Whilst proofs have been continued of the enterprise and skill of our cruisers, public and private, on the ocean, and a new trophy gained in the capture of a British by an American vessel of war, after an action giving celebrity to the name of the victorious commander; the great inland waters, on which the enemy were also to be encountered, have presented achievements of our naval arms, as brilliant in their character as they have been important in their consequences.

"On Lake Erie, the squadron under command of Captain Perry having met the British squadron, of superior force, a sanguinary conflict ended in the capture of the whole. The conduct of that officer, adroit, it was daring, and which was so well seconded by his comrades, justly en-

tifies them to the admiration and gratitude of their country; and will fill an early page in its naval annals, with a victory never surpassed in lustre however it may have been in magnitude.

"On Lake Ontario, the caution of the British commander, favored by contingencies, frustrated the efforts of the American commander to bring on a decisive action. Captain Chauncey was able, however, to establish an ascendancy on that important theatre; and to prove, by the manner in which he effected every thing possible, that opportunities only were wanted for a more shining display of his own talents and of the gallantry of those under his command.

"The success on Lake Erie having opened a passage to the territory of the enemy, the officer commanding the north-western army transferred the war thither; and rapidly pursuing the hostile troops, fleeing with their savage associates, forced a general action, which quickly terminated in the capture of the British, and dispersion of the savage force.

"This result is signally honorable to Major-general Harrison, by whose military talents it was prepared; to Colonel Johnson and his mounted volunteers, whose impetuous onset gave a decisive blow to the ranks of the enemy; and to the spirit of the volunteer militia, equally brave and patriotic, who bore an interesting part in the scene: more especially to the chief magistrate of Kentucky at the head of them, whose heroism, signalised in the war which established the independence of his country, sought, at an advanced age, a share in hardships and battles, for maintaining its rights and its safety.

"The effect of these successes has been to rescue the inhabitants of Michigan from their oppressions, aggravated by gross infractions of the capitulation which subjected them to a foreign power: to alienate the savages of numerous tribes from the enemy, by whom they were disappointed and abandoned; and to relieve an extensive region of country from a merciless warfare, which desolated its frontiers, and imposed on its citizens the most harassing services.

"In consequence of our naval superiority on Lake Ontario, and the opportunity afforded by it for concentrating our forces by water, operations, which had been previously planned, were set on foot against the possessions of the enemy on the St. Lawrence. Such, however, was the delay produced, in the first instance, by adverse weather of unusual violence and continuance, and such the circumstances attending the final movements of the army, that the prospect, at one time so favorable, was not realized. The cruelty of the enemy, in enlisting the savages into a war with a nation desirous of mutual emulation in mitigating its calamities, has not been confined to any one quarter. Wherever they could be turned

against us, no exertions to effect it have been spared. On our south-western border, the Creek tribes, who, yielding to our persevering endeavours were gradually acquiring more civilised habits, became the unfortunate victims of seduction. A war in that quarter has been the consequence, infuriated by a bloody fanaticism recently propagated among them.

"It was necessary to crush such a war, before it could spread among the contiguous tribes, and before it could favor enterprizes of the enemy into that vicinity. With this view a force was called into the service of the United States, from the states of Georgia and Tennessee, which, with the nearest regular troops, and other corps from the Mississippi territory, might not only chastise the savages into present peace, but make a lasting impression on their fears.

"The progress of the expedition, so far as it is yet known, corresponds with the martial zeal with which it was espoused; and the best hopes of a satisfactory issue are authorised by the complete success with which a well-planned enterprise was executed against a body of hostile savages, by a detachment of the volunteer militia of Tennessee, under the gallant command of General Coffee; and by a still more important victory over a larger body of them, gained under the immediate command of Major-general Jackson; an officer equally distinguished for his patriotism and his military talents.

"The systematic perseverance of the enemy, in courting the aid of the savages in all quarters, had the natural effect of kindling their ordinary propensity to war into a passion, which, even among those best disposed towards the United States, was ready, if not employed on our side, to be turned against us. A departure from our protracted forbearance to accept the services tendered by them has thus been forced upon us. But, in yielding to it, the retaliation has been mitigated as much as possible, both in its extent and in its character, stopping far short of the example of the enemy, who owe the advantages they have occasionally gained in battle, chiefly to the number of their savage associates; and who have not controlled them either from their usual practice of indiscriminate massacre on defenceless inhabitants, or from scenes of carnage without a parallel, on prisoners to the British arms, guarded by all the laws of humanity and honorable war.

"For these enormities, the enemy are equally responsible, whether, with the power to prevent them, they want the will; or, with the knowledge of a want of power, they still avail themselves of such instruments.

"In other respects the enemy are pursuing a course which threatens consequences most afflictive to humanity.

"A standing law of Great Britain naturalizes,

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as is well known, all aliens complying with conditions limited to a shorter period than those required by the United States: and naturalised subjects are, in war, employed by her government in common with native subjects. In a contiguous British province, regulations promulgated since the commencement of the war, compel citizens of the United States, being there under certain circumstances, to bear arms, whilst of the native emigrants from the United States, who compose much of the population of the province, a number have actually borne arms against the United States within their limits; some of whom, after having done so, have become prisoners of war, and are now in our possession. The British commander in that province, nevertheless, with the sanction, as appears, of his government, thought proper to select from American prisoners of war, and sent to Great Britain for trial as criminals, a number of individuals, who had emigrated from the British dominions long prior to the state of war between the two nations, who had incorporated themselves into our political society, in the modes recognised by the law and the practice of Great Britain, and who were made prisoners of war, under the banners of their adopted country, fighting for its rights and its safety.

"The protection due to these citizens requiring an effectual interposition in their behalf, a like number of British prisoners of war were put into confinement, with a notification that they would experience whatever violence might be committed on the American prisoners of war sent to Great Britain.

"It was hoped that this necessary consequence of the step unadvisedly taken on the part of Great Britain, would have led her government to reflect on the inconsistencies of its conduct, and that a sympathy with the British, if not with the American sufferers, would have arrested the cruel career opened by its example.

"This was unhappily not the case. In violation both of consistency and humanity, American officers and non-commissioned officers, in double the number of the British soldiers confined here, were ordered into close confinement, with formal notice, that in the event of a retaliation for the death which might be inflicted on the prisoners-of-war sent to Great Britain for trial, the officers so confined would be put to death also. It was notified at the time, that the commanders of the British fleets and armies on our coasts are instructed, in the same event, to proceed with a destructive severity against our towns and their inhabitants.

"That no doubt might be left with the enemy of our adherence to the retaliating resort imposed on us, a correspondent number of British officers, prisoners of war in our hands, were immediately put into close confinement, to abide the fate of

those confined by the enemy; and the British government has been apprised of the determination of this government, to retaliate any other proceeding against us, contrary to the legitimate modes of warfare.

"It is as fortunate for the United States, that they have it in their power to meet the enemy in this deplorable contest, as it is honorable to them, that they do not join in it but under the most imperious obligations, and with the humane purpose of effectuating a return to the established usages of war.

"The views of the French government on the subjects which have been so long committed to negotiation, have received no elucidation since the close of your late session. The minister-plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris had not been enabled, by proper opportunities, to press the objects of his mission, as prescribed by his instructions.

"The militia being always to be regarded as the great bulwark of defence and security for free states, and the constitution having wisely committed to the national authority a use of that force, as the best provision against an unsafe military establishment, as well as a resource peculiarly adapted to a country having the extent and the exposure of the United States; I recommend to Congress a revision of the militia-laws, for the purpose of securing, more effectually, the services of all detachments called into the employment and placed under the government of the United States.

"It will deserve the consideration of Congress also, whether, among other improvements in the militia-laws, justice does not require a regulation, under due precautions, for defraying the expense incident to the first assembling as well as to the subsequent movements of detachments called into the national service.

"To give our vessels of war, public and private, the requisite advantage in their cruizes, it is of much importance that they should have, both for themselves and their prizes, the use of the ports of friendly powers. With this view, I recommend to Congress the expediency of such legal provisions as may supply the defects, or remove the doubts of the executive authority, to allow to the cruizers of other powers, at war with enemies of the United States, such use of the American ports and markets as may correspond with the privileges allowed by such powers to American cruizers.

"During the year ending on the 30th of September last, the receipts into the treasury have exceeded 37,000,000 and a half of dollars, of which 24,000,000 were the produce of loans. After meeting all the demands for public service, there remained in the treasury, on that day, near 7,000,000 of dollars. Under the authority con-

tained in the act of the 2d of August last, for borrowing 7,000,000 and a half of dollars, that sum has been obtained on terms more favorable to the United States than those of the preceding loan made during the present year. Further sums to a considerable amount will be necessary to be obtained in the same way during the ensuing year; and from the increased capital of the country, from the fidelity with which the public engagements have been kept, and the public credit maintained, it may be expected, on good grounds, that the necessary pecuniary supplies will not be wanting.

"The expences of the current year, from the multiplied operations falling within it, have necessarily been extensive. But on a just estimate of the campaign, in which the mass of them has been incurred, the cost will not be found disproportionate to the advantages which have been gained. The campaign has indeed, in its latter stages, in one quarter been less favorable than was expected; but in addition to the importance of our naval success, the progress of the campaign has been filled with incidents highly honourable to the American arms.

"The attacks of the enemy on Craney Island, on Fort Meigs, on Sackett's Harbour, and on Sandusky, have been vigorously and successfully repulsed: nor have they in any case succeeded on either frontier, excepting when directed against the peaceable dwellings of individuals, or villages unprepared or undefended.

"On the other hand, the movements of the American army have been followed by the reduction of York, and of Forts George, Erie, and Malden: by the recovery of Detroit, and the extinction of the Indian war in the West; and by the occupancy or command of a large portion of Upper Canada. Battles have also been fought on the borders of the St. Lawrence, which, though not accomplishing their entire objects, reflect honour on the discipline and prowess of our soldiery, the best auguries of eventual victory. In the same scale are to be placed the late successes in the south, over one of the most powerful, which had become one of the most hostile also, of the Indian tribes.

"It would be improper to close this communication, without expressing a thankfulness, in which all ought to unite, for the numerous blessings with which our beloved country continues to be favoured; for the abundance which overspreads our land, and the prevailing health of its inhabitants; for the preservation of our internal tranquillity, and the stability of our free institutions: and above all, for the light of divine truth, and the protection of every man's conscience in the enjoyment of it. And although among our blessings we cannot number an exemption from the evils of war, yet these will never be regarded

as the greatest of evils by the friends of liberty and of the rights of nations. Our country has before preferred them to the degrading condition which was the alternative, when the sword was drawn in the cause which gave birth to our national independence: and none who contemplate the magnitude, and feel the value of that glorious event, will shrink from a struggle to maintain the high and happy ground on which it placed the American people.

"With all good citizens, the justice and necessity of resisting wrongs and usurpations no longer to be borne will sufficiently outweigh the privations and sacrifices inseparable from a state of war. But it is a reflection moreover, peculiarly consoling, that whilst wars are generally aggravated by their baneful effects on the internal improvements and permanent prosperity of the nations engaged in them, such is the favoured situation of the United States, that the calamities of the contest into which they have been compelled to enter, are mitigated by improvements and advantages, of which the contest itself is the source.

"If the war has increased the interruptions of our commerce, it has at the same time cherished and multiplied our manufactures, so as to make us independent of all other countries for the more essential branches, for which we ought to be dependent on none; and is even rapidly giving them an extent which will create additional staples in our future intercourse with foreign markets.

"If much treasure has been expended, no inconsiderable portion of it has been applied to objects durable in their value, and necessary to our permanent safety.

"If the war has exposed us to increased spoliations on the ocean, and to predatory incursions on the land, it has developed the national means of retaliating the former, and of providing protection against the latter; demonstrating to all, that every blow aimed at our maritime independence, is an impulse, accelerating the growth of our maritime power.

"By diffusing through the mass of the nation the elements of military discipline and instruction, by augmenting and disturbing warlike preparations applicable to future use, by evincing the zeal and valour with which they will be employed, and the cheerfulness with which every necessary burden will be borne; a greater respect for our rights, and a longer duration of our future peace, are promised, than could be expected without these proofs of the national character and resources.

"The war has proved, moreover, that our free government, like other free governments, though slow in its early movements, acquires in its progress a force proportioned to its freedom; and that the union of these states, the guardian of

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the freedom and safety of all and of each, is strengthened by every occasion that puts it to the test.

"In fine, the war, with all its vicissitudes, is illustrating the capacity and the destiny of the United States, to be a great, a flourishing, and powerful nation, worthy of the friendship which it is disposed to cultivate with all others; and authorised by its own example, to require from all, an observance of the laws of justice and reciprocity. Beyond these, their claims have never extended; and in contending for these, we behold a subject for our congratulations, in the daily testimonies of increasing harmony throughout the nation, and may humbly repose our trust in the smiles of heaven on so righteous a cause.

"JAMES MADISON."

In the statements and anticipations of some

parts of his message, Mr. Madison was justified by what had actually happened; or by what was likely to happen. But certainly, so far as he dwelt upon the military character of the United States, neither what had occurred, nor what in all probability would speedily occur, bore him out: almost every American general and army had fled with precipitation before an inferior force, composed almost entirely of Canadian troops. Wilkinson and Hampton, the last who had fought, had derived no more honour than their predecessors: Sir George Prevost, on the contrary, exhibited his usual activity and courage; and after the defeat of the American generals, he pursued them so closely, that they were forced to take up their winter-quarters in their own territory.

As we have now brought the war in America down to the close of the year 1813, we shall turn our attention to the affairs of Europe.

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